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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICKS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1758.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

SOME of the Learned have been very ſevere upon ſuch works as we now lay before the Public. Their ſeverity would have been juſt, if ſuch works had been recommended or uſed to the excluſion of more important ſtudies. Thoſe who aſpire to a ſolid erudition, muſt undoubtedly take other methods to acquire it. They have their labour and their merit. But there are readers of another order, who muſt not be left wholly unprovided: For ſuch readers, it is our province to collect matters of a lighter nature; but pleaſing even by their levity; by their variety; and their aptitude to enter into common converſation. Things of this ſort often gradually and imperceptibly inſinuate a taſte for knowledge, and in ſome

meaſure gratify that taſte. They ſteal ſome moments from the round of diſſipation and pleaſure. They relieve the minds of men of buſineſs, who cannot paſs from ſevere labour to ſevere ſtudy, with an elegant relaxation. They preſerve the ſtrenuous idleneſs of many from a worſe employment.

Theſe pretenſions we have in common with all the other periodical compilers; and the ſame apology ſerves us all. But it will be expected, that in offering a new performance to the Public, we ſhould mention ſome new and peculiar advantage which we pretend to have over our fellow-labourers. Some ſuch advantages we flatter ourſelves we poſſeſs, partly ariſing from our ſcheme of an annual rather than a monthly publication; partly from our own attention and induſtry.

Not confined to a monthly publication, we have an opportunity of examining with care

care the products of the year, and of selecting what may appear most particularly deserving of notice. We have from the same cause the advantage of order; we are better able to rank the several kinds under their proper heads; at least with as much exactness as the nature of a miscellany will admit.

But, besides this advantage derived from our general scheme, we derive something from our own labour. We have not in our first article confined ourselves to the history of the year. We have taken the war from its commencement. It is a subject which requires all the pains which we could bestow upon it, and deserves much more skilful workmen. None was ever more formed to interest curiosity; from the importance of the events, the dignity of the persons concerned, the greatness of the actions performed, and the amazing revolutions of fortune. The reader will find the events of this war, which

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has been carried on in the four quarters of the world, and which he has hitherto ſeen in a ſcattered manner, united into one connected narrative, and continued to the end of the campaign of ſeventeen hundred and fifty-eight. To effect this from the broken and unconnected materials, has been a work of more labour than may at firſt appear; and if we have performed what we intended in any ſort to the reader's ſatisfaction, we may lay claim to ſome merit.

We have made an article of State Papers. They ſerve to illuſtrate and confirm the facts advanced in the hiſtorical part; and our readers will not be diſpleaſed to ſee ſo many curious and important pieces together.

Endeavouring to be as extenſively uſeful as poſſible, we aimed at uniting the plan of the Magazines with that of the Reviews. We have given abſtracts of ſome of the beſt books pub-

publiſhed within the year, with remarks upon them. We have obſerved upon none which we could not praiſe; not that we pretend to have obſerved on all that are praiſe-worthy. Thoſe that do not deſerve to be well ſpoken of, do not deſerve to be ſpoken of at all.

Though we think our plan tolerably well calculated for a literary amuſement, we do not pretend that the Public will not have ſomething to excuſe, as well as to applaud. Our acquaintance with their ſentiments in that reſpect will increaſe our employment for the enſuing year, and excite us to amend the faults which we may have committed in this.

THE

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1758.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PRESENT WAR.

CHAP. I.

Origin of the troubles in North America. Admiral Boſcawen and General Braddock ſent thither. Operations intended. Two French men of war taken. Braddock defeated. General Johnſon repulſes the French. French threaten an invaſion. Fort St. Philip beſieged and taken. Treaty with Ruſſia, the ſpirit of it. Alliance with the King of Pruſſia. Ground of the quarrel between her Imperial Majeſty and that monarch. Treaty of Peterſbourg. Treaty of Verſailles. King of Pruſſia enters Saxony and Bohemia. Battle of Lowoſitz. Saxon army ſurrenders.

THE original plan of this work propoſed no more than that each volume ſhould contain a narrative of thoſe events which diſtinguiſh its own year. But, becauſe we have entered upon our undertaking in the heat of an almoſt general and very important war, I thought it would not be unneceſſary or diſagreeable to look a little farther back. It would be difficult perfectly to underſtand the operations of the ſeveral powers at war, during the laſt year, without reviewing the tranſactions of the preceding years; nor would it be eaſy to enter into the ſpirit of theſe without examining the cauſes which

more nearly or remotely operated to produce these troubles that have involved so many parts of the world in one common distraction.

The war into which all parties and interests seem now to be so perfectly blended, arose from causes which originally had not the least connection: the uncertain limits of the English and French territories in America; and the mutual claims of the houses of Austria and Brandenbourg on the duchy of Silesia. It is no wonder that the two former powers seizing on a country in which they considered the right of the natural inhabitants as nothing, should find it a very difficult matter to settle their own. For a long time neither of these powers were sufficiently acquainted with the geography of America, to enable them to ascertain the limits of their several pretensions with any tolerable exactness; nor, indeed, were these matters deemed of sufficient moment to call for a very laborious discussion. At the treaty of Utrecht, whilst so many more important interests, or what then seemed more important, were discussed, the limits of Nova Scotia, then called Acadia, were expressed only in general terms, and left to be put on a more certain footing by subsequent negotiations. These negotiations pursued with no vigour, and drawn out into an excessive length, seemed only to increase the former confusion. After the accession of the present royal family, a French connection, perhaps necessary from the circumstances of the time, and afterwards a certain negligence of all affairs but those of our domestic polity, suffered this important point to vanish almost wholly out of our consideration. During this interval, our colonies on the continent of North America, extended themselves on every side. Whilst agriculture and the maritime commerce flourished on their coasts, the Indian trade drew several of our wandering dealers far into the inland country, and beyond the great mountains. Here they found themselves in a delightful climate, in a soil abundantly fruitful, and watered with many fair and navigable rivers. These advantages, joined to those of the Indian trade, appeared to compensate for its remoteness from the sea. It was judged that as the first settlers on the coast, we had a good right to the inland country; and, if so, to the navigation of the Mississippi, which opened another door to the ocean. With these views, a company of merchants and planters obtained a charter for a considerable tract of land near the river Ohio, on the western side of the Allegeney mountains, but within the province of Virginia; and the adventurers began to settle pursuant to the terms of their patent.

Now began to shoot forth the seeds of another dispute, which had long lain unobserved, but which proved altogether as thorny and intricate as that concerning the limits of Acadia. The French pretending to have first discovered the mouths of the Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country, towards New Mexico on the East, quite to the Apalachian or Allegeney mountains on the West. They drove off the new settlers, and built a strong fort, called du Quesne, on the forks of the river Monongahela; a situation which commanded an entrance into all the country on the Ohio and Mississippi.

The reader will observe, that I do not pretend to decide concerning the right of either nation in

in this conteſt. It is evident enough, that the conſideration of the right had much leſs influence on both parties than the conſideration of conveniency. Should the French be able to unite Canada to their colonies at the mouth of Miſiſippi by a poſſeſſion of all that vaſt country which lies between them, the Engliſh colonies muſt loſe all ſhare in the Indian trade in time of peace; and in time of war be expoſed to continual dangers, or to the ruinouſly chargeable defence of a frontier more than 1500 miles in length. If on the contrary, the French ſhould fail to make good theſe claims on the Ohio, and thoſe on Nova Scotia, their two colonies entirely diſunited, and the entrance into one ſhut up for the winter ſeaſon by froſt, and the entrance into the other difficult in all ſeaſons by the banks at the mouth of the Miſiſippi, muſt certainly loſe all their value to France, and in their fall involve much of the fortune of their great ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies.

Both nations being fully perſuaded of this, no longer looked on the affair of the Ohio as a matter of indifference. They prepared to cut the gordian knot of the long and intricate negotiation by the ſword. Ships were fitted out, and ſome troops ſilently ſent off from Breſt. General Braddock ſailed to Virginia with about 1500 regular troops;

1755. 24 men of war under the Admirals Boſcawen and Moſtyn were ordered to America, to intercept the French ſupplies. Orders were ſent to our colonies to arm; and three operations were actually undertaken, one againſt Fort du Queſne under Braddock; the other two againſt the French forts in Nova Scotia, and the fort of Crown Point on the frontiers of New York. The two courts in the mean time breathed nothing but peace, and exchanged reciprocal profeſſions of friendſhip and good will, which deceived neither party.

They who are of opinion that the paſſions and characters of the ruling men influence all public concerns as much as the public intereſts themſelves, thought they ſaw other cauſes operating to haſten this breach. On the death of a great miniſter, which happened ſome time before, the adminiſtration was new moulded. Some perſons then taken in, were conſidered as belonging to a party not perfectly united with the remains of the old adminiſtration. It was thought that the leading man of this party propoſed to work out the old ſervants of the crown, in order to make way for a more uniform ſyſtem. As long as peace ſubſiſts government is ſupported by itſelf; and any change is difficult. But the conduct of a war is a thing critical to a miniſtry. The leader of this party therefore, conſcious of his own talents, which all men acknowledged to be conſpicuous, and of his connections which were conſiderable, warmly puſhed on a war, ſeconded by the fairneſs of the public motives, and the general voice of the people. In this war his friends relied that things muſt neceſſarily be ſo embarraſſed, that the old party would find themſelves obliged to retire, and to leave the ſtage clear for them to ſerve their country according to their own plans, and on their own terms. This deſign was believed to be puſhed forward by another great man of that party, who had played a game nearly of the ſame kind before, and in whom an advanced age had not abated any thing of his natural fire and love of violent councils.

Things came to a criſis by the taking of two French men of war by the admirals Boſcawen and Moſtyn. The operations by land were carried on with vigour; but whether conducted with equal judgment we ſtand too near the time to decide. However, the French fort at Beauſejour was taken, and ſoon after thoſe on St. John's river were abandoned; by which we remained maſters of all Nova Scotia. The principal expedition was that againſt Fort du Queſne, under General Braddock. That General abounding too much in his own ſenſe for the degree of military knowledge he poſſeſſed, commanding in a country where he did not know, and carrying on a ſpecies of war in which he had no experience, ſuffered himſelf when he had advanced within ten miles of Fort du Queſne, to be ſurpriſed by an ambuſcade of French and Indians. His army was ſeized with a panic from the unuſual appearance and horrid cries of the ſavages; they fled in confuſion; they were totally defeated with a conſiderable ſlaughter, eſpecially of their officers. The general himſelf, after having had five horſes killed under him, was mortally wounded; wiping away all the errors of his conduct by an honourable death for his country.

June 10. June 16. July 9.

The nation was ſomething conſoled for this loſs in the ſignal advantage gained by General Johnſon who commanded the expedition deſigned againſt Crown Point. He was attacked in his retrenchments by the French General Dieſkau; but the aſſailants wanting cannon, and firing from too great a diſtance, were totally defeated, and Dieſkau himſelf was made priſoner. This victory, tho' very honourable for Mr. Johnſon and the provincial troops under his command, yet, as it was gained late in the ſeaſon, and as the army was in no very good condition, it had no conſequences. On the whole, we ſeemed, after allowing for this victory, and for the diſlodgment of the French from Nova Scotia, to have had the worſt part in the campaign; conſidering the ſanguine expectations which had been formed, and the great ſuperiority of ſtrength which we exerted, or were able to have exerted, in that part of the world.

Sept. 7.

During this ſummer our court took a reſolution not to wait the precarious operations of our arms in America for redreſs of the grievances complained of, but to ſtrike ſuch a blow as would at once put a ſecurity into our hands, for the evacuating the places the enemy had fortified in our territories, and diſable them in the two moſt material points, the reſources of their trade and their ſeamen. Their merchant ſhips were every where attacked, as if war had been actually declared, and vaſt numbers brought into our ports. The French made all Europe reſound with complaints of what they called a proceeding ſo unjuſt, and a violation of the law of nations ſo flagrant and unprecedented. But, whether it was that they were really in no condition to act, or that they intended to influence the other courts in their favour, by a ſhew of extraordinary moderation, they contented themſelves with this, and neither declared war nor made any ſort of repriſal for ſeveral months after. At length they began to act; ſeveral bodies of troops moved to the coaſts of Picardy, Normandy and Brittany; and all things threatned an invaſion on ſome part of this kingdom. Under the

1756.

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ſhadow of this ſtratagem, they got ready in the harbour of Toulon a fleet of twelve men of war of the line with the utmoſt expedition, which convoyed an army of about 11,000 men, under command of the Duke de Richlieu, to the iſland of Minorca.

April 18.

In a few days they opened trenches before St. Philip's fort.

April 25.

This was done while the nation trembled under a ſhameful pannic, too public to be concealed, too fatal in its conſequences to be ever forgotten. The real invaſion did not leſſen our fears of the imaginary one; it threw us into a confuſion that ſuffered us to be ſenſible of nothing but our own weakneſs. We did not look upon ourſelves ſufficiently ſecured by the arrival of the Hanoverian and Heſſian troops, which the ſame weakneſs had induced us to call to our aſſiſtance. The miniſtry ſeemed to have been infected with the common terror; for, though they had very early notice of the French deſigns, ſuch was the apprehenſion of the invaſion, or ſuch the ill contrived diſpoſition of our navy, that Admiral Byng was not diſpatched to the Mediterranean before the 5th of April, and then with a ſquadron of no more then ten ſhips of the line.

The engagement with the French fleet under M. Galiſſoniere; the retreat of Byng by which the garriſon of fort St. Philip was cut off from all hopes of relief; the ſurrender of that garriſon after nine weeks open trenches; the ſentiments of the court and the public, on the different merits of the governor and the admiral; the oppoſition of ſome, who thought the one too highly honoured, and the other too ſeverely cenſured, and the meaſures which rather indignation at our loſſes and diſgraces, than a cool ſenſe of things obliged us to take, are known to all the world. Our affairs were in ſuch a condition, that we were driven to the expedient of a court martial to revive the Britiſh ſpirit, and to the unfortunate neceſſity of ſhedding the blood of an admiral, a perſon of a noble family, as a ſacrifice to the diſcipline of our navy.

May 12.

June 29.

Feb. 14. 1757.

From this melancholy picture, let us turn our eyes another way, and review the ſteps by which this war came to involve the reſt of the contending powers. The French, amongſt the other plans they formed for diſtreſſing our affairs, made no ſecret of their deſign of attacking his Majeſty's German dominions. Theſe countries evidently had no ſort of connection with the matters which gave riſe to the war. But being under a Sovereign ſo remarkably affectionate to his native country; they judged he might be terrified into a relaxation of his rights in America, to preſerve Hanover from the calamities with which it was threatened. Their politics, however, in this inſtance proved as unſucceſsful as they were unjuſt. No motion was made towards an abatement in our claims with regard to America; his Majeſty took other methods for the preſervation of the peace of Germany. His Britiſh ſubjects by their repreſentatives, not more generouſly than reaſonably, reſolved to defend the Hanoverians if attacked in their quarrel. To anſwer this purpoſe, the miniſtry entered into a ſubſidy treaty with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, in virtue of which ſhe was to hold 55,000 men in readineſs to be ſent on a requiſition wherever the Britiſh ſervice required.

The alliance with Ruſſia was choſen for reaſons which were then ſufficiently plauſible; though it is to be hoped they can never ſubſiſt again. The long ill underſtanding between the King of Pruſſia and our court, and his cloſe connection with that of Verſailles, raiſed no ill-grounded apprehenſions that he might be induced to act a dangerous part on this occaſion. Ruſſia was therefore a proper ally, who had both a political and perſonal enmity to this monarch, and who would be ſure to employ a great power with great vigour in ſuch a cauſe. But this ſyſtem was in a ſhort time totally reverſed. The King of Pruſſia had been too well appriſed of the cloſe conjunction of the courts of Peterſbourg and Vienna, and of the real motive to that conjunction, to have the leaſt deſign of embroiling himſelf with England. Matters were therefore very ſoon explained, and the treaty between his Pruſſian majeſty and this court, to keep all foreigners out of the Empire, was ſigned at London in Jan. 1756. Theſe treaties were cenſured as inconſiſtent with each other; but in reality they were conſiſtent enough, aiming preciſely at the ſame object, to oppoſe the ſcheme meditated by France for diſturbing the affairs of Germany.

If reflecting on the ſentiments of theſe courts, there was ſomething unexpected in the alliance between Great Britain and Pruſſia; it was ſoon followed by another alliance of a nature infinitely more ſurpriſing. The Empreſs Queen of Hungary finding England in no diſpoſition to co-operate in her deſigns, had recourſe to other meaſures. The houſe of Auſtria, which had formerly united Europe to preſerve her from the power of France, now entered herſelf into the moſt intimate union with that power. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political ſyſtem of Europe aſſumed a new face; it was indeed a revolution ſo extraordinary, that we ſhall be juſtified if we interrupt the courſe of this narrative, to look back at the cauſes which produced it.

The houſe of Brandenbourg, a little more than two centuries ago, was in a very humble condition. But by the part ſhe took in the reformation, which put into her hands the eſtates of the Teutonic order; by a marriage from which ſhe acquired the duchy of Cleves; and by an uncommon ſucceſſion of able princes, who carefully improved every turn in the affairs of Germany to their advantage, ſhe raiſed herſelf by degrees to a conſiderable ſtate, to an electorate, and at laſt to a royalty, not only in name but in power. The late King of Pruſſia, in order to ſtrengthen this power, tho' he paſt almoſt his whole reign in the moſt profound peace, gave his whole attention to his army: frugal in all other reſpects, in this alone he was expenſive; it was his buſineſs, and, what was perhaps of greater moment, it was his only diverſion. Thus in a reign apparently inactive, there was always kept up an army of near 100,000 men, in as much exerciſe as they could have in peace, and formed with the moſt perfect diſcipline.

When his preſent majeſty came to the throne, he immediately ſhewed a diſpoſition of employing effectually that military force which his father had ſpent his life only in forming and training. He managed his diſpute with the biſhop of Liege by the ſummary method of force: and ſeemed diſpoſed to carry all things with ſo high a hand, as made him indeed much reſpected, but much

much dreaded too by the Princes of the Empire, who ſaw that there was another power to be feared in Germany, beſides that of Auſtria. But theſe were ſmall matters, rather ſigns of the diſpoſition of this Prince, than exertions of it. He meditated much greater things; and only waited an opportunity to make good the ancient claims of his family on the moſt conſiderable part of the duchy of Sileſia. The right to that duchy had been a very intricate affair; but the houſe of Auſtria availing herſelf of the greatneſs of her power, and of a diſſenſion between the Elector Frederic II. and his ſon, prevailed with the Elector to give up that right for an equivalent; then ſhe perſuaded his ſon to confirm the treaty; and at the ſame time for a trivial conſideration to give up the equivalent itſelf. The King of Pruſſia, not thinking himſelf bound by theſe acts, though confirmed by a long poſſeſſion, took advantage of his own power and the embarraſſed circumſtances of the houſe of Auſtria, to reſume what their power and the embarraſſed circumſtances of his family had formerly deprived him of. For immediately on the death of Charles the ſixth, when the Auſtrian greatneſs ſeemed irrecoverably loſt, he entered into Sileſia, and made himſelf maſter of the whole country with little oppoſition. Then uniting with the French and Bavarians, he ſecured his conqueſts by two deciſive victories, and by a treaty which yielded him the greateſt and beſt part of Sileſia and the whole county of Glatz. But the cauſe of the Emperor which the King of Pruſſia had embraced, ſoon cauſed a renewal of hoſtilities. The Queen of Hungary ſaw herſelf defeated in three pitched battles; her new ally the King of Poland, driven from his German dominions, and the King of Pruſſia entering Dreſden in triumph, where he gave the law in a treaty, by which Sileſia was once more ſolemnly confirmed to him: in return to which he guarantied to the Queen of Hungary the reſt of her dominions.

Dec. 1740.

June 11. 1742.

June 2. 1744.

Dec. 1745.

The Queen of Hungary could not eaſily loſe the memory of the wound ſhe had received in the loſs of one of the fineſt and richeſt parts of all her dominions. Sileſia, which ſhe had juſt yielded, extends in length 200 miles along the courſe of the large and navigable river Oder. A country of the moſt exquiſite fertility and higheſt cultivation; abounding with men, abounding with valuable manufactures, and yielding a clear yearly revenue of 800,000 pounds ſterling. The peace was hardly concluded by which ſhe reſigned this valuable territory, than ſhe ſet on foot practices for recovering it. She entered into a treaty with the court of Peterſbourg, of an innocent and ſimply defenſive nature, ſo far as appeared to the public; but ſix ſecret and ſeparate articles were added to it; one of which provides, that in caſe his Pruſſian Majeſty ſhould attack her Majeſty the Empreſs Queen, or the Empreſs of Ruſſia, or even the republic of Poland, that this attack ſhould be conſidered as a breach of the treaty of Dreſden; that the right of the Empreſs Queen to Sileſia ceded by that trea y ſhould revive; and that the contracting powers ſhould mutually furniſh an army of 60,000 men to reinveſt the Empreſs Queen with that duchy.

May 22, 1746.

To this ſo extraordinary a treaty, the King of Poland was invited to

accede; and he did ſo far accede to it, as to ſhew he perfectly agreed in his ſentiments with theſe courts. But his ſituation in the jaws of a formidable enemy, and the experience of paſt misfortunes, had rendered him ſo wary, that he declined ſigning the treaty; but ſtill, with the conſent of the parties concerned, whom he fully convinced of his reſolution to co-operate in all their meaſures. He deſired and they agreed, that in the ſucceſs of their arms he ſhould have a ſhare in the ſpoil, on the footing of a treaty for the eventual partition of the King of Pruſſia's dominions made in the laſt war. On theſe conditions the King of Poland without actually ſigning, was underſtood, and received as a party to the treaty of Peterſbourg.

May 18, 1745.

In conſequence of theſe meaſures, all ſorts of means were employed to embroil the King of Pruſſia's affairs in the North, and particularly to render him perſonally odious to the Czarina. When their machinations had taken full effect, and Ruſſia was fixed in an unalterable enmity to that monarch, preparations of magazines and armies were made in Bohemia and Moravia; and the King of Poland, under pretence of a military amuſement, drew together about 16,000 men, with which he occupied the ſtrong and important poſt of Pirna. The Queen of Hungary ſaw that ſhe ſtood in need of yet ſtronger ſupports than theſe in the arduous buſineſs ſhe had undertaken. She found that Great Britain, which had often done ſo much for her diſtreſs, would do little for her ambition: ſhe therefore had recourſe to France, who joyfully accepting an alliance, that promiſed to confound the whole Germanic body, concluded a treaty with the Empreſs at Verſailles the 1ſt of May 1756, a remarkable æra in the political hiſtory of Europe.

The ſecret articles of the treaty of Peterſbourg, the fountain of the preſent troubles, and the ſteps taken to put that treaty in execution, tho' formed and carried on with as much ſecrecy as earneſtneſs, could not eſcape the vigilance of his Pruſſian majeſty, who watched all their motions, and had perfect intelligence of their moſt hidden deſigns. When therefore he perceived, that by the breach between England and France, the Empreſs Queen would take advantage of theſe troubles to avail herſelf of her alliances and her armaments; he ordered his miniſter at Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper aſſurances concerning the preparations he ſaw making: and receiving only a dry and equivocal anſwer, that the Empreſs had taken meaſures for her own ſecurity and that of her allies and friends, the King believed himſelf no longer bound to preſerve any terms; a dangerous war was to be kept out of his own territories at any rate; and being always in perfect readineſs for action, he fell upon Saxony with a conſiderable army.

At firſt the King of Pruſſia ſeemed only to demand a free paſſage for his troops, and an obſervance of the neutrality profeſſed by the King of Poland; but as he had very good reaſons to diſtruſt ſuch a neutrality, he demanded as a ſecurity, that the Saxon troops ſhould quit the ſtrong poſt they occupied, and diſperſe themſelves immediately. This demand was refuſed, and the King of Pruſſia in conſequence of that refuſal, immediately formed a ſort of blockade about the Saxon camp at Pirna, with a view to reduce it by famine,

Aug. 29.

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ſince its inacceſſible ſituation rendered an attack unadviſeable. There were in Bohemia two Auſtrian armies under M. Brown and M. Picolomini, to keep theſe in awe. M. Schwerin had entered Bohemia from the county of Glatz; and M. Keith had penetrated into that kingdom on the ſide of Miſnia. But the King of Pruſſia, not entirely confiding in theſe diſpoſitions; and ſtill apprehenſive that M. Brown might be able to convey ſome relief to the Saxons, reſolved to bring him to an action, to the ſucceſs of which he knew his own preſence would greatly contribute. He therefore left the blockade of the Saxon army, joined his forces under Keith, and engaged the Auſtrians at Lowoſitz. Here he obtained a victory, which though it was not undiſputed with regard to the field of battle, yet with regard to the conſequence it was as deciſive as could be wiſhed. M. Brown found it impracticable to relieve the Saxons, notwithſtanding the judicious efforts he made for that purpoſe; and that army, after a vain attempt to retire from their difficult poſt, which had one fault, that it was as difficult to leave it as to force it, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The King of Poland quitted his German dominions; and the Pruſſians took up their winter quarters in Saxony, ſeized upon the revenues, levied exorbitant contributions, and obliged the country to furniſh recruits. This unhappy people ſaw their country exhauſted, and forced to bear the burthen of a war againſt itſelf. It was then, that the King of Pruſſia conſulting the rules of policy more than thoſe of politeneſs, made himſelf maſter of the archives of Dreſden, in doing which ſome roughneſs was uſed towards the Queen; but he made himſelf amends for the clamour induſtriouſly raiſed on this pretence, by acquiring the originals of theſe pieces, which evinced to the world the reality of the deſign againſt him, and which therefore in a great meaſure juſtified the means he had taken to come at them, as well as the extraordinary ſeverities he uſed towards the unfortunate Saxons.

Dec. 1.

CHAP. II.

State of the Engliſh miniſtry. The characters and deſigns of the ſeveral factions. A coalition. Oſwego taken by the French. Calcutta taken by the Nabob. Angria reduced by Admiral Watſon.

WHILST the King of Pruſſia paſſed the winter in the moſt vigorous preparations for carrying on the war, his ally Great Britain preſented a very different face of things. The loſs of Minorca plunged the people into the utmoſt grief mixed with ſhame, for ſuch a blot on the national honour, and with indignation not only againſt thoſe who had acted weakly, but thoſe who had provided inſufficiently for the relief of that important poſſeſſion. The public reſentment, which at firſt ſeemed to have no other object than Byng, was ſoon turned againſt the miniſtry. The clamour in parliament was great; without doors it was exceſſive. Addreſſes praying a ſtrict enquiry into the cauſe of our misfortunes, were preſented from all parts of the kingdom. The miniſtry, notwithſtanding this general diſcontent, had a

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real ſtrength; and they might have ſtood, had they agreed amongſt themſelves. The commons could not be brought to any angry votes; and the reſult of the enquiry into the loſs of Minorca, was as favourable as they could have wiſhed. But Mr. F—— thought it not adviſeable to bear a large proportion of the odium cauſed by counſels, in which he had little ſhare. Perhaps, he thought this embarraſſment, a ſituation not unfavourable to the arrangement he had always aimed at; he therefore ſuddenly threw up an employment, which he hoped to reſume augmentedwith greater power.

On the removal of this principal prop, the whole ſtructure of the miniſtry fell to pieces. The D. of N. the Ld. Ch. the firſt lord of the admiralty reſigned; and the chiefs of the party by whoſe manœuvres they were diſplaced naturallyſucceeded to the management of affairs. They who had reſigned gave them no apparent oppoſition in parliament; but whether it was, that the new miniſtry were themſelves too freſh from oppoſition, and ſome of them too full of the popular manners that introduced them to court to be perfectly agreeable in the cloſet, or that they had made their bottom too narrow, after holding their employments for ſome months, to the great concern of the public, they in their turn were obliged to quit their poſts. Thus was the helm of government a ſecond time abandoned. The caſe of the King and the nation was at that juncture truly deplorable. We were without any ally who could do us the leaſt ſervice, engaged in a war hitherto unſucceſsful, with the moſt formidable power in Europe; we almoſt deſpaired of our military virtue; public ſpirit appeared utterly extinguiſhed, whilſt the rage of faction burned with the utmoſt violence; our operations were totally ſuſpended; and having no miniſtry eſtabliſhed, we had no plan to follow.

Dec. 4. 1756.

April 5. 1757.

Three factions dividing the ruling men of the nation, for the groſs of the people ſeemed to have no further views than a redreſs of their grievances, by whatever means that could be brought about; the firſt of theſe factions was compoſed of thoſe who had grown to place and power, or had formed their connections under the old miniſtry. They were ſome of the moſt reſpectable perſons in the nation, and had undoubtedly the greateſt parliamentary intereſt. They had at the ſame time another intereſt hardly leſs conſiderable, that of the monied people; but in ſome points, and theſe material too, they were weak. They were not at all popular; a matter of great conſideration in a government like ours; and they were ſuppoſed by the groſs of the people, not to be under the direction of great political abilities.

The ſecond faction, though not ſuſpected of the want of ſufficient ability, was yet more unpopular than the former; they had not attempted to preſerve even the appearances eſſential to popularity; and to them the more eſſential, as their parliamentary ſtrength was, however reſpectable, much inferior to the firſt. If their influence at one court was able to balance that of the old miniſtry, by means of a then powerful connection, that very connection made them far worſe at another court, and worſe with the generality of the people, who entertained, or pretended at leaſt to entertain, ſuſpicions of a nature the more dangerous, as they were only dropped

ped in hints and whiſpers, and never could come to a full and open explanation.

The third party had little parliamentary, and leſs court influence; but they had a prodigious popularity, which ſupplied every other defect. The abilities of their leader were of the moſt ſhining kind; his application equal to his abilities; his diſintereſtedneſs was confeſſed by his enemies; and tho' it would have ſhined in the days of heroiſm, was now the more valued, and ſet off to the greater advantage by the general ſelfiſhneſs which prevailed among the men of buſineſs. The nation repoſed the moſt perfect confidence in his integrity and love to his country. This party, conſcious where its ſtrength lay, cultivated with great care the popularity which was the baſis of their power; even perhaps ſo as to impair on ſome occaſions the dignity of government.

Theſe three factions differed from each other extremely with regard to power, the grand object of all factions. But in the general ſcheme of their politics, the two firſt were pretty much agreed. Looking on France as the moſt conſtant and moſt dangerous enemy of Great Britain, they dreaded the increaſe of her power and influence among the neighbouring nations as the greateſt of all evils. To prevent ſo dangerous an aggrandiſement, they thought it abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve a conſtant attention to the balance of power, and to ſeek our particular ſafety and liberty in the general ſafety and liberty of Europe. A cloſe connection was therefore to be kept up with the powers of the continent, not only by continual negotiations, but by large ſubſidies, and even by aſſiſting them with our troops if the occaſion ſhould require ſuch aſſiſtance. For this purpoſe, as well as to ſecure the more effectually our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, a conſiderable regular land force ought to be conſtantly maintained. Our navy, they thought, ought by no means to be neglected; but it was only to be cultivated and employed ſubſerviently to the more comprehenſive continental ſyſtem. Theſe parties were far from being friends to arbitrary power, or in any ſort averſe to parliaments; they loved the conſtitution; but they were for preſerving the authority of government entire, and in its utmoſt lawful force. To make government more eaſy, knowing that many would diſturb it, from diſaffection, or diſguſt, or miſtaken notions of liberty, they thought it juſt to rule men by their intereſts, if they could not by their virtues, and they had long been in the practice of procuring a majority in parliament, by the diſtribution of the numerous lucrative places and employments which our conſtitution leaves in the diſpoſal of the crown. Several believed that no other method was practicable, conſidering the nature of mankind, and our particular form of government.

But the third and popular party, was influenced by different principles. They looked indeed on the power of France in the ſame light with the two former, and were of the ſame opinion concerning the neceſſity of ſetting bounds to it. In the means of attaining this end they differed. Our ſituation they thought dictated a narrower, but a more natural, a ſafer, and a leſs expenſive plan of politics, than that which had been adopted by the other party. We ought never to forget, ſaid they, that we are an iſland: and that this circumſtance ſo favourable both to our political and to our civil liberty, pre-

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ſcribes to us a conduct very different from that of every other nation. Our natural ſtrength is a maritime ſtrength, as trade is our natural employment: theſe muſt always go hand in hand, and they mutually ſupport each other. But, if turning our back to our real intereſts, and abandoning our natural element, we enter that inextricable labyrinth of continental politics; if we make ourſelves parties in every controverſy; if we exhauſt our wealth in purchaſing the uſeleſs and precarious friendſhip of every petty prince or ſtate; if we waſte the blood of our people in all the quarrels that may ariſe on the continent; ſo far from going in the right way to reduce France, that we attack her on the ſtrong ſide, and only deſtroy ourſelves by our ill-judged efforts againſt the enemy. That we can have nothing to fear from the ſuperiority of France on the continent, whilſt we preſerve our ſuperiority at ſea; that we can always cut the ſinews of the enemies ſtrength by deſtroying their traffic; that to fear an invaſion from a power weak in its marine, is the idleſt of all fears; that in caſe an invaſion were poſſible, a well-trained national militia, ſupplying by their zeal the defects of their diſcipline, would prove our beſt protection; that a ſtanding army is in whatever ſhape dangerous to freedom; and that a government like ours, connected by its very eſſence with the liberty of the ſubject, can never be in want of the ſupports of deſpotic power. As little is parliamentary influence neceſſary. A government pleaſing to the people, as every good government muſt be, can never be generally oppoſed; and men need no bribes to perſuade them to their duty.

Theſe notions ſo oppoſite in their extremes, might be reconciled in a medium, and uſed to temper each other. For as on one hand, it would be very abſurd to take no ſort of advantage of our inſular ſituation, but to engage in all the buſineſs of the continent without reſerve, and to plunge ourſelves into real evils out of dread of poſſible miſchiefs; ſo on the other hand to think ourſelves wholly unconcerned in the fortunes of our neighbours on the continent, or to think of aiding them in any caſe, only by the way of diverſion with our fleets, would be a way of proceeding ſtill more extravagant than the former. If ſuch notions were reduced to practice, we might ſoon loſe all theſe advantages derived from a ſituation which we abuſed.

The reaſonableneſs of ſuch a temperament, could not be perceived during the ferment of that time, in which theſe topics were bandied to and fro with infinite heat. The reſignation or rather deprivation of the popular miniſtry, only increaſed their popularity, and the general diſcontent; the people could not believe that good meaſures could be purſued when thoſe, in whom alone they confided, were not employed; almoſt all the corporations of the kingdom preſented the deprived miniſters with their freedom, and addreſſed them in the warmeſt manner, teſtifying the moſt entire approbation of their conduct, and the ſincereſt concern to ſee them out of employment.

This conflict between an old eſtabliſhed intereſt, and the torrent of popularity, continued for a long time, and the nation was almoſt ruined by it. It is not eaſy nor perhaps quite proper to attempt to trace the ſteps by which ſo happy a coalition, as we have ſeen take place, was brought about. But it was formed in ſuch man-

manner as held together with ſuch ſolidity, and produced ſuch excellent effects, as I believe the moſt ſanguine could not have hoped for at that time. Mr. P. was again reſtored to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, the D. of N. was placed at the head of the treaſury, Mr. F. was appointed paymaſter of the forces. This arrangement, which gave very general ſatisfaction, was however diſliked by thoſe whom their violent attachment to their party had inſpired with a narrow and excluſive ſpirit. It was the beſt meaſure, becauſe it was an healing meaſure; and it was little leſs than impoſſible for any particular party to carry on public buſineſs on its ſingle bottom.

June 29. 1757.

It was high time that our domeſtic diſſenſions ſhould be compoſed at laſt. From every quarter of the world in which we had any concern, we heard of nothing but loſſes and calamities. In America we loſt the fort of Oſwego. That fort ſituated at the mouth of the Onondaga river, commanded a commodious harbour on the lake Ontario. It was built by General Shirley, and deſigned to cover the country of the Five nations; to ſecure the Indian trade; to interrupt the communication between the French northern and ſouthern eſtabliſhments; and to open a way to our arms to attack the forts of Frontenac and Niagara. For theſe purpoſes, ſome frigates had been fitted out for cruiſing, and a number of boats prepared for the tranſportation of troops; but they all fell to the enemy with the fort where 100 pieces of cannon were, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſion. 1600 men were made priſoners of war. The place made but a trifling reſiſtance, ſcarce holding out three days; the attempts to relieve it were too late. The French demoliſhed the fort.

Aug. 14. 1756.

Our loſſes were not confined to America. The Eaſt India company received a blow, which would have ſhaken an eſtabliſhment of leſs ſtrength to its foundations. The news of the war between France and England had not yet reached India, but a new and very formidable enemy was raiſed up in that quarter. The Nabob of Bengal (the Nabobs are a ſpecies of viceroys to the Grand Mogul, grown almoſt independent in their ſeveral provinces) irritated at the protection given to one of his ſubjects in the Engliſh fort of Calcutta, and, as it is ſaid, at the refuſal of ſome duties to which he claimed a right, levied a great army, and laid ſiege to that place. The governor terrified by the numbers of the enemy, abandoned the fort with ſeveral of the principal perſons in the ſettlement, who ſaved themſelves with their moſt valuable effects on board the ſhips.

Thus deſerted, Mr. Hollwel the ſecond in command, bravely held the place to the laſt extremity, with a few gallant friends, and the remains of a feeble garriſon. A very noble defence was inſufficient to keep an untenable place, or to affect an ungenerous enemy. The fort was taken, and the garriſon being made priſoners, were thruſt into a narrow dungeon. Hollwel with a few others came out alive, to paint a ſcene of the moſt cruel diſtreſs which perhaps human nature ever ſuffered. The Eaſt India company loſt their principal ſettlement in Bengal, and a fort which ſecured to them the moſt valuable part of their trade.

June 26.

In the ſpace of this unfortunate year we were ſtripped of Minorca and

and Oſwego; we apprehended an invaſion of Great Britain itſelf; our councils were torn to pieces by factions; and our military fame was every where in contempt. Amidſt theſe loſſes, we conſidered as ſome advantage the reduction of the principal fort of Angria, a piratical prince, who had been many years troubleſome to the Engliſh trade in the Eaſt Indies. This ſervice was performed by Admiral Watſon in the beginning of the year.

Feb. 13.

CHAP. III.

State of the confederacy againſt the King of Pruſſia. French paſs the Weſer. King of Pruſſia enters Bohemia. Battle of Prague. Prague inveſted. Count Daun takes the command of the Auſtrian army. Battle of Colin.

WHAT turn the Engliſh politics were like to take in the year 1757, ſeemed for ſome time uncertain. The new miniſtry did not ſeem well eſtabliſhed; nor was it well known whether they would purſue the plans and preſerve the connections of the old. Abroad every thing was prepared for opening the campaign with the utmoſt eclat. All Europe was in motion.

France, in order to demonſtrate to the Queen of Hungary the advantageous choice ſhe had made in connecting herſelf with the houſe of Bourbon, formed two great armies. The firſt was compoſed of near 80,000 men, the flower of the French troops, attended with a vaſt artillery, and commanded by M. de Etrees, a general of the beſt eſtabliſhed reputation ſhe had in her ſervice. Under him ſerved M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers of high character, and all fit to command in chief, if M. de Etrees had not been appointed to that eminence. This formidable army paſſed the Rhine, and marched by Weſtphalia, in order to invade the King of Pruſſia's dominions in quality of allies to the Empreſs Queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire, and to no other intent, as it was pretended; but in reality with a view to reduce Hanover alſo. They judged that their operations againſt the King of Pruſſia might be executed, and their ſcheme to drive the King of England into ſome conceſſions with regard to America, might be completed by one and the ſame blow. The ſecond army was commanded by the Prince de Soubiſe; it conſiſted of about 25,000 men. This army was deſtined to ſtrengthen the Imperial army of execution; but before it had paſſed the Rhine it made itſelf maſter of Cleves, Meurs and Gueldres, whilſt a detachment from de Etrees's army ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever elſe belonged to Pruſſia in Eaſt Frieſland.

As ſoon as the King of Pruſſia had entered Saxony in the beginning of the preceding ſummer, proceſs was commenced againſt him in the Emperor's Aulic council, and before the diet of the Empire. It is not difficult to conceive how the affair muſt have been decided; when thoſe who feared the King of Pruſſia believed they had a fair opportunity to reduce him; and when thoſe who feared the houſe of Auſtria were by that very fear obliged to

ſupport the power they dreaded: accuſtomed as they were to the influence of a family in which the Empire had ſo long been in a manner hereditary; and overawed by the appearances of a confederacy, the moſt formidable the world had ever yet ſeen. Accordingly the King of Pruſſia was condemned for contumacy, and the Fiſcal had orders to notify to him that he was put under the ban of the Empire, and adjudged fallen from all the dignities and poſſeſſions which he held under it. The circles of the Empire were ordered to furniſh their contingents of men and money to put this ſentence in execution; but the contingents were collected ſlowly, the troops were badly compoſed, and probably this army had never been able to act if it had not been for the aſſiſtance afforded under the Prince de Soubiſe.

The Auſtrians who were principals in this quarrel, were not behind their auxiliaries in the greatneſs of their preparations; they made the moſt ſtrenuous efforts, by which they aſſembled a body of upwards of 100,000 men in Bohemia, and committed the command to Prince Charles of Lorrain, aſſiſted by M. Brown. In the North all things threatened the King of Pruſſia. The Czarina, true to her reſentments and her engagements, had ſent a body of 60,000 men commanded by M. Apraxin, who were in full march to invade the ducal Pruſſia, whilſt a ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to co-operate with that army. Although the King of Sweden was allied in blood and inclinations to his Pruſſian majeſty, yet the jealouſy which the Senate entertained of their ſovereign; the hope of recovering their ancient poſſeſſions in Pomerania by means of the preſent troubles, and in fine their old attachment to France newly cemented by intrigues and ſubſidies, made their ill inclinations to the cauſe of Pruſſia more than ſuſpicious. Hitherto indeed nothing more than the tendency of their councils were fully known. The Duke of Mecklenbourg took the ſame party, and agreed to join the Swediſh army when it ſhould be aſſembled, with 6000 men; a proceeding which he has ſince had reaſon to repent bitterly. Thus were the forces of five mighty ſtates *, each of which had in their turn been a terror to all Europe, united to reduce the heir of the Marquiſſes of Brandenbourg; and in ſuch a point of danger and glory had the great and formidable abilities of his Pruſſian majeſty placed him, with little, in compariſon, that could enable him to ſuſtain the violence of ſo many ſhocks, except what thoſe abilities ſupplied. But his aſtoniſhing œconomy, the incomparable order of the finances, the diſcipline of his armies beyond all praiſe, a ſagacity that foreſaw every thing, a vigilance that attended every thing, a conſtancy that no labour could ſubdue, a courage that no danger could diſmay, an intuitive glance that catches the deciſive moment, all theſe ſeemed to form a ſort of balance to the vaſt weight againſt him, turned the wiſhes of his friends into hopes, and made them depend upon reſources that are not within the power of calculation.

The only army that appeared in his favour was a body of between 30 and 40,000 Hanoverians and Heſſians, who with ſome reinforcements of his own troops, formed an army of obſervation, commanded

* Auſtria, Ruſſia, France, Sweden, the Empire.

by

by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland; this army was poſted on the Weſer, to watch the motions of M. d'Etrees. The vaſt and unwieldy body of the French, encumbered as the French armies always are by an immenſe baggage and an innumerable multitude of mouths without hands, made a very ſlow progreſs through the rough and barren country that lies between the Rhine and the Weſer. All the abilities of the French general were employed in finding ſubſiſtence for his troops. His Royal Highneſs on the other hand, diſplayed great abilities in throwing all poſſible impediments in his way. But when theſe impediments were removed by the ſuperiority of numbers, the Hanoverian army gradually gave way, yielding to that ſuperiority, and the French troops paſſed the Weſer without oppoſition.

In the mean time, his Pruſſian majeſty being determined according to his maxim to lay the cloth as far from home as poſſible; made his diſpoſitions for carrying the war into Bohemia as ſpeedily as the ſeaſon would admit. Three great bodies of his troops entered into that kingdom by three very different ways, but nearly at the ſame time. M. Schwerin penetrated into it from Sileſia. The Prince of Bevern entered with the corps under his command from Luſatia, and defeated, as a preliminary to a more deciſive victory, a body of 28,000 Auſtrians who oppoſed him. Ap. 21. The king himſelf prepared to enter Bohemia at a great diſtance from the corps commanded by theſe generals; and as he ſeemed diſpoſed to march towards Egra, the enemy imagined he intended to execute ſome deſign diſtinct from the object of his other armies. With this idea they detached a body of 20,000 men to obſerve his motions. The King of Pruſſia finding that this feint had all its effect, made a ſudden and maſterly movement to his left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Auſtrians. Spirited with this advantage, he puſhed onwards with the utmoſt rapidity to Prague, where he joined the corps under the Prince of Bevern and M. Schwerin, who had advanced with inconceivable diligence to meet him. Never were operations executed with more judgment, celerity and ſucceſs.

The Auſtrian army was little ſhort of 100,000 men, and the ſituation of their camp, fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, ſuch as on common occaſions might juſtly be conſidered as impregnable; but the Pruſſians, being nearly as numerous as the enemy, inſpired by a ſociety of danger with their King, and filled with that noble enthuſiaſm, which, whilſt it urges to daring enterpriſes, almoſt enſures their ſucceſs, paſſed moraſſes, climbed precipices, faced batteries, and after a bloody and obſtinate reſiſtance, totally defeated the Auſtrians. They took their camp, military cheſt, cannon, all the trophies of a complete victory. The loſs on the ſide of the victor, as well as the vanquiſhed, was very great; but both ſides had yet a greater loſs in the death of two of the beſt generals in Europe. M. Schwerin was killed at the age of eighty-two with the colonel's ſtandard in his hand at the head of his regiment. M. Brown received a wound, which, from the chagrin he ſuffered rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. May 6.

About

About 40,000 of the Auſtrian army took refuge in Prague. The reſt fled different ways. The King of Pruſſia loſt no time to inveſt the place, and to cut off all ſuccours. If on one hand ſuch an immenſe garriſon made an attack unadviſeable, on the other that formidable number itſelf ſeemed to make the reduction of the place by famine the more certain. The King of Pruſſia not relying ſolely on this, prepared to bombard the town. On the 29th of May, at midnight, after a moſt dreadful ſtorm of rain and thunder, as if it were to diſplay how much more ruinous the malice of men may be, than the greateſt terrors of nature, on the ſignal of a rocket, four batteries, which diſcharged every twenty-four hours two hundred and eighty-eight bombs, beſides a vaſt multitude of red hot balls, began to pour deſtruction on that unfortunate city, which was ſoon in flames in every part. The garriſon made a vigorous defence, and one well conducted and deſperate ſally: but they were repulſed with great loſs. The principal magiſtrates, burghers, and clergy, ſeeing their city on the point of being reduced to an heap of rubbiſh, made the moſt moving ſupplications to the commander to liſten to terms. The commander was deaf to their prayers. Twelve thouſand of the moſt uſeleſs mouths were driven out of the city. The Pruſſians forced them in again. The affairs of the Empreſs ſeemed verging to inevitable deſtruction; a whole army was upon the point of ſurrendering priſoners of war; the capital of Bohemia on the point of being taken, and with it all the reſt of that flouriſhing kingdom. The ſanguine friends of the King of Pruſſia began to compute the diſtance to Vienna.

In this deſperate ſituation of affairs, Leopold Count Daun entered on the ſtage, and began to turn the fortune of the war. This general never had commanded in chief before; but he was formed, by a long courſe of experience in various parts of Europe, under the greateſt generals, and in the moſt illuſtrious ſcenes of action. Though of a very noble family, he had without the leaſt aſſiſtance from court favour, riſen inſenſibly by the ſlow gradation of mere merit, with much eſteem and without any noiſe. This general arrived within a few miles of Prague, the day after the great battle. He collected the fugitive parties of the Auſtrian army, and retired to a poſt of great ſtrength, from whence he fed the troops in Prague with hopes of relief. But as no man better underſtood the ſuperiority of the Pruſſian troops, and as he was ſenſible of the impreſſion which the late defeat had left upon his men, he carefully avoided to precipitate matters by an haſty action. He knew that the ſituation he had choſen would embarraſs the Pruſſians; that a large party of their army muſt be always employed to watch him; that this would weaken their efforts againſt the great body ſhut up in Prague, whilſt his own forces gained time to recover their ſpirits, and to increaſe in ſtrength by the daily ſuccours, which his court exerted all their powers to ſend him: with theſe ideas he waited in his entrenched camp at Colin, to act as events ſhould direct.

The King of Pruſſia was not leſs ſenſible than Count Daun of the effect of this conduct. He determined at all adventures to diſlodge him from the poſt he held; but whether it was that the King feared to weaken his army, which had actually an

army to beſiege, or whether he was blinded by a train of uniform ſucceſs, which made him believe his arms irreſiſtible under every diſadvantage, or whatever were his motives or neceſſities, the whole army employed in this undertaking, including the Prince of Bevern's corps, did not exceed 32,000 men, cavalry and infantry; and with theſe he was to attack 60,000 men, in one of the ſtrongſt ſituations which could be choſen, and defended by a vaſt train of artillery. Whatever the moſt impetuous and well regulated courage, whatever an order inſpired by the remembrance of ſo many victories could do towards overcoming every kind of diſadvantage, was done by the Pruſſians on this occaſion. They returned to the attack ſeven times: in none of their victorious battles had their bravery been more conſpicuous. Both the King's brothers were in the field; and they did every thing that could be expected from the King of Pruſſia's brothers. The King himſelf at the head of his cavalry, made one furious and concluding charge. Every thing was tried, and every thing was unſucceſsful. The want of a ſufficiently numerous infantry, in a ground where his cavalry could not ſupport them, the want of an equal artillery, the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, their numbers, their bravery, their general, obliged the King of Pruſſia to quit the field. What his loſs was is not ſo certain; it was undoubtedly great in the action, but ſtill greater by deſertions, and the innumerable ill conſequences that follow a defeat.

June 18.

Though the King of Pruſſia was defeated in this battle, and tho' he brought on his defeat, in a great meaſure, by ſome errors of his own, yet whatever ſmall blemiſh his military ſkill might have ſuffered, his reputation was raiſed higher than ever, in the opinion of all judicious men, by the noble and candid manner in which he acknowledged his miſtake, by the firmneſs with which he bore his misfortune, and by thoſe aſtoniſhing ſtrokes of genius and heroiſm, by which he retrieved his loſs. The ſmiles of fortune makes conquerors; it is her malice which diſcovers heroes.

CHAP. IV.

Conſequence of the battle of Colin. King of Pruſſia evacuates Bohemia. Battle of Haſtenbeck. Convention of Cloſter-ſeven. Expedition to Rochfort. Ruſſians enter Pruſſia. Auſtrians beſiege Schweidnitz. French and Imperialiſts make incurſions into Brandenburg. Swedes enter Pomerania. Battle of Norkitten. General Lehwald defeated. Bad condition of the King of Pruſſia.

NEVER was the old obſervation *une bataille perdue a un mauvais cu*, more verified than in the conſequences of the unfortunate battle of Colin. Though the King retired unpurſued by his enemies, he was obliged to rejoin his own army before Prague without delay, and to raiſe the blockade of that place. The impriſoned Auſtrians with joy received Count Daun their deliverer, and their united forces became greatly ſuperior to the Pruſſians. The King was in a ſhort time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony. The

Auſtrians harraſſed him as much as poſſible; but their armies, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority, were not in a condition from their late ſufferings to make any deciſive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with ſituations eaſily defended.

The King of Pruſſia's misfortunes now poured in upon him at once, and from every quarter. The army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, who continually retired before the French, after they had paſſed the Weſer, came however to a reſolution to make a ſtand at Haſtenbeck, where it was judged that the ſuperior numbers of the enemy might be the leaſt prejudicial; but notwithſtanding the advantages of the ſituation, the bravery of the Hanoverians, and the conduct of the D. the allied army was driven from the field of battle and retreated towards Stade. By taking this route his Royal Highneſs was driven into a ſort of *cul de ſac*. Unable by his ſituation to retire, or by his ſtrength to advance, he was compelled to ſign the remarkable capitulation of Cloſterſeven, by which 38000 Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment. The French army had a little before this changed its commander. D'Etrees, the favourite of all the military men, was removed from the command, which was conferred on the Duke de Richelieu, who excelled him and all mankind in the profeſſion of a courtier. The Hanoverians were now quite ſubdued, and all the French force let looſe by this treaty, was ready to fall upon the King of Pruſſia's dominions.

July 25.

Sept. 8.

Aug. 6.

An enterprize was concerted in England againſt the coaſt of France, to make a diverſion in his favour, by drawing a part of the French army to the defence of their own country, England propoſed to compaſs another great deſign, and which ſhe had equally at heart, by the expedition, which was to give an effectual blow to the marine of France. The deſtination of this armament was kept a profound ſecret, and whilſt it exerciſed the penetration of all the politicians in Europe, it filled France with the moſt ſerious alarms. The Engliſh fleet at laſt appeared before Rochfort. Some time was ſpent before it could be reſolved what plan was to be followed in the attack: at laſt it was reſolved to ſecure the ſmall iſle of Aix, from whence ſome obſtruction was apprehended to their landing. The iſland was ſoon reduced; but as a good deal of time was conſumed in theſe deliberations and actions, the militia of the country had time to gather, and there was an appearance of two camps on the ſhore. The commanders now took into conſideration the badneſs of the coaſt, the danger of landing, the time the enemy had to put the place in ſuch a poſture of defence, as might make any ſudden attempt, or *coup du main*, unſucceſsful: in conſequence of theſe deliberations, they unanimouſly reſolved to return without making any attempt. The diſappointment of the nation was equal to the ſanguine hopes we had conceived; nothing could exceed the general diſcontent. The military men blamed the plan of the expedition. The miniſters, and with them the public voice, exclaimed at the execution. A *court of enquiry*, of officers of reputation, cenſured the commander; a *court martial*, of officers of reputation,

Sep. 21.

Sep. 29.

acquitted him. The expedition ſerved only in England to increaſe and imbitter our diſſenſions, and to turn our attention to vain diſputes. It did nothing towards relieving the King of Pruſſia.

The Ruſſians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and ſeemed uncertain of their own reſolutions, all at once haſtened their motions. They entered the Ducal Pruſſia under M. Apraxin and General Fermer, and marked their progreſs by a thouſand inhuman cruelties. A large body of Auſtrians entered Sileſia and penetrated as far as Breſlau. Then they made a turn backwards, and laid ſiege to the important fortreſs of Schweidnitz, juſtly conſidered as the key of that dutchy, which was the cauſe of the war. Another body entered Luſatia, and made themſelves maſters of Zittau. Twenty-two thouſand Swedes pierced into the Pruſſian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and laid the whole country under contribution. Richelieu, freed from all oppoſition on the ſide of Hanover, made his way into Halberſtad, and the old Marche of Brandenburg, firſt exacting contributions, and then plundering the towns. The army of the Empire, reinforced by that of Prince de Soubiſe, after many delays, was at laſt on full march to enter Saxony; this left the Auſtrians at liberty to turn the greateſt part of their forces to the reduction of Sileſia. General Haddick pierced through Luſatia, paſſed by the Pruſſian armies, and ſuddenly preſenting himſelf before the gates of Berlin, laid the King of Pruſſia's capital under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Pruſſians, yet he ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his former poſt, in order to interrupt the communication of the King with Sileſia. The fate which ſeemed to have threatned the Empreſs ſome months ago, was now looked upon as the certain lot of her antagoniſt. All his endeavours to retrieve his affairs had hitherto been equally brave and unſucceſsful. General Lehwald had orders at any hazard to engage the Ruſſians: with thirty thouſand he attacked double that number ſtrongly entrenched, at a place called Norkitten; but after ſeveral of thoſe wonderful efforts which the Pruſſians alone know how to make, he was compelled to retire; but he retired in excellent order, without being purſued, having killed five times more of the enemy, than he had loſt of his own men, and more formidable after his defeat, than the Ruſſians after their victory. The King of Pruſſia exerted himſelf upon every ſide; his enemies almoſt always fled before him; but whilſt he purſued one body, another gained in ſome other part upon him, and the winter came on faſt, as his ſtrength decayed, and his adverſaries multiplied from every quarter. The following letter, which appeared in the public papers about this time, paints the condition of that diſtreſſed monarch, in ſo full a manner, that I ſhall attempt no other deſcription of it.

Aug. 30.

"Many perſons, who ſaw the King of Pruſſia, when he paſſed lately through Leipſic, cannot expreſs how much he is altered. They ſay he is ſo much worn away, that they ſcarce knew him. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at; he hath not a body of iron, like Charles XII. and he endures as great fatigues as he did. He is as much on horſeback as Charles was, and often

often lies upon the ground. His inward ſufferings cannot be leſs than his outward. Let us caſt our eyes on a map of the Pruſſian dominions; and meaſure what he hath left of the many fair poſſeſſions he had in the month of April laſt, of which a ſpace of ſeven months hath ſtript him. Whence can he have men? he is ſhut out from the Empire; and from whence can he draw money? the duchy of Guelders, the duchy of Cleves, the principality of Moers, the county of Lingen, the county of Lipſtad, the principality of Minden, Eaſt-Frieſland, Embden, and its infant company, part of the archbiſhoprick of Magdborgh, ſome other parts of the Marche, Ducal Pomerania, a great part of Sileſia, a great part of the kingdom of Pruſſia, Berlin itſelf, almoſt all his dominions, in ſhort, are either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and poſſeſſed by his enemies, who collect the public revenues, fatten on the contributions, and with the money which they draw from the electorate of Hanover, and other conqueſts, defray the expences of the war. This picture certainly differs greatly from that which the King of Pruſſia might have ſketched out, the day he took arms to enter Saxony. Add to this the Duke of Cumberland's convention, which deprived him of all his allies, and left him without any aſſiſtance whatever, excepting four or five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which the Britiſh parliament may give him. Add likewiſe ſome domeſtic uneaſineſſes."

CHAP. V.

Battle of Roſbach. Schweidnitz taken by the Auſtrians. Prince of Bevern attacked in his entrenchments. Breſlau taken by the Auſtrians. King of Pruſſia marches to Sileſia. The Battle of Liſſa. Breſlau retaken. Auſtrians driven out of Sileſia.

THIS was the King of Pruſſia's ſituation, when the will of Providence, and his own wonderful abilities, as wonderfully changed the ſcene. His majeſty deferred to bring on a deciſive action, diſtreſſed as his affairs were, until the approach of winter: had he marched to attack the Imperial army, whilſt it was at a conſiderable diſtance, he muſt either have left Saxony expoſed to the inſults of the Auſtrian parties, or have greatly weakened his own forces employed in the principal action. He therefore ſuffered the army of the Empire to advance to the frontiers of Miſnia, and even to threaten the ſiege of Leipſic, before he began to act againſt them; he however moved towards them, leaving an army in Luſatia to obſerve the Auſtrians. On his firſt motions, the enemy retired with precipitation. But when they had reinforced themſelves with numbers and courage ſufficient to perſuade them to advance, the King of Pruſſia in his turn retired. His reſolution ſeemed to have been to fight as near Miſnia as poſſible, and as deep in the winter as he conveniently might; for if he ſhould have the good fortune to ſucceed againſt the Imperial army, ſuch a blow at ſuch a ſeaſon, would effectually diſable them from acting any thing to his prejudice for that year at leaſt; but if, on the contrary, he ſhould fail, Saxony

was at hand, in which it would prove difficult for the enemy to make any impreſſion whilſt the winter continued. As for the time to be loſt by following this plan, and the advantage it would afford the Auſtrians in their deſigns on Sileſia, they were not to be compared with the advantages which the King received from it. He knew that Schweidnitz was ſtrong, and excellently provided; the Prince of Bevern was ſtrongly poſted near it to obſtruct the enemies operations; the winter would lean heavier on the beſiegers; and on the whole he had reaſon to truſt that his troops, animated by his own preſence and example, would prove far ſuperior to the enemy, in enduring all the hardſhips of a winter campaign.

After ſome time ſpent in various movements, between the allied army of the Imperialiſts and French on one ſide, and the Pruſſians on the other, the King reſolved to give battle to his enemies, who were now advanced to the confines of Miſnia. On the 24th of October, the King had taken his reſolution; at that time his army happened to be divided into ſeveral corps, ſome of them at a diſtance of no leſs than twenty leagues aſunder; yet ſuch were the ſpirit and excellent diſpoſition of the Pruſſians, that the junction of all theſe corps was fully effected on the 27th, and the King advanced towards the enemy. The enemy fell back at his approach, and repaſſed the Sala; they were followed cloſe.

Nov. 5. The two armies met near the village of Roſbach.

The united army, commanded by the Prince of Saxe Hilburghauſen and the Prince of Soubiſe, was 50,000 men compleat. But the troops of the Circles were new raiſed, and many of them not well affected to the ſervice, nor to their French allies. The Pruſſians did not amount to 25,000; but then they were Pruſſians, and led on by the King of Pruſſia. As ſoon as the armies were formed, and the battle going to begin, which was to decide the fate of ſo many nations, and to determine between force and virtue, the King of Pruſſia addreſſed his troops nearly in the following words:

'My dear friends, the hour is 'come, in which all that is, and 'all that ought to be dear to us, 'depends upon the ſwords which 'are now drawn for the battle. 'Time permits me to ſay but little; nor is there occaſion to ſay 'much. You know that there is 'no labour, no hunger, no cold, 'no watching, no danger, that I 'have not ſhared with you hitherto; and you now ſee me ready 'to lay down my life with you 'and for you. All I aſk is the 'ſame pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. And let me 'add, not as an incitement to your 'courage, but as a teſtimony of 'my own gratitude, that from 'this hour, until you go into 'quarters, your pay ſhall be double. Acquit yourſelves like men, 'and put your confidence in 'God.' The effect of this ſpeech was ſuch as cannot be deſcribed. The general emotion burſt in an univerſal ſhout, and the looks and demeanor of the men were animated to a ſort of heroic phrenſy. In this diſpoſition, which prognoſticated the ſucceſs, the engagement began.

In the beginning of the action the French cavalry came on with great ſpirit, but they were repulſed; ſome

ſome regiments having gained an eminence defended themſelves bravely, but in the end they were totally routed. The infantry, both French and Imperialiſts, made but a faint reſiſtance. The King of Pruſſia in perſon expoſed to the hotteſt fire, led on his troops; the enemy gave way in every part; they were ſeized with a panic, and fled in the utmoſt diſorder. They left 3000 men dead on the field of battle; 63 pieces of cannon, many colours. Eight French generals, 250 officers of different ranks, and 6000 private men were taken. Night alone ſaved from total deſtruction the ſcattered remains of an army, that in the morning was ſo numerous and ſo formidable.

I have not undertaken on this, nor ſhall I undertake upon any other occaſion, in theſe preliminary chapters, to enter into the detail of all the various manœuvres of every battle; they are matters little underſtood by, and little intereſting to, the generality of readers. Beſides the accounts are ſometimes inaccurate, and ſeldom or never conſiſtent with each other.

The glorious ſucceſs of the battle of Roſbach, was ſuch as hardly wanted to be improved; the enemy was left totally incapable of action. The king was ſet free on that ſide; but it was a freedom which gave him no reſpite from his labours; it only gave him an opportunity of undergoing new labours in another part. The Auſtrians had a vaſt force, and had now began to make a proportionable progreſs in Sileſia. The dependence which the King had upon the fidelity of his generals there, ſeemed ſhaken by ſomething which then appeared, and ſtill ſeems ambiguous in their conduct. The Auſtrians after a ſiege from the 27th of October to the 11th of November, carried on under infinite difficulties and with a prodigious loſs, had reduced Schweidnitz, and obliged the Pruſſian garriſon of 4000 men to ſurrender priſoners of war. Soon after as they had intelligence of the victory of Roſbach, and knew that the King of Pruſſia was on full march to the relief of Sileſia, the Auſtrians reſolved to loſe no time to attack the Prince of Bevern in his ſtrong camp under the walls of Breſlau. A treble ſuperiority incited them to this attempt. They attacked the Prince's army with great reſolution, and their attack was ſuſtained with amazing intrepidity. Nov. 22
The ſlaughter of the Auſtrians was prodigious. A great part of their army had retired from the field of battle, and the reſt were preparing to retire; when all at once the Pruſſian generals unexpectedly took the ſame reſolution. A part of their army had ſuffered a great deal in the engagement. They became apprehenſive of a total defeat in caſe their intrenchments ſhould be forced in any part. With theſe ideas they retreated from the ſtrong poſt they occupied, and retired behind the Oder. The Auſtrians returning, with aſtoniſhment ſaw themſelves maſters of the field of battle, which they had but juſt been obliged to relinquiſh. What is remarkable, and what gave riſe to many conjectures, the Prince of Bevern going to reconnoitre without eſcort, and attended only by a groom, was taken two days after the battle by an advanced party of Croats, a ſmall body of whom had croſſed the Oder.

This advantage, though dearly bought, was immediately followed with many others. Breſlau, the capital of Sileſia, imme- Nov. 24.

diately ſurrendered, where, as well as at Schweidnitz, they found vaſt ſtores of proviſion, ammunition, and money. All Sileſia was on the point of falling into their hands. Fortune ſeems every where to have thrown the King of Pruſſia's affairs into diſtraction, in order to raiſe, and as it were to round his glory in eſtabliſhing them; and to have been even ſo jealous of his honour as not to permit his own excellent generals and incomparable troops to triumph any where but in his own preſence.

The King immediately after the battle of Roſbach, with thoſe troops which he had a few days before collected from places an hundred miles diſtant from each other, began a march of upwards of two hundred more, and led them from engaging one ſuperior army, to engage another ſtill more ſuperior; from danger to hardſhip, and from hardſhip to renewed danger. In a moſt rapid march he paſſed through Thuringia, through Miſnia, through Luſatia, in ſpite of the efforts of the generals Haddick and Marſhal, who were poſted in Luſatia to obſtruct him; and entering Sileſia arrived the 2d of December at Parchwitz upon the Oder. Here he was joined by the Prince of Bevern's corps who croſſed that river to meet him.

About this time an incident happened which was very remarkable; one of thoſe agreeable adventures that relieve the mind amidſt the perpetual horror that attends a narrative of battles and bloodſhed. The garriſon of Schweidnitz had ſeen, with the greateſt reluctance, the capitulation which bound their hands from the ſervice of their King and country. Whilſt the Auſtrians were conducting them to priſon, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their maſter had gained at Roſbach; animated with this news, they unanimouſly roſe upon the eſcort which conducted them, and which happened not to be very ſtrong, and entirely diſperſed it. Thus freed, they marched on not very certain of their way, in hope to rejoin ſome corps of the Pruſſian troops. The ſame fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded by the King himſelf, which was haſtening to their relief. Great was the joy on both ſides at this unexpected meeting, for the priſoners had heard nothing of his majeſty's march. This little incident, whilſt it added a conſiderable ſtrength to the army, added likewiſe to its ſpirit, and ſeemed an happy omen of ſucceſs in the future engagement.

As his Pruſſian majeſty approached to Breſlau, the Auſtrians confiding in their ſuperiority, abandoned their ſtrong camp (the ſame which had been occupied by the Prince of Bevern) and reſolved to give the King battle. He was marching with the utmoſt diligence not to diſappoint them; and they met near the village of Leuthen. Dec. 5. The ground which the Auſtrians occupied was very advantageous, and every advantage of the ſituation was improved to the utmoſt, by the diligence and ſkill of Count Daun; who remembering that he was the only general who had ever carried the field from the King of Pruſſia, knew better than any body how difficult it was to obtain ſuch a victory. All the diſpoſitions were made accordingly; the ground they occupied was a plain, except that in ſome parts it had ſmall eminences; theſe they ſurrounded with artillery; the ground was alſo interſperſed with thickets, which

which they ſought to turn to their advantage. On their right and left were hills on which they planted batteries of cannon. The ground in their front was interſected by many cauſeways; and to make the whole more impracticable, the Auſtrians had felled a vaſt many trees, and ſcattered them in the way. The King of Pruſſia was not terrified with this ſituation, nor with the conſciouſneſs that above 70,000 excellent troops commanded by Count Daun were ſo poſted. The Pruſſians, who did not exceed, as it is ſaid, 36,000 men, attacked them with their uſual reſolution. It was almoſt impoſſible at the beginning of the engagement for the Pruſſian horſe to act, on account of the impediments we have juſt mentioned, but a moſt judicious diſpoſition of the king himſelf overcame that diſadvantage; he had in his firſt diſpoſitions placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreſeeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps de reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen; that general's horſe attacked the King's right wing with great fury; but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in diſorder. Then the King's flank well covered and ſupported was enabled to act with ſuch order and vigour, that the enemy's right was obliged to give way. The Pruſſian artillery, which was incomparably ſerved, and ſilenced that of the enemy, concurred to maintain the King's infantry, and to enable them to act in grounds where their horſe could give them but little aſſiſtance. The Auſtrians made a gallant reſiſtance during the whole battle. The panic of the enemy did not here, as at Roſbach, do half the buſineſs; every foot of ground was well diſputed. The Auſtrians rallied all their forces about Leuthen, which was defended upon all ſides with intrenchments and redoubts. After reiterated attacks made with the utmoſt impetuoſity, and ſuſtained with great firmneſs, the Pruſſians maſtered the poſt; then the Auſtrians fled on all parts; they were entirely routed. The King purſued them to Liſſa. 6000 of the Auſtrians were ſlain, 15,000 were made priſoners; and an immenſe artillery, upwards of 200 pieces of cannon were taken.

This great and deciſive action was fought on the very ſame day of the next month after the no leſs important and deciſive battle of Roſbach. The conſequences that followed the action of Leuthen, declared the entireneſs of the victory. Notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, the ſiege of Breſlau was immediately undertaken, and proſecuted with ſuch ſpirit, that by the 29th of December it ſurrendered; and with it ſurrendered the garriſon of 13,000 men priſoners of war; the blockade of Schweidnitz was formed as cloſely as the inclemency of the winter would permit; whilſt the Pruſſian parties not only repoſſeſſed thoſe parts of Sileſia which belonged to the King, but penetrating into the Auſtrian diviſion, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau and Tetſchen, and left to the Empreſs Queen, except a forlorn garriſon in Schweidnitz, no ſort of footing in that country, in which a few days before ſhe reckoned her dominion perfectly eſtabliſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Ruſſians and Swedes retire. Hanoverians reſume their Arms. Cruelty of the French. Condition of their army. Caſtle of Harbourg beſieged. Recapitulation of the events of the year 1757.

AS the misfortunes of his Pruſſian majeſty after the battle of Colin, came on him all at once, ſo his ſucceſſes after his victories at Roſbach and Liſſa, flowed upon him all at once likewiſe, and in a full tide. The Ruſſians, tho' they had repulſed General Lehwald, ſuffered ſo much in that action, and their barbarous method of making war had ſo deſtroyed the country, that they ſeemed to themſelves to have no way of ſafety left but in retiring out of the Pruſſian territories. This extraordinary retreat of ſo great an army, and ſo lately victorious, and ſtill poſſeſſed of a good ſeaport in the country, could ſcarcely be accounted for on thoſe motives we have aſſigned, and aſtoniſhed all Europe, whilſt it left General Lehwald at liberty to turn his arms into Pomerania againſt the Swedes. The Swedes on this occaſion did nothing worthy of their ancient military fame; but every where retiring, left the Pruſſians an eaſy conqueſt, not only of the Pruſſian but of every part of the Swediſh Pomerania, excepting the port of Stalſund; they left their allies of Mecklenbourg quite expoſed to all the reſentment of the King of Pruſſia, who chaſtiſed them with the moſt ſevere contributions and levies. The French who had been ravaging the Old Marche of Brandenburg, evacuated that country immediately after the battle of Roſbach. But one of the greateſt revolutions of fortune in the war, and one of the moſt glorious and important conſequences of that victory, was that the Hanoverian troops were enabled to reſume their arms.

From the moment the capitulation of Cloſter-ſeven was ſigned, the Duke de Richelieu, who came to the command only to reap the advantage, and ſully the honour of another's conqueſt, ſeemed to think of nothing but how to repair from the plunder of the unhappy Hanoverians, the fortune which he had ſhattered by a thouſand vices. The moſt exorbitant contributions were levied with the moſt inflexible ſeverity; every exaction which was ſubmitted to, only produced a new one ſtill more extravagant; and all the orderly methods of plunder did not exempt them from the pillage, licentiouſneſs and inſolence of the French ſoldiery. However, in juſtice to merit, we muſt except from this general charge the conduct of the Duke de Randan, governor of Hanover for the French; who ſaved the capital of the electorate from utter ruin by the ſtrictneſs of all his diſcipline, by the prudence, the juſtice and moderation of all his conduct, a conduct which does more real honour to his name than the moſt ſplendid victories.

The Duke de Richelieu's rapaciouſneſs and oppreſſion, whilſt they leaned ſo heavily on the conquered people, did the conquering army no kind of ſervice. Intent only on plunder, which he did not confine to the enemy, he relaxed every part of military diſcipline; and that numerous army which M. d'Etrees had

had ſuſtained, and brought in health and ſpirits through the diſmal deſarts of Weſtphalia, under all the oppoſition of a ſkilful adverſary, were now, in full peace, in the quiet poſſeſſion of a conquered and plentiful country, reduced in their numbers, decayed in their health and their ſpirits, without cloaths, without ſubſiſtence, without order, without arms. In this condition they began at laſt to perceive that the Hanoverians, with the yoke of the capitulation about their necks, were ſtill formidable. As they had broke almoſt every article of that treaty, they made no ſcruple to add another breach in order to ſecure them in all the reſt. They attempted actually to take their arms from the Hanoverian and Heſſian troops. Theſe gallant troops, who had with a ſilent grief and indignation ſeen the diſtreſſes of their ruined country, were raviſhed to find that the victory at Roſbach encouraged their ſovereign to reſent at laſt this and all the other indignities they had ſuffered. They began to collect and to act, and under the command of the gallant Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, reinforced with a body of Pruſſian troops, they broke from their confinement. They reduced the town of Harbourg, and laid cloſe ſiege to the caſtle, which it muſt be owned was defended very bravely. In all other reſpects the French did not ſeem in a condition to maintain their ground any where. Thoſe troops, which a few months before had ſo ſubmitted as to make it neceſſary to declare that they were *not priſoners of war* in order to explain their condition, were now on the point of puſhing their adverſaries to almoſt the ſame ſtreights. Such was the force of French military diſcipline, and ſuch the triumphs of Voltaire's hero.

The King of Pruſſia now ſaw the full effect of his counſels and his labours. His dominions were freed; his allies were enabled to aſſiſt him; and his enemies defeated, broken, and flying every where before him. In what light poſterity will view theſe things is uncertain; we, under whoſe eyes, as we may ſay, they were atchieved, ſcarely believed what we had ſeen. And perhaps in all the records of time, the compaſs of a ſingle year, on the ſcene of a ſingle country, never contained ſo many ſtriking events, never diſplayed ſo many revolutions of fortune; revolutions not only beyond what might have been expected, but far beyond what the moſt ſagacious foreſight, reaſoning from experience, and the nature of things, could poſſibly have imagined. The King of Pruſſia at firſt triumphant; the whole power of the Auſtrians totally defeated; their hopes utterly ruined: then their affairs ſuddenly reeſtabliſhed, their armies victorious, and the King of Pruſſia in his turn hurled down; defeated; abandoned by his allies; ſurrounded by his enemies; on the very edge of deſpair: then all at once raiſed beyond all hope, he ſees the united Auſtrian, Imperial, and French power levelled with the ground. 40,000 Hanoverians, a whole army, ſubmit to 80,000 French, and are only *not* priſoners of war. The French are peaceable maſters of all the country between the Weſer and the Elbe; anon, theſe ſubdued Hanoverians reſume their arms; they recover their country, and the French in a little time think themſelves not ſecure to the eaſtward of the Rhine. 400,000 men in action. Six pitched battles fought. Three great armies annihilated. The French army reduced and vanquiſhed

ed without fighting. The Ruſſians victorious, and flying as if they had been vanquiſhed. A confederacy, not of ſmaller potentates to humble one great power, but of five the greateſt powers on earth to reduce one ſmall potentate: all the force of theſe powers exerted and baffled. It happened as we have related; and it is not the hiſtory of a century, but of a ſingle campaign.

CHAP. VII.

Preparations for an expedition to Louiſbourg. Laid aſide. Fort William-Henry taken. Exploits of Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive in India. Chandenagore a French fort taken. Victory over the Nabob. Nabob taken and beheaded. Revolution in Bengal. Treaty advantageous to the Eaſt-India company. Admiral Watſon dies.

WITH regard to the part we had in the tranſactions of this year, though it was not ſo full of ſtriking events, nor does it afford ſuch a ſplendid ſubject for narrative, yet it is intereſting to an Engliſh reader, and may perhaps prove more inſtructive; as it ſhews us in ſo ſtrong a light, the miſerable conſequences of our political diviſions, which produced a general unſteadineſs in all our purſuits, and infuſed a languor and inactivity into all our military operations. For, whilſt our commanders abroad knew not who were to reward their ſervices or puniſh their neglects, and were not aſſured in what light even the beſt of their actions would be conſidered, (having reaſon to apprehend that they might not be judged of as they were in themſelves, but as their appearances might anſwer the end of ſome ruling faction;) they naturally wanted that firmneſs and that enterpriſing reſolution, without which the beſt capacity, and intentions the moſt honeſt, can do nothing in war. The attachment of moſt men to their parties, weakened their affection to their country. It has been imagined that miniſters did not always wiſh ſucceſs even to their own ſchemes, leſt obnoxious men ſhould acquire credit by the execution of them; as it was ſuſpected that officers even at the expence of their own reputation did not exert their faculties to the utmoſt, leſt a diſagreeable miniſterial ſyſtem ſhould eſtabliſh the credit of its counſels by the vigour of their operations. For my own part, I think that theſe refinements, in which there is often as much malice diſcovered as penetration, have carried the matter infinitely too far. But certain it is, that the ſpirit of perſonal parties and attachments, never carried to greater lengths than at that time, proved of very bad conſequence, if it had no other effect than to raiſe and to give a colour to ſuch ſuſpicions as we have juſt mentioned. Whatever was the cauſe, it is moſt certain, that our ſucceſs in America this year, no more anſwered to the greatneſs of our preparations and our hopes than it did in the two preceding.

The attack upon Crown Point, which had been a principal object of our attention in the beginning, ſeemed at this time to be laid aſide; and an expedition to Louiſbourg, undoubtedly a more conſiderable object in itſelf, ſupplied its place. Lord Loudon was to command the land

land forces in this expedition; Admiral Holborne the navy. The former left New York with a
July 9. body of 6000 men, and ſailed to Halifax, where he was joined by the latter, who had ſailed from Corke on the 7th of May with a conſiderable fleet, and much the ſame number of land forces, which his lordſhip had brought from New York. When the united armies and fleets were on the point of departing for Louiſbourg, news arrived at Halifax, that the Breſt fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips of the line beſides frigates, with great ſupplies of military ſtores, proviſions, and men, were arrived at the harbour which they were preparing to attack. This news immediately ſuſpended their preparations. Councils of war were held one after another. The reſult of the whole was, that as the place was ſo well reinforced, the fleet of the French rather ſuperior to our navy, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, it was the more prudent courſe to defer the enterprize to a more favourable opportunity. This reſolution ſeems to have been the moſt eligible in their circumſtances, becauſe the council of war was almoſt unanimous in it.

Lord Loudon returned to New York, and the admiral now freed from the care of the tranſports ſet ſail for Louiſbourg, in hopes as it was ſaid, of drawing the French fleet to an engagement. But upon what grounds this hope was conceived, I confeſs I cannot ſee; as it could not be imagined, that the French fleet, having no ſort of occaſion to fight in order to protect Louiſbourg, would chuſe out of a bravado to bring on an unneceſſary battle. However it was, the Engliſh ſquadron continued to cruiſe off that harbour until the 25th of September, when they were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm, in which one of our ſhips was loſt, eleven diſmaſted, and the reſt returned to England in a very ſhattered condition. This was the end of the expedition to Louiſbourg, from which ſo much was expected. But it was not the worſt conſequence which attended it.

Since Oſwego had been taken, the French remained entirely maſters of all the lakes, and we could do nothing to obſtruct their collecting the Indians from all parts, and obliging them to act in their favour. But our apprehenſions, (or what ſhall they be called?) did more in favour of the French than their conqueſts. Not ſatisfied with the loſs of that important fortreſs, we ourſelves abandoned to the mercy of the enemy all the country of the Five nations, the only body of Indians who preſerved even the appearance of friendſhip to us. The forts we had at the Great Carrying Place were demoliſhed; Wood Creek was induſtriouſly ſtopped up and filled with logs; by which it became evident to all thoſe who knew that country, that our communication with our allied Indians was totally cut off; and what was worſe, our whole frontier left perfectly uncovered to the irruption of the enemies ſavages, who ſoon availed themſelves of our errors. For after the removal of theſe barriers, and the taking of Fort William-Henry, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, they deſtroyed with fire and ſword the fine ſettlements which we poſſeſſed on the Mohawks river, and on thoſe grounds called the German flats. Thus with a vaſt increaſe of our forces, and the cleareſt ſuperiority over the enemy, we only abandoned our allies, expoſed our people, and relinquiſhed a large and valuable tract of country. The French ſoon made

made us feel effectually the want of what we had loſt, and what we had thrown away.

A conſiderable fort called Fort William-Henry, had been built on the ſouthern edge of the Lake George, in order to command that lake and to cover our frontiers; a garriſon of 2500 men defended it, General Webb with about 4000 men was poſted at no great diſtance. No ſooner had the French learned that my Lord Loudon with the body of the army was gone on the Louiſbourg expedition, than they prepared to take advantage of his abſence. They drew together all the forces which they had at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent poſts; they added a conſiderable body of Canadians, and a greater number of Indians than they had ever yet employed; the whole made near 8000 men. With theſe and a very good artillery, Monſieur Montcalm prepared to beſiege Fort William-Henry. It is ſaid that the advances of this commander were not made with ſo much ſecrecy as to prevent General Webb from having early intelligence of his motions; but unfortunately no credit being given to this intelligence, orders were not ſent to collect the militia in ſufficient time, which in conjunction with his own forces, and with thoſe in the fort, had either obliged the French to relinquiſh their attempt, or to have made it a very great hazard.

Aug. 3. But the ſiege being now regularly formed, and the beſiegers meeting but little oppoſition from within, and no diſturbance at all from without, the place 9th. was in ſix days ſurrendered by the advice of General Webb; whoſe intercepted letter M. Montcalm ſent into the fort.

The garriſon marched out with their arms, and engaged not to ſerve during eighteen months. The French ſavages paid no regard to the capitulation, but falling upon our menas they marched out dragged away the little effects they had left, hauling the Indians and Blacks in our ſervice out of their ranks, ſcalping ſome, carrying off others, and committing a thouſand outrages and barbarities, from which the French commander endeavoured in vain to reſtrain them. All this was ſuffered by 2000 men with arms in their hands, from a diſorderly crew of ſavages. However the greateſt part of our men, though in a bad condition, got to Fort Edward, ſome by flight; ſome having ſurrendered themſelves to the French, were by them ſent home ſafe. The enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the proviſion, ammunition, artillery, and the veſſels which we had prepared on the lake, and departed without attempting any thing further. Neither was any thing further attempted on our ſide. And thus was finiſhed the third campaign in North America, where we had actually near 20,000 regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a great naval power of upwards of twenty ſhips of the line.

A war between the maritime powers is felt in all parts of the world. Not content with inflaming Europe and America, the diſſenſions of the French and Engliſh purſued the tracks of their commerce, and the Ganges felt the fatal effects of a quarrel on the Ohio. But here the ſcene is changed greatly to the advantage of our nation; the bravery of Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, re-eſtabliſhed the military honour of the Engliſh, which was ſinking there as it had done in all other places. Admiral Watſon with

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no more than three ſhips of the line, ſailed from Madraſs, and after a tedious voyage arrived at the port of Balaſore in the kingdom of Dec. 5. Bengal, where ſtrengthening his force with what recruits he could draw together, he entered the Ganges, and after a ſhort reſiſtance made himſelf maſter of Buſbudgia- fort, which commanded Jan. 30. that part of the river. This opened him a paſſage to the fort of Calcutta, the late principal ſettlement of the company of Bengal, and the ſcene of the deplorable ſufferings of ſo many of our unfortunate countrymen. Animated with revenge at the affecting ſight of this place, our ſhips and land forces attacked it with ſo much ſpirit, that the Indians ſurrendered it on the ſame day it was approached. A few days after Hugly, ſituated higher up on the Ganges, was reduced with as little difficulty.

The Nabob, who ſaw that the torrent of the Engliſh valour could not be reſiſted by ſuch feeble dams as forts defended by Indians, drew down a whole army conſiſting of 10,000 horſe, and 12,000 foot, to drive them from their conqueſts. Infinitely inferior as our troops were Feb. 5. in number, they did not heſitate to attack the Nabob's army. Though our forces did not entirely rout the Indians, yet they made a great ſlaughter amongſt them; and they had ſo much 9th. the advantage of the field, that the Nabob was in a ſhort time glad to conclude a treaty of peace, by which the Engliſh Eaſt India company was re-eſtabliſhed in all its ancient privileges; an immunity from all taxes was granted, and a reſtitution promiſed for all that the trade had ſuffered in the taking of Calcutta.

When all obſtructions on the ſide of the Indians was removed, and the company's officers had taken poſſeſſion of their ancient eſtabliſhments, the admiral turned his arms againſt the French. He reſolved to attack Chandenagore, ſituated ſomewhat higher on the river than Calcutta; a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and the principal ſettlement of the French in that part in the Eaſt Indies. In this expedition Colonel Clive commanded 700 Europeans, and 1600 Black ſoldiers. The admirals Watſon and Pocock commanded the fleet, if it may be called a fleet, which conſiſted of no more than three ſhips of the line, the Kent, the Tyger, and the Saliſbury. The French prepared in the beſt manner they could to receive them, and ſunk ſeveral large veſſels both above and below their fort; but the admiral having by carefully ſounding, found a ſafe paſſage without being driven to the neceſſity of weighing up any of the ſhips, made ſo ſevere a fire upon the fort, in which he was ſeconded by Colonel Clive's batteries on the Mar. 24. ſhore, that the place capitulated in leſs than three hours, 500 Europeans, and 700 Blacks ſurrendered priſoners of war; 183 pieces of cannon were found in the place, beſides a conſiderable value in goods and money. Four forts coſt our troops no more than four days to reduce them.

The judicious timing of theſe ſeveral operations, as well as thoſe which followed, was not leſs laudable than the gallant ſpirit with which they were executed. Before the French were alarmed, care was taken to repoſſeſs all the poſts we formerly held; to humble the Nabob by ſome effectual blow; and by a treaty to tie up his hands from acting

acting againſt us. This Prince had ſhewed himſelf from the moment of his ſigning that treaty, very little inclined to abide by the ſtipulations he had made. He indeed promiſed abundantly, but always deferred the performance upon ſuch frivolous pretences, as evidently demonſtrated his ill intentions. The Engliſh commanders underſtood this proceeding perfectly well; but they reſolved to diſſemble their ſenſe of it, until they had broken the French power in this province, which they had greater reaſon to dread, ſmall as it was, than all the armies of the Nabob. When they had fully accompliſhed this by the taking of Chandenagore, they deliberated whether they ought not to recommence hoſtilities with the Indians. A reſolution in the affirmative had been attended with great difficulty and danger, if a moſt fortunate incident had not helped to enſure ſucceſs.

The Nabob Suraja Doula, the ſame who had the laſt year taken Calcutta, had ſhewn to his own ſubjects the ſame violent and perfidious ſpirit, which formerly and ſtill diſtreſſed the Engliſh His generals were moſtly diſcontented, and ſome of them entered into a conſpiracy againſt him. Jaffier Ali Cawn, one of his principal officers, a man of great power and intereſt, was at the head of this conſpiracy. As ſoon as their deſigns were ripened, they communicated them to the Engliſh government in Calcutta, praying their aſſiſtance. The chiefs there did not heſitate long what party they ſhould take; they entered into a treaty with Jaffier Ali Cawn and the conſpirators; and in conſequence of this treaty, our troops immediately took the field under Colonel Clive. The admiral undertook to garriſon the fort of Chandenagore with his ſeamen, in order to leave the greater number of land forces for the expedition. A detachment of fifty ſeamen with their officers were added to ſerve as gunners. A 20 gun ſhip was ſtationed above Hugly, in order to preſerve a communication between Colonel Clive and the admiral.

Their preliminary meaſures being thus judiciouſly taken, they advanced up the river, and in a few days brought the Nabob's army of about 20,000 men, excluſive of thoſe who favoured the conſpirators, to an action, which was deciſive in favour of the Engliſh. June 22. Two conſiderable bodies commanded by Jaffier and Roy Dolub remained inactive in the engagement. The Nabob ſeeing himſelf ruined by the treachery of his officers, and the cowardice of his troops, fled with the few who continued faithful to him.

Jaffier Ali Cawn now declared himſelf openly; and 26th. entering Muxadavat the capital of the province with an army of his friends and victorious allies, he was placed by Colonel Clive in the ancient ſeat of the Nabobs, and received the homage of all ranks of people as Suba of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. The depoſed Nabob was ſoon after made priſoner, and put to death in his priſon by the conqueror. In about thirteen days this great revolution was accompliſhed, and with leſs force and trouble than often is required to take a petty village in Germany, was transferred the government of a vaſt kingdom, yielding in its dimenſions to few in Europe, but to none in the fertility of its ſoil, the number of its inhabitants, and the richneſs of its commerce. By the alliance with the new Nabob, and by the reduction of Chandenagore, the French were entirely driven out

of Bengal and all its dependencies. This was one of the articles of the treaty. By the other articles, a perpetual alliance offenſive and defenſive was made between the parties. The territories of the company were enlarged, and upwards of two millions ſterling was ſtipulated to be paid as an indemnification to the Eaſt-India company, and the ſufferers in the taking of Calcutta. The new Nabob full of gratitude to thoſe to whom he owed his dignity, gave beſides the above large ſums about 600,000 pounds, as a gratuity to the ſea ſquadron and the troops. However ſhort of expectation our enterpriſes in America fell this year, thoſe in the Eaſt-Indies greatly exceeded every thing we could hope from the forces which were employed. And it may be doubted whether all the great powers engaged in the preſent bloody wars in Europe, in which ſuch torrents of blood are ſpilled, and ſo many millions of treaſure are waſted, will in the concluſion reap amongſt them ſo much ſolid profit as the Engliſh Eaſt-India company did with an handful of men in a ſhort campaign. The joy of the nation at theſe ſignal ſucceſſes, was not a little damped by the death of Admiral Watſon, who loſt his life by the unwholeſomeneſs of the country, in which he had eſtabliſhed a great and laſting reputation. Colonel Clive ſtill lives to enjoy the fortune and honour he has acquired by his gallant actions. Aug. 16.

CHAP. VIII.

French retire out of Hanover. The taking of Hoya. Minden taken. Diſtreſs of the French. Generoſity of the Duke de Randan. The French retire beyond the Rhine. Recovery of Embden by Commodore Holmes.

1758. ALL the bloodſhed of the laſt campaign in Germany, and thoſe loſſes which both the victorious and vanquiſhed felt ſo very ſeverely, produced no overtures towards peace from any of the powers at war. And perhaps nothing ſo ſingular ever happened, as that ſo many ſtates, united, if not againſt their real intereſts, yet againſt all their former habits of connection, full of ſo many occaſions of jealouſy, abounding with matter of complaint againſt each other, and even involved in misfortunes which uſually deſtroy a mutual confidence, that not one of theſe powers either from fear, or hope, or wearineſs, or levity, deſiſted from their hoſtilities againſt the King of Pruſſia; nor did that monarch acquire one ally more by the admiration of his ſucceſſes, than he had formerly gained thro' compaſſion to his misfortunes. All the confederates preſerved the ſame attachment to each other, to him the ſame animoſity. It is equally a matter of great admiration, how the reſources even of theſe great ſtates, could keep pace with their ambition, and in a few months ſupply the place of great armies almoſt wholly deſtroyed. The King of Pruſſia by his victories had added to his natural reſources. The reſources were more conſiderable than is commonly imagined; and the poſſeſſion of Saxony which yielded him great ſupplies, ſaved his own revenue. He was indeed not quite ſo freſh as at the beginning of the war; but then the condition of the enemy was

in many reſpects far worſe than his. His troops had beſides acquired a high reputation and a clear ſuperiority over all others. The conſideration, however, of an army greatly haraſſed, and a moſt ſevere winter, obliged him to reſtrain his ardor, and to attempt nothing againſt the Auſtrians in the months of January, February, and March. The ſame inaction, owing to much the ſame cauſes, prevailed amongſt the Hanoverians for a little time: but having been reinforced about the middle of February by a body of Pruſſian horſe, they put their whole army once more in motion.

The Duke de Richelieu had been recalled, and the Count of Clermont now commanded the French troops. This was their third commander in chief within the ſpace of a year; a circumſtance alone ſufficient to ſhew the unſteadineſs of their councils, and the irregularity of their operations. In effect, they every where retreated before the Hanoverians, whoſe main body marched on the right to the country of Bremen; whilſt a ſecond body under General Zaſtrow kept on the left towards Gifforn. They puſhed the French from poſt to poſt. They obliged them to evacuate Otterſberg, Bremen, and Werden. The caſtle of Rotterſberg was taken in ſix hours. A conſiderable detachment under Count Chabot was poſted at Hoya, a ſtrong fort upon the Weſer, and a place of ſuch conſequence that Prince Ferdinand reſolved to diſlodge the enemy from it. He appointed for that ſervice the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick, with four battalions of foot and ſome light horſe. This Prince, not twenty years of age, had already entered into the courſe of glory under the auſpices of his uncle, and full of ardor to ſignalize himſelf, with joy embraced the occaſion: and here he gave an earneſt of his fame, in one of the moſt lively and beſt conducted actions in the war. The firſt fruits of this young hero were ſuch as would have done honour to the maturity of the moſt experienced ſoldier.

The Prince had a broad and deep river to paſs. He had no means of tranſporting his Feb. 23. men, but a ſingle float; ſo that a long time muſt be ſpent in getting them over; what was worſe, before half his troops were paſſed, a ſtrong wind aroſe, which rendered the float unſerviceable, and entirely cut off all communication between the Prince and the moſt conſiderable number of his party, whilſt the party he was going to attack was ſuperior to him, had his whole body been together. In this exigence the Prince came to a reſolution worthy of himſelf. He reſolved not to ſpend any time in attempts to bring over the reſt of his troops, much leſs to make any attempt to return to them; but to urge on boldly, in ſuch a manner as to poſſeſs the enemy with an opinion of his ſtrength, and to attack them briſkly before they could be undeceived. Therefore, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, they marched with the utmoſt ſpeed directly to the town of Hoya. When they were approached within a mile and a half of the place, another accident was on the point of defeating the whole enterpriſe. Their detachment fired by miſtake upon four of the enemies dragoons, who were patrolling; the firing was caught from one to another, and at laſt became general. This ſeemed more than enough to diſcover their motions, and alarm the enemy. But the ſame ſpirit influenced the conduct

duct of every part of this affair: a bold countenance became neceſſary, and it was aſſumed; they marched with the utmoſt diligence to the town, and encountered the enemy at the bridge; a fierce fire, well ſupported on either ſide, enſued. The ground was ſuch, that the Prince could not bring up his whole detachment equally. Senſible of this diſadvantage, he formed a deſign to overcome it, as judicious as it was reſolute, which was to turn the enemy by attacking them in the rear; to execute this deſign, it was neceſſary to make a circuit about the town. Every thing ſucceeded: the attack on the enemies rear was made with bayonet fixed; a terrible ſlaughter enſued. The French abandoned the bridge, and fled in confuſion: the Prince having cleared the town of the enemy, joined the party he had left. The Count de Chabot threw himſelf with two battalions into the caſtle, with a reſolution to maintain himſelf there; but, in a little time, he capitulated, ſurrendering the place, his ſtores and magazines, his troops being permitted to march out. The Prince, who had no artillery, and who on account of the badneſs of the roads, deſpaired of bringing up heavy cannon, ſuffered them to depart. Six hundred and ſeventy men were made priſoners in the action, and a place of much importance, and which opened a paſſage over the Weſer, ſecured to the Hanoverians, with the loſs of leſs than 100 men killed and wounded. I have dwelt on this action, and deſcribed it as particularly as I could, though nothing deciſive in itſelf, becauſe it is not in pitched battles between great armies, where the moſt maſterly ſtrokes of conduct are always diſplayed; theſe leſſer affairs frequently call for as much or more of ſagacity, reſolution, and preſence of mind, in the commander; yet are they often ſlightly paſſed by, as matters of no conſequence, by the generality of people, who rather conſider the greatneſs of the event, than the ſpirit of the action.

Prince Ferdinand continued to advance with his right on one ſide of the Weſer, and his left on the other; the French continued to retire, and ſucceſſively abandoned all the places they had occupied in the electorate, except Minden. A garriſon of 4000 men defended that place; but it was cloſely inveſted, and in nine days the whole garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war. March 14. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties of the Hanoverian army and the French, always to the advantage of the former. The wretched condition of the French troops is hardly to be deſcribed or imagined: officers and ſoldiers involved in one common diſtreſs; the officers forgot their rank, and the ſoldiers their obedience; full hoſpitals and empty magazines; a rigorous ſeaſon, and bad covering; their baggage ſeized or abandoned, and the huſſars and hunters of the allied army continually haraſſing, pillaging, and cutting them off. It was no alleviation to their miſery, that the inhabitants of the country, which they abandoned, were reduced to the ſame extremities. The ſavage behaviour of ſome of their corps at their departure, took away all compaſſion from their ſufferings: but this was not univerſal. The Duke de Randan, who commanded in Hanover, quitted the place with the ſame virtue, that he had ſo

long held it. Reſentment had no more power to perſuade him to act with rigour, in the adverſe turn of the French affairs, than the pride of conqueſt had in their proſperity. When he had orders to evacuate the place, there were very conſiderable magazines of corn and forage, amaſſed for the uſe of the army; he had full time to burn them, and he had precedents enough to have juſtified the action; but he left the whole in the hands of the magiſtrates, to be gratuitouſly diſtributed to the poor: he employed all his vigilance to prevent the leaſt diſorder amongſt his troops, and was himſelf the laſt man that marched out of the town. This behaviour which did ſo much honour to his name and country, has made his memary for ever dear to the Hanoverians, drew tears of love and gratitude from his enemies, and acknowledgments from the generous Prince againſt whom he ſerved.

The French through extreme difficulties marched towards the Rhine in three columns. The ſeveral ſcattered bodies, which had united at Munſter, formed the right. The body which came from Paderborn, and which was commanded by the Prince of Clermont in perſon, marched in the middle. The forces which had occupied Heſſe, were on the left. In this order they reached the Rhine, which they all paſſed, except a body under Count Clermont, who ſtill remained at Weſel, and reſolved to maintain that poſt. The French army which about four months before had paſſed the Rhine in numbers, and in a condition to make the moſt powerful enemies tremble, without any adverſe ſtroke of war whatſoever, by a fate almoſt unparalleled, now repaſſed it like fugitives, in a condition the moſt deplorable, reduced to leſs than half their original number, and cloſely purſued by the enemy, which they had obliged to lay down their arms.

The ſame ill fortune, and the ſame deſpair of their affairs, followed them every where. On the arrival of a ſmall Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Commodore Holmes, before Embden, and their taking an advantageous ſituation, which cut off the communication between the town, and the mouth of the river Ems; the French garriſon, conſiſting of near 4000 men, immediately evacuated the place. As ſoon as Mr. Holmes diſcovered their deſign, and that they were tranſporting their artillery and baggage up the river, he ordered out a few armed boats to purſue them. Theſe took ſome of the enemies veſſels, in which were the ſon of an officer of diſtinction, and a conſiderable ſum of money. The Commodore without delay reſtored the ſon to his father, and offered to return the money, on receiving the officer's word of honour, that it was his private property. This affair is mentioned, not only to do juſtice to the judicious conduct by which a place of ſo much conſideration was ſo eaſily carried, but alſo to that generoſity of ſpirit, which ſo nobly diſtinguiſhes almoſt all thoſe, who hold any rank in our ſervice. March 18. 19.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Alterations in the French miniſtry. The ſtate of the Engliſh affairs in the year 1758. Subſidy treaty with the King of Pruſſia. Affairs of Sweden and Ruſſia. Schweidnitz taken. King of Pruſſia enters Moravia and inveſts Olmutz. Conduct of Count Daun. Attacks the Pruſſian convoy. Siege of Olmutz raiſed. King of Pruſſia marches into Bohemia.

WHILST the French arms ſuffered ſuch diſgraces abroad, they endeavoured by an alteration of their councils at home, to reſtore their credit. Their miniſters had been long the ſport of female caprice; it was their power of pleaſing a miſtreſs, who governed their king, that alone qualified them to ſerve their country. Some of the moſt able men were turned out of their employments with diſgrace; others retired from the public ſervice with indignation; a certain low character had for a long time appeared in all the proceedings of France, both within and without. Even in their domeſtic diſputes, and where ſomething of a free and manly ſpirit appeared, this ſpirit evaporated, and ſpent itſelf upon unworthy and deſpicable objects. Theſe conteſts, which involved the church, the law, and the crown, weakened them all; and the ſtate felt all the ill effects of a diſunion of its orders, without ſeeing an augmentation of power thrown into the ſcale of any. But now taught by their misfortunes and diſgraces, they were obliged to an alteration in their conduct: they were obliged to call men to the public ſervice upon public principles; at a time indeed, when in many reſpects things could only be altered, not mended; and wiſe and able miniſters could do little more by their penetration and public ſpirit, than to ſee and lament the ruin, cauſed by the want of thoſe virtues in their predeceſſors. The Duke de Belleiſle, known to all Europe for his great abilities, and his great exploits, was at length placed at the head of the military department, as ſecretary at war. There appeared in the common prints a ſpeech, ſaid to be made by that nobleman in council; which if it be not authentic, contains at leaſt ſuch ſentiments, as would come not unnaturally from a French patriot, and one who had ſerved his king and country with honour during better times.

" I know, ſaid he, the ſtate of " our armies. It gives me great " grief, and no leſs indignation; " for beſides the real evil of the " diſorder in itſelf, the diſgrace " and infamy which it reflects on " our government, and on the " whole nation, is ſtill more to be " apprehended. The choice of " officers ought to be made with " mature deliberation. I know " but too well to what length the " want of diſcipline, pillaging " and robbing have been carried " on by the officers and common " men, after the example ſet them " by their generals. It mortifies " me to think I am a Frenchman; " my principles are known to be " very different from thoſe which " are now followed. I had the " ſatisfaction to retain the eſteem, " the friendſhip, and the conſide- " ration, of all the princes, noble-

" men, and even of all the com-
" mon people, in all parts of Ger-
" many where I commanded the
" King's forces. They lived there
" in the midſt of abundance;
" every one was pleaſed: it fills my
" ſoul with anguiſh, to find that
" at preſent the French are held
" in execration; that every body
" is diſpirited, and that many of-
" ficers publicly ſay things that
" are criminal, and highly puniſh-
" able. The evil is ſo great that
" it demands immediate redreſs. I
" can eaſily judge, by what paſſes
" in my own breaſt, of what our
" generals feel from the ſpeeches
" they muſt daily hear in Germany,
" concerning our conduct; which
" indeed would loſe much to be
" compared with that of our allies.
" I muſt particularly complain of
" the delays and irregularity of the
" poſts; a ſervice which is very ill
" provided for. I am likewiſe diſ-
" pleaſed with the negligence of
" our generals in returning an-
" ſwers; which is a manifeſt breach
" of their duty. Had I com-
" manded the army, a thouſand
" things, which are done, would
" not have been done; and others,
" which are neglected, would have
" been executed. I would have
" multiplied my communications;
" I would have had ſtrong poſts
" on the right, on the left, and
" in the center, lined with troops.
" I would have had magazines in
" every place. The quiet and ſatiſ-
" faction of the country ſhould
" have been equal to their pre-
" ſent diſſatisfaction, at being ha-
" raſſed and plundered; and we
" ſhould have been as much be-
" loved, as we are at preſent ab-
" horred. The conſequences are
" too apparent to need being men-
" tioned. I muſt inſiſt on theſe
" things, becauſe late redreſs is
" better than the continuation of
" the evil."

M. de Belleiſle being eſtabliſhed in his office, turned all his attention to the cure of the evils, which he lamented, and exerted all the power that remained in the nation, to put their army in Germany once more upon a reſpectable footing. The expedition into Germany was originally a meaſure as contrary to the true intereſts of France, as it was to juſtice and equity; but having adopted that meaſure, the conſequences which aroſe ſeemed to demand that it ſhould be purſued with vigour. Therefore the connection with the Empreſs Queen was drawn cloſer than ever, and nothing was omitted to give a greater ſtrength, and a better order to the army on the Rhine. But theſe endeavours, which ſtrained all the ſinews of France, already too much weakened by the almoſt total ruin of ſeveral eſſential branches of their trade, drew away all the reſources neceſſary to ſupport their navy. It was then in a ſufficiently bad condition, from a want of ſeamen and ſtores; and there were no means found, or little attention uſed, to reſtore it; ſo that from a deficiency in the marine, it ſeemed to be equally impracticable to feed the war in America, or to preſerve the coaſt of France itſelf from inſults. Such was the condition of our enemies, at the opening of the campaign of 1758.

As to England, far from being exhauſted by the war, or diſpirited by our ill ſucceſs, our hopes roſe from our diſappointments, and our reſources ſeemed to be augmented by our expences; with ſuch eaſe and alacrity were the neceſſary ſupplies

plies granted and raiſed. Many errors and many abuſes, which the war diſcovered without making fatal, were corrected. The ſpirit of our officers was revived by fear or by ſhame. Our trade was well protected by the ſuperiority, and prudent diſtribution of our naval force. The revenue was frugally managed, and the whole ſtate well cemented and bound together in all its parts, by the union of the adminiſtration, by the patriotiſm which animated it, and by the entire confidence which the people had in the preſiding abilities and intentions. As France perſiſted in her attachment to the enemies of his Pruſſian majeſty, Great Britain entered into ſtill cloſer engagements with that monarch, the luſtre of whoſe virtues, ſet off by his late wonderful ſucceſſes, quite turned our eyes from the objections which were raiſed againſt the conſiſtency of that alliance with our intereſts. How far it is conſiſtent with them, is, I think, a much more difficult point to ſettle, than the adherents to either party ſeem willing to allow. But it ought to be conſidered, that the circumſtances of affairs in the beginning of the war, hardly admitted of any other choice; it had been the height of madneſs to have been on ill terms with his Pruſſian majeſty at that time; and it was impoſſible to have kept good terms with him, without being on very bad ones with Vienna. Things were in an ill ſituation; and the ballance of Germany was in danger of being overſet, what party ſoever ſhould prevail. It was impoſſible that England could have ſtood neuter in this conteſt; if ſhe had, France could not have imitated her moderation; ſhe would gladly have joined with the King of Pruſſia to diſtreſs Hanover, and reduce Auſtria. Theſe two powers ſo exerted would doubtleſs compaſs their end, unleſs we interpoſed to prevent it; and we muſt ſooner or later have interpoſed, unleſs we were reſolved tamely to ſee France and her allies giving laws to the continent. In a word, France would certainly have joined with one party or the other, and the party which ſhe joined, would certainly by that union, prove dangerous to the common liberty, and muſt therefore be oppoſed by us; we muſt have been in ſpite of us engaged in the troubles of Germany, as we ever have been and ever ſhall be as long as we are a people of conſideration in Europe. The alliance with Pruſſia was pointed out to us by the circumſtances of his acting on the defenſive. The King of Pruſſia meditated no conqueſts. But her Imperial majeſty indiſputably aimed at the recovery of Sileſia, which was to diſturb the ſettled order of things; and this deſign was the only cauſe of the troubles in that part of the world. I am ſenſible, that this is, notwithſtanding all that may be ſaid, a queſtion of ſome intricacy, and requires a conſideration of many more particulars than the brevity of our deſign will allow. But whether we choſe our party in this alliance judiciouſly or not, we have I imagine very great reaſon to be pleaſed with a meaſure, which has induced France to engage ſo deeply in the affairs of Germany, at ſo ruinous an expence of her blood and treaſure. Our miniſtry was at this time fully convinced of the prudence of the choice that had been made, and reſolved to ſupport his Pruſſian majeſty, and the army under Prince Ferdinand, in the

moſt effectual manner; 100,000 l. was voted for the Hanoverian and Heſſian forces; and a convention between the King of Pruſſia and his Britannic majeſty, was ſigned at London, whereby the King of Great Britain engages to pay his Pruſſian majeſty, the ſum of 670,000 pounds ſterling; and each of the contracting powers engage to conclude no peace without the participation of the other.

Ap. 11.

The northern courts made no alteration in their ſyſtem. In Sweden, ſome real plots to diſturb the eſtabliſhed conſtitution ended in the ruin of their contrivers; ſome fictitious plots were ſet on foot to give a ſanction to meaſures againſt the crown party, which anſwered their ends; and, as the ruling power continued the ſame, and the internal diſſenſions the ſame, the hoſtilities againſt the King of Pruſſia were reſolved with the former animoſity, but promiſed to be purſued with the former languor. In Ruſſia, the Empreſs did not think her intentions well ſeconded by her miniſters. The great delays, and the unacountable retreat in the laſt campaign, gave ground to ſuſpect, that ſhe had been betrayed by her miniſters, or her generals. M. Apraxin was removed from the command, and put under arreſt. He juſtified his conduct by expreſs orders from Count Beſtuchef. Beſtuchef was removed from his office, and put under arreſt alſo. Count Woronzoff ſucceeded Beſtuchef in his employment, and the generals Brown and Fermer took the command of the army in the place of Apraxin.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted the King of Pruſſia to recommence his operations, he laid ſiege to Schweidnitz, and puſhed it with ſo much vigour, that the place ſurrendered in thirteen days. The garriſon reduced by ſickneſs during the blockade, and by their loſſes during the ſiege, from ſeven to little more than three thouſand men, yielded themſelves priſoners of war. By this ſtroke, the King of Pruſſia left his enemies no footing in any part of his dominions. His next conſideration was how to guard againſt their future attempts, and at the ſame time to make a vigorous attack upon ſome part of the Auſtrian territories. His forces were well ſtationed for both theſe purpoſes; for beſides the troops which Count Dohna commanded on the ſide of Pomerania, a conſiderable body were poſted between Wohlau and Glogau, in order to cover Sileſia from the fury of the Ruſſians, in caſe they ſhould make their inroad that way. An army, in a little time after, was formed in Saxony, commanded by his brother Prince Henry, which conſiſted of thirty battalions, and forty-five ſquadrons. It was deſtined to make head againſt the army of the Empire, which by amazing efforts made during the winter, and by the junction of a large body of Auſtrians, was now in a condition to act again. A ready communication was kept up between all the King of Pruſſia's armies, by a proper choice of poſts.

Apr. 3.

16.

The King reſolved to make Moravia the theatre of the war this year. Moravia was freſh ground; a country as yet untouched by the ravages of war. If he ſhould ſucceed in his operations in this country his ſucceſſes by opening to him the neareſt road to Vienna, muſt prove more deciſive than they could any where elſe. If he ſhould fail,

fail, the Auſtrians were at a diſtance from the center of his affairs, and would find it difficult to improve their advantages to his ruin. After the reduction of Schweidnitz, the King ordered two bodies of his troops to poſt themſelves in ſuch a manner, as to make it appear that he intended to carry the war into Bohemia. Whilſt he drew away the enemies attention from the real objects by theſe diſpoſitions, the main of his army, by a very rapid march, entered into Moravia in two columns, and made themſelves maſters, in a ſhort time and with little or no oppoſition, of all the poſts neceſſary to cover the troops to be employed in the ſiege of Olmutz. On the 27th of May the trenches were opened before that city.

May 3.

M. Daun was no ſooner appriſed of the King's march towards Moravia, than he took his route through Bohemia to that province. Notwithſtanding that the Empreſs Queen omitted no poſſible endeavours to aſſemble a juſt army againſt the King of Pruſſia; though ſhe had for that purpoſe exhauſted the Milaneſe and Tuſcany, and ſwept up the laſt recruits in her Danubian territories; M. Daun was not yet in a condition to give the King of Pruſſia battle: neither did his character lead him to truſt that to fortune which he might enſure, though more ſlowly, by conduct. This wiſe general took his poſts from Gewics to Littau, in a mountainous country, in a ſituation where it was impoſſible to attack him. He had the fertile country of Bohemia, from whence he readily and certainly drew ſupplies, at his rear. He was from his poſition at the ſame time enabled to haraſs the Pruſſian army before Olmutz, and to intercept the convoys which were brought to them from Sileſia.

Olmutz, by the extent of its works and other advantageous circumſtances, is a city which it is very difficult compleatly to inveſt. So that ſome of the King's poſts being neceſſarily weakened by occupying ſo great an extent of country, were attacked by Daun's detachments from time to time, with ſuch ſucceſs that abundant ſuccours both of men and ammunition were thrown into the place. Theſe attacks were always made by night, and very few nights paſſed without ſome attack. The ſucceſs was various. But the operations of the ſiege were greatly diſturbed by theſe continual alarms. Beſides it is ſaid that the Auſtrians before the king's invaſion of this province, had deſtroyed all the forage in the neighbourhood of Olmutz. The horſe were obliged to forage at a great diſtance, which haraſſed them extremely. M. Daun took advantage of all theſe circumſtances. It was in vain that the King of Pruſſia endeavoured by all the arts of a great commander to provoke or entice him to an engagement. He profited of the advantages he had made, without being tempted by them to throw out of his hands the ſecure game he was playing.

The great object of M. Daun was the Pruſſian convoys. On receiving advice that a large and important one was to leave Troppau on the 25th of June, he took meaſures to intercept it. He ordered general Jahnus, who was at Muglitz on the left, to advance towards Bahrn, and a detachment which was at Prerau at a conſiderable diſtance to the right, to march to Stadt Leibe, ſo that theſe two corps ſhould on different

different ſides attack the convoy at one and the ſame time. To further the execution of this project M. Daun himſelf approached the Pruſſian army, and directed all his motions as if he intended to give them battle. However, the King was too great a maſter in the game of generalſhip, which was now playing, to be deceived by this feint. He detached a conſiderable party under General Ziethen, to ſupport his convoy which was already about 7000 ſtrong. Before this detachment could come up, the convoy was attacked, but the Auſtrians were repulſed. But M. Daun, who provided for every thing, quickly reinforced his parties, who renewed the engagement the next day. They firſt ſuffered the head of the convoy to go unmoleſted; but as the center was ſtill embarraſſed in a dangerous defile, they eaſily cut off the head from the reſt, and then they attacked the center with the greateſt fury. The Pruſſians made as good a reſiſtance as the nature of the ground would ſuffer. General Ziethen did every thing which could be expected from an accompliſhed officer; but in the end they were entirely routed; all the waggons in that diviſion were taken; the rear was puſhed back towards Troppau; the head alone with great difficulty arrived at the Pruſſian camp.

This was a fatal ſtroke, becauſe it came at a time when it was impoſſible to repair it. The ſiege of Olmutz had been all along attended with great difficulties; and now the news which every day arrived of the nearer and nearer approach of the Ruſſians, called the King loudly to the defence of his own dominions. Already the Coſſacks and Calmucks made incurſions into Sileſia, and by their ravages and cruelties, announced the approach of the great army. The ſiege muſt be raiſed; Moravia muſt be abandoned; Marſhal Daun muſt have the honour of freeing his country, and driving away ſuch an adverſary as the king of Pruſſia, from a conqueſt deemed certain; all was performed without a battle, by a ſeries of the moſt refined and vigorous manœuvres that ever were put in practice.

When the King of Pruſſia ſaw that the unproſperous ſituation of his affairs obliged him to retreat; he took a reſolution, ſuch as victory inſpires in others. He took advantage even of the excellent movement of M. Daun, by which that able general had advanced his quarters to Poſnitz, and placed himſelf ſo as to ſupport Olmutz in the moſt effectual manner; by this movement, however, he was obliged to uncover the frontiers of Bohemia. The King of Pruſſia, whom nothing could eſcape, was ſenſible of this advantage; and therefore, inſtead of falling back upon Sileſia, which ſtep would immediately have drawn the Auſtrian army into his dominions, he determined to retreat from one part of the enemies territories into another. The day before the ſiege was raiſed the firing of the Pruſſians continued as briſk as ever, and ſhewed no ſort of ſign of an intention to depart; but in the night the whole army took the road to Bo- July 1. hemia in two columns, and gained an entire march upon the Auſtrians. So that notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts whith the enemy could make to overtake and haraſs the King upon his march, he advanced into Bohemia with little moleſtation, ſeized upon a large magazine at Lieutomiſſel, defeated ſome corps of Auſtrians, who had attempted to diſturb him in his progreſs, and arrived

arrived at Konigſgratz, one of the moſt important poſts in Bohemia, with all his ſick and wounded, with all his heavy baggage, all his heavy artillery, and military ſtores compleat. This place he poſſeſſed after driving from it a body of 7000 Auſtrians who were intrenched there. He immediately laid this city and ſeveral other diſtricts under contribution; but this plan not admitting any further operations on that ſide, he took no other advantage from that momentous poſt. He ſoon re-entered Sileſia, and marched with the moſt amazing diligence to encounter the Ruſſians, who had at this time united their divided corps under Brown and Fermer, and fixed the long fluctuating plan of their operations, by entering the New Marche of Brandenburg and laying ſiege to Cuſtrin. The reduction of this place could leave them but a few days march to Berlin; Count Dohna was not in a condition to oppoſe their progreſs, the King was ſtill at a great diſtance. But it is neceſſary to break our narrative of his affairs, however intereſting, to take a view of the operations of the armies on the Rhine. We leave the King of Pruſſia in full march, to give one body of his enemies battle, after executing a retreat from the other, in a manner that did his military genius the greateſt honour. So that on the whole, it is difficult to ſay, which gained the greateſt glory, the King of Pruſſia by his retreat, or M. Daun by the meaſures which obliged him to it.

CHAP. X.

Allies paſs the Rhine. Battle of Crevelt. Action at Sangerſhauſen. Action at Meer. Allies repaſs the Rhine.

PRINCE Ferdinand had it not in his power to cut off the retreat of the French over the Rhine; but he preſſed them cloſely, and prepared himſelf to croſs that river in purſuit of them. His deſign was to carry the war beyond the Maeſe, and thereby oblige the Prince de Soubiſe to abandon the enterpriſe he was preparing againſt Heſſe Caſſel. His highneſs executed the paſſage of the Rhine at Herven with the corps immediately under his command; then he ſent the bridge with which he ſerved himſelf ſo well up the river to Rees; the reſt of the troops paſſed there; the whole army were over before the 7th of June. The flattery of the laſt age ſaw with aſtoniſhment a paſſage of the Rhine by a French monarch, unoppoſed, at the head of a mighty army. We ſaw that river paſſed by the enemies of France, in the preſence of an army of 50,000 of that nation; it was an action which did not need the exaggerations of rhetoric.

June 1.

The French army retired as the Prince advanced, and took an advantageous camp which threatened to retard the operations of the allies. Their right was under Rhineberg; but the Prince by his well judged motions turned their left flank towards the convent of Campe, by which the French found themſelves obliged to quit their advantageous poſt, and to retire into Meurs. They ſtill kept towards the Rhine. The Prince advanced on the ſide of the Maeſe.

It

It was evident that whilſt the French continued only to retire, it would prove impoſſible for them to hinder the allies from executing the plan they propoſed. They therefore thought it adviſeable to change their countenance. They had fallen back as far as Nuys; they now returned on their ſteps, and advanced as far as Crevelt, within a few miles of Prince Ferdinand's camp. The Prince made the diſpoſitions for a battle, with his uſual vigour and prudence. He carefully reconnoitred the ſituation of the enemy. He found that their right was at a village called Viſchelon; their left extended towards Anrath, where it was covered with a wood; Crevelt, which was in the front of their right, was occupied by a party of their troops. His highneſs reſolved upon three attacks. The firſt and real attack was on the flank of the enemy's left wing; the other two were deſigned to divert their attention, and prevent their ſuccouring the object of his principal attack; for which purpoſe he recommended to his generals to make the beſt uſe of their heavy artillery, and not to advance too far unleſs they were perfectly aſſured of the ſucceſs of the main operation.

Having made theſe wiſe diſpoſitions, and perfectly learned the beſt routes by which the enemy might be approached, his highneſs put himſelf at the head of the grenadiers of his right wing, and advanced on the ſide of Anrath in two columns. A cannonading violent and well ſupported opened the action. The Hanoverian artillery was greatly ſuperior to that of the French; but though the French loſt many men, they loſt no ground in this way, and their poſition in the wood made a cloſe attack abſolutely neceſſary. The hereditary Prince of Brunſwick put himſelf at the head of the firſt line of foot, and with his uſual ſpirit, advanced with the whole front directly to the wood. Here a furious fire of ſmall arms commenced, which continued without the ſmalleſt intermiſſion for two hours and a half. All the Hanoverian battalions threw themſelves into the wood. Two ditches well lined with infantry were oppoſed to their fury. They were forced one after another. The enemies battalions were puſhed back, they were entirely broken, and fled out of the wood in a diſorder which was irreparable. Their cavalry, who kept the beſt countenance poſſible, in ſpite of the terrible fire of the Hanoverian artillery, and in ſpite of the vigorous attempts of the Hanoverian horſe, who had by this time found means to gain the plain, covered the retreat of their ſcattered infantry, and ſaved them from utter ruin. The right wing and the center, though they ſuffered grievouſly by the cannonading, were no where broken, but retreated towards Nuys in the moſt perfect order.

June 23.

Seven thouſand of their beſt troops were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; but there was nothing in this battle ſo grievous to France, and ſo affecting even to the enemy, as the fate of the Count de Giſors. This young nobleman, the only ſon of the Duke de Belleiſle, not above twenty-five years of age, newly married to the heireſs of an illuſtrious houſe, himſelf the laſt hope of a moſt noble family, was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, which he brought up with the moſt heroic courage, and inſpired by his example to make incre-

incredible efforts. He had been educated with all the care an excellent father could beſtow on a ſon of an uncommon genius, who was alone able to ſupport the reputation of his family. To the pureſt morals he had united the politeſt manners; he had made a great proficiency in learning; he knew many branches of it, and loved all; he had ſeen every part of Europe, and read courts and nations with a diſcerning eye; and wanting nothing to fulfil all hope, and to make him a perfect and laſting ornament and ſupport to his country, but a knowledge in the military art, he entered that courſe of glory and danger, and fell in his firſt campaign. The unhappy father and miniſter ſaw his private misfortunes keep pace with the public calamities, aud the tears of his family mingled with thoſe of his country.

Prince Ferdinand gained a victory at Crevelt, which did the greateſt honour to his military capacity and to the bravery of his troops. But it was a victory neither entire nor deciſive. The French army on their own frontiers was quickly and ſtrongly reinforced: ſo that they were not only in a condition in ſome ſort to make head againſt the allies, but were enabled to detach a conſiderable reinforcement to the army of the Prince de Soubiſe on the other ſide of the Rhine.

Although the Prince had reaſon to imagine that he ſhould not be able to keep his ground on this ſide of the Rhine for any conſiderable time, this did not hinder him from improving to the utmoſt the advantage he had obtained. Whilſt the French, diſabled by their late defeat, were in no condition to oppoſe him, he paſſed the Rhine with a large detachment, and appeared on the 28th of June before Duſſeldorp, a city advantageouſly ſituated on the river, and belonging to the Elector Palatine. A ſevere bombardment obliged it to capitulate on the 7th of July. The garriſon, conſiſting of 2000 men, marched out with the honours of war. Prince Ferdinand placed here three battalions of Hanoverians, and threw a bridge of boats acroſs the river; by that means he multiplied his poſts and communications on both ſides of the Rhine; and threw a new and no ſmall impediment in the way of the French, to retard their progreſs, in caſe he ſhould find himſelf compelled to retire. After this, the army of the allies and that of France, ſpent ſeveral days in making various marches and countermarches, as if they both propoſed to bring on an action, to which however it does not appear that either party was very ſtrongly inclined.

Prince Ferdinand ſtill retained his hopes that the Prince of Yſenburg, who commanded the Heſſian troops, would find the Prince of Soubiſe employment for ſome time. He had originally laid his plan in ſuch a manner, that by paſſing the Maeſe and transferring the ſeat of war into the enemies country he might draw the French from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince of Soubiſe to come to the aſſiſtance of the main army under M. de Contades, who commanded in the room of Count Clermont, being now the fourth commander of the French troops ſince they entered Germany. But whilſt Prince Ferdinand pleaſed himſelf with thoſe hopes, and ſtill continued to act as far as circumſtances would admit in purſuance of this plan, he received

received an account which diſconcerted all his meaſures.

The Duke de Broglio ſupported by the corps of the Prince de Soubiſe, with a much ſuperior force, attacked and defeated the Heſſian army of ſeven thouſand men near Sangerſhauſen. This opened to them the poſſeſſion of the Weſer. They might act in Weſtphalia on which ſide ſoever they pleaſed, and it was to be feared, that if they availed themſelves of the advantages they had, they might be able to intercept the Britiſh troops. Theſe troops having been landed at Embden, were now on their march under the command of the Duke of Marlborough to reinforce the allied army. The Prince in this ſituation of affairs, had no option left but an engagement with the French army, or a retreat over the Rhine. The former was not eaſy to compaſs, as the French induſtriouſly declined a battle, and it became extremely dangerous to remain long in a poſition with the enemies army on his left, and the ſtrong fortreſs of Gueldre on his right. In this ſituation his ſubſiſtence became every day more difficult. To repaſs the Rhine, had its difficulties too; the roads which led to that river were rendered almoſt impaſſable by the heavy rains; the river itſelf was ſo ſwelled with them that the bridge at Rees had been for ſome time uſeleſs.

July 23.

Theſe diſagreeable circumſtances of the allied army did not eſcape the penetration of Monſieur de Chevert, one of the ableſt commanders among the French. He formed a plan upon them, which if it had ſucceeded, muſt have put the allies into the greateſt perplexity. This general had ſome time before paſſed the Rhine, with an intention of making himſelf maſter of Duſſeldorp, and he had prepared all things with great ability for that enterpriſe. The rains unuſually heavy for that ſeaſon, and ſome other croſs accidents, had fruſtrated his intentions. But perceiving that the ſame accidents which defeated his deſign, proved alſo unfavourable to the enemy, he reſolved to turn his diſappointment into an advantage, and from the ruins of his firſt project to build another of yet greater importance. Baron Imhoff was poſted to the right of the Rhine in a ſtrong ſituation near Meer. He was to cover the bridge at Rees; to ſecure a conſiderable magazine; and to keep open communication between the Engliſh reinforcements and the main army. The plan of Monſieur Chevert was to diſlodge Imhoff, to burn the bridge at Rees, to make himſelf maſter of the magazine, and to render the junction of the Engliſh troops with the Hanoverians impracticable. To execute this judicious ſcheme, he united ſeveral detachments from the garriſon of Weſel, to a conſiderable corps which he intended to have employed in the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. The whole made near 12,000 men. The troops under Imhoff were but ſix battalions, and four ſquadrons, hardly 3000 in all.

When that general was appriſed of the deſigns and motions of the French, he ſaw it was in vain to expect ſuccours from the army of Prince Ferdinand. The ſwell of the river had rendered all relief impoſſible; all his hopes were therefore in his own genius and the bravery of his troops. He conſidered that though the poſt

poſt he occupied was ſufficiently ſtrong, the enemy might make themſelves maſters of Rees, by turning his camp, and thus execute one of the principal parts of their deſign; he conſidered the great difference between attacking and being attacked; he conſidered the effect of an attempt altogether unexpected by the enemy; he therefore took the reſolution of abandoning his poſt, and going out to meet them. Perceiving that the French were marching into difficult ground, he did not loſe a moment to begin the Aug. 5. action. He ordered a ſmall party, which he had poſted in a little coppice, to fall upon the enemies left, which he obſerved to be uncovered; and appointed the fire of this party, as a ſignal for all the reſt to advance, and make the onſet with bayonets fixed. The French thus vigorouſly and unexpectedly attacked, fell into confuſion; their courage ill ſeconded the wiſdom of their general; they did not ſtand half an hour; they left the field of battle, eleven pieces of cannon, many priſoners, and much baggage to the Hanoverians, who drove them under the cannon of Weſel.

This ſignal advantage over ſuch a prodigious ſuperiority was not more gallantly obtained, than well purſued and improved. Imhoff ſaw that the rains had increaſed to ſuch a degree, as to leave no hopes for the allied army to paſs by the bridge at Rees. Having taken proper care of his magazines, he quitted his poſt at Meer, and being reinforced by ſome parties, who paſſed the river in boats, he marched with the utmoſt diligence towards the route of the Engliſh forces, and happily effected a junction, which had hitherto been attended with ſo many difficulties.

Prince Ferdinand in his retreat met with no obſtruction, but juſt what was ſufficient to diſplay more fully the gallantry of his officers, and the ſpirit of his troops. A town called Watchtendonck was on his left, as he returned; this place, though not fortified, is a poſt of much importance, and being an iſland ſurrounded by the river Niers, is extremely difficult of acceſs. The French had thrown a body of troops into this place. The hereditary Prince, the firſt in every active ſervice, was employed to force it. The bridge on his approach had been drawn up. The Prince ſeeing that if he attempted to get down this bridge, the enemy would gain time to recollect themſelves, threw himſelf into the river; his grenadiers, animated by ſo gallant an example, plunged in after him, and furiouſly attacking the enemy with their bayonets, in a few minutes drove them from that poſt. This advantage, joined to that gained by General Imhoff, and the uncommon reſolution, which appeared in both theſe actions, awed the French. They found that their troops, raw, undiſciplined, and little fit for hard ſervice, were not to be relied upon; and they feared to bring on an action, which by being deciſive againſt them might draw on the moſt fatal conſequences. So that the Prince repaſſed the Rhine in a moſt excellent order, even with leſs trouble than he had at firſt paſſed it; and indeed with little moleſtation, but what he met with from the weather. Such exceſſive rains had fallen, that he in vain attempted a paſſage at Rhineberg or

Aug. 9. and 10. at his bridge of Rees; he effected it a little lower at a place called Griethuyſen.

Although Prince Ferdinand was obliged to paſs the Rhine, and to act more upon the defenſive for the future; yet his vigorous conduct in the beginning was very glorious to him, and very advantageous to the common cauſe. The French ſuffered greatly in their military reputation; the Hanoverians had gained a ſuperiority over them; and now ſo much of the campaign was waſted, that notwithſtanding the greatneſs of their numbers, it was not probable that they would find themſelves able to make any conſiderable progreſs in their deſigns againſt the King's electoral dominions for this year. The advantage gained by Broglio and Soubiſe was not attended with the conſequences, which might have been apprehended. Prince Yſenburg kept ſo good a countenance in a ſtrong poſt he had choſen, that the French did not chooſe to attack him again; and ſince Prince Ferdinand had repaſſed the Rhine, he might always be well ſupported.

CHAP. XI.

Retreat from Bohemia. Meaſures of Count Daun. Battle of Cuſtrin. King of Pruſſia marches into Saxony, and joins Prince Henry.

BY the retreat of the Pruſſians from Moravia, the war had aſſumed a new face. The generals who conducted it had changed hands. The King of Pruſſia was obliged to act upon the defenſive; M. Daun was now in a condition of diſplaying his talents in an offenſive war. The affairs of the King of Pruſſia were ſcarce ever in a more critical ſituation than at that time. The Ruſſians ſeemed at firſt diſpoſed to enter into Sileſia; but now they had united their ſeveral disjoined corps, penetrated into the New Marche of Brandenburg, and having commenced the ſiege of Cuſtrin, a place that threatened them with no great oppoſition, they were arrived within a few days march of Berlin. Count Dohna poſted with a greatly inferior force at Frankfort on the Oder, watched without being able to obſtruct their progreſs. In Pomerania, the generals Weedel and Manteufel oppoſed almoſt the ſame ineffectual efforts to the arms of Sweden. The army of the Empire and a conſiderable body of Auſtrians under General Haddick, advanced into Saxony, and poſſeſſing themſelves by degrees of thoſe ſtrong poſts, which compoſe the frontiers of Miſnia, they continually ſtreightened the quarters of Prince Henry. That Prince was ſtrongly encamped at Dippoſwalde, with about 20,000 men, in order to cover Dreſden, and command the courſe of the Elbe. Thus circumſtanced, the King could not find his account in remaining long in Bohemia, where it was impoſſible to effect any thing deciſive. Every thing depended upon his being able to drive the Ruſſians out of his territories, who with a mighty force ruined every place they arrived at, and ſeemed not only to make war againſt him, but againſt human nature itſelf.

M. Daun was ſoon appriſed of the King of Pruſſia's intentions; but he conſidered that if he was to purſue the King into Sileſia, he muſt encounter with difficulties almoſt inſuperable; ſeveral ſtrong places ſtood in his way, and it would prove eaſy for the Pruſſian troops left for the defence of that duchy, to take an advantageous camp under one of thoſe places, and thus oblige them to waſte unprofitably their time, which might be employed in the execution of more judicious projects. Beſides, that in this manner of proceeding he could never act in concert, nor preſerve any effectual communication with the ſeveral bodies of his allies. To puſh forward with his whole force directly to Berlin, could at beſt be regarded as a *coup de main*, which could prove nothing deciſive in the campaign, even ſuppoſing the project ſhould ſucceed; but it was rather probable that it would not ſucceed, as the King of Pruſſia might clear his hands of the Ruſſians before the army of M. Daun could, for want of ſubſiſtence, arrive in the Lower Luſatia. Every conſideration therefore pointed out the relief of Saxony as the great object of the Auſtrian operations. It was an object apparently to be compaſſed with greater eaſe, and if compaſſed, productive of more ſolid advantages than any other. The army of the Empire, already ſuperior to that of Prince Henry, could co-operate in the deſign, and the recovery of Saxony once effected, the King of Pruſſia would ſee himſelf entirely diveſted of one of the principal reſources he had to rely upon in the war, for money, proviſions, and forage; whilſt his hereditary dominions ſtripped of this ſtrong barrier, defenceleſs in themſelves, and aſſaulted on three ſides by powerful armies, could ſcarce find them employment to the end of the campaign.

M. Daun having reſolved upon this plan of operations, ſuffered the King of Pruſſia to continue his march towards the Ruſſians, without any moleſtation: he contented himſelf with leaving a conſiderable body of troops, under the generals Harſch and de Ville, on the ſouthern frontiers of Sileſia, in order to form ſome enterpriſe upon that ſide, which might draw the attention and forces of the Pruſſians as far as poſſible from the great object of his operations. When he had made theſe diſpoſitions he marched towards Saxony, through the country of Luſatia, by Zittau, Gorlitz, and Bautzen. His firſt project was bold. He propoſed to croſs the Elbe at Meiſſen; by which the communication between Dreſden and Leipſic would be cut off at one ſtroke. Then he propoſed to attack Prince Henry in his camp at Sedlitz, while the army of the Empire fell upon him in another quarter. Thus the Prince was to be put between two fires; and his retreat unto Dreſden to be rendered impracticable; but upon more mature conſideration, this project was laid aſide. M. Daun reflected that the fortreſs of Sonneſtein, of which he was not yet in poſſeſſion, would prove no ſmall impediment to Sept. 3. his deſigns. He conſidered that the poſition of Prince Henry oppoſite to the army of the Empire was too advantageous, to make an attack upon him adviſeable; and unleſs the Prince could be induced to attack the Imperialiſts firſt, a point not to be expected in his circumſtances, he might always find it eaſy to throw himſelf into Dreſden, and by proper motions

to preſerve a free communication with the King. M. Daun was obliged to renounce his firſt deſign, but he was left at full liberty to form and execute ſuch other plans for the relief of Saxony as his prudence could ſuggeſt.

About that time the Imperial court elated with their recent ſucceſs, began to ſhew with what moderation they were likely to behave if it continued and increaſed. They entirely threw off all the little appearances of reſpect they had hitherto retained for the King of Great Britain, and ſeveral other of the moſt reſpectable princes and perſons of the Empire. They made the abuſe of their authority go hand in hand with the ſucceſs of their arms. On the 21ſt of Auguſt a concluſum of the Aulic council was iſſued againſt the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, againſt the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, againſt Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, the Count of Lippe Buckebourg, and in general againſt all the adherents to the King of Pruſſia, threatening them with penalties in dignity, perſon, and eſtate. In conſequence of this decree, letters avocatory were iſſued, notifying to the ſovereign princes, that if they did not within a limited time diſperſe their armies, break off their connection with the King of Pruſſia, pay their quota of Roman months, and ſend their contingents to the army of execution, they were put under the ban of the Empire. To all other perſons who held any dignity in the Empire, orders were given, and penalties were threatened ſuitable to their condition. They in ſhort went all lengths but that of actually and formally putting them under the ban, which they would not have failed to do, if their ſucceſs had anſwered its beginnings. So little regard had the court of Vienna to former ſervices of the moſt intereſting nature; and ſo entirely did ſhe ſeem to forget that ſhe owed to the King of Great Britain, not only that power which ſhe now unjuſtly and ungratefully turned againſt him, but alſo the very being of the houſe of Auſtria. So entirely did they forget that this monarch had expended his treaſures, employed his armies, and even expoſed his perſon in her cauſe, when it was not only abandoned, but attacked by almoſt all the reſt of Europe. However the violent proceedings of the Aulic council, drew no one ſtate or perſon from the Kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia; they rather had a contrary effect, in rouſing the whole Evangelic body to a ſenſe of their own danger. Much leſs were they able to ſtop the progreſs of the allied arms.

The King of Pruſſia conducted his retreat out of Bohemia in admirable order. The generals Jahnus and Laudohn for ſeveral days hung upon his rear with two ſtrong bodies. They took advantageous poſts, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, ſometimes together, ſometimes ſeparately, and threw all poſſible impediments in his way. But the vigour of the Pruſſians drove them with loſs from every poſt. So that by the 6th of Auguſt, they were obliged entirely to deſiſt from their purſuit. The King of Pruſſia freed from this moleſtation marched with the utmoſt diligence by Wiſoca, Politz, Landſhut, and arrived on the 20th at Franckfort on the Oder. Here he joined the troops under Count Dohna. The army

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was now in a condition to
22d. act, and they did not loſe a moment's time to march againſt the enemy. All their vigour and expedition was not more than neceſſary. The Ruſſians had beſieged Cuſtrin from the 15th. Though theſe people, ſcarcely emerged from barbariſm, had not the moſt perfect ſkill in operations of this nature, they ſupplied that deficiency by a ferocity that ſcrupled nothing, by numbers whoſe lives they did not regard, and by a moſt formidable artillery, which rudely but furiouſly managed, only ſpread the more general and indiſcriminate deſtruction. In effect, they threw ſuch a multitude of bombs and red-hot balls into that unfortunate city, that in a ſhort time it was on fire in every quarter. Of the wretched inhabitants ſome were burned, ſome buried in the ruins, ſome killed by the balls that fell like hail in the ſtreets: the ſurviving majority, ſafe neither within nor without their houſes, abandoned their homes and their ſubſtance, and fled, many of them almoſt naked, out of the city on the ſide which was not inveſted. Never was beheld a more deplorable ſpectacle; nor was it eaſy to ſay which formed the more wretched appearance, thoſe who periſhed, or thoſe who eſcaped. Meanwhile, the governor, firm in his courage and fidelity, did every thing for the defence of the walls and ruins of the place; but the walls built in the old manner did not promiſe a ſucceſsful defence; the enemy had poſted themſelves in the ſuburbs, and in the firing of the town, the principal magazine of the beſieged was blown up.

The protector and avenger of his dominions, was now however at hand. On the 23d, the King of Pruſſia's whole army paſſed the Oder at Gluſtebiſſel, about twenty Engliſh miles to the north-eaſt of Cuſtrin. The Ruſſians on the firſt notice of his approach, broke up the ſiege of that place, and marched towards the villages of Zwicker and Zorndorff. It was the King's intention to wind round the left flank of their army, and to take them in the rear, by which he hoped to throw them into confuſion. But in this he found himſelf diſappointed. The Ruſſian generals had foreſeen his purpoſe, and made excellent diſpoſitions. As the ground did not admit them to extend greatly in length, they threw themſelves into a ſquare body compoſed of four lines, forming a front almoſt equal on every ſide, and on every ſide ſurrounded by cannon and chevaux de frize. In this formidable diſpoſition they waited the attack of the Pruſſians.

It was on the 25th of Auguſt that the King of Pruſſia, after a march of 56 days, from the midſt of Moravia, brought his army in preſence of the Ruſſians. The King had never been perſonally engaged with that enemy before. His troops had never obtained any advantage over them. The whole fortune of the war depended upon the event of this day. The Pruſſians were now in the cloſeſt ſenſe to fight for their country, which was ready to fall under one of the ſevereſt ſcourges with which Providence has chaſtiſed a nation. Nothing was wanting which could inſpire the ſoldier with revenge. Every where the marks of

the enemies cruelty were before their eyes; the country deſolated on every ſide, and the villages in flames all round the field of battle.

At nine o'clock in the morning the battle began by a fire of cannon and mortars, which rained on the right wing of the Ruſſians without the leaſt intermiſſion for near two hours. Nothing could exceed the havock made by this terrible fire, nor the conſtancy with which the Muſcovite foot, raw and unexperienced, ſuſtained a ſlaughter that would have confounded and diſperſed the compleateſt veterans. They fell in their ranks; new regiments ſtill preſſed forward to fill their places, and to ſupply new ſlaughter. When the firſt line had fired away all their charges, they ruſhed forward on the Pruſſians. That firm body of the Pruſſian infantry which had often ſtood, and often given ſo many terrible ſhocks, by one of thoſe unaccountable movements of the human mind, that render every thing in war ſo precarious, gave way in the preſence of their ſovereign, and when they had in a manner ſecured the victory, retired in diſorder before the half broken battalions of the Muſcovites. Had the Ruſſian officers known how to profit of this diſorder; had they immediately thrown in their horſe with vigour to compleat it, and entirely break that body; this had probably been the laſt day of the Pruſſian greatneſs. The King was not ſo negligent. For juſt in this anxious moment, whilſt the battle was yet in ſuſpence, by a very rapid and maſterly motion, he brought all the cavalry of his right to the center, which with General Sedlitz at their head, burſting in upon the Ruſſian foot, uncovered by their horſe, and diſordered even by their advantage, they puſhed them back with a moſt miſerable ſlaughter. The repulſed battalions of Pruſſia had time to recollect, and to form themſelves; and now returning to the onſet with a rage exaſperated by their late diſgrace, they entirely turned the balance of the fight. The Ruſſians were thrown into the moſt horrible confuſion. The wind blew the duſt and ſmoke full in their faces. They no longer diſtinguiſhed friends or enemies. They fired upon each other. In this diſtraction they plundered their own baggage which ſtood between the lines, and intoxicated themſelves with brandy. Orders were now no more heard or obeyed. The ranks fell in upon one another; and being crammed together in a narrow ſpace, every ſhot diſcharged by the Pruſſians had its full effect; whilſt the Ruſſians kept up only a ſcattered fire without direction or effect, and quite over the heads of their enemies, It was now no longer battle, but a horrid and undiſtinguiſhed carnage. Yet ſtill (which is a wonderful circumſtance) the Ruſſians thus diſtracted and ſlaughtered, kept their ground. The action continued without intermiſſion from nine in the morning until ſeven at night. At laſt the night itſelf, the fatigue of the Pruſſians, and a judicious attack on their right wing, which drew their attention on that ſide, gave the Ruſſian army ſome reſpite to recover their order, and an opportunity of retiring a little from the ſcene of their diſaſter. On their ſide near 10,000 fell upon

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the ſpot; they had more than 10,000 wounded, moſt of them mortally; 939 officers, not including the inferior, were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; of two particular regiments, conſiſting before the battle of 4595 effective men, only 1475 were left; their whole loſs on this bloody day was 21,529 men. That of the Pruſſians in every way did not amount to 2000.

The gazettes of both parties warmly diſputed the vain honour of the field of battle. On the moſt diligent enquiry, it appears that both parties ſpent the night on or very near the place of action. But this is an affair of little conſequence. The Pruſſians had all the fruits, and moſt of the proofs of a victory the moſt compleat and deciſive. A vaſt train of artillery taken, the military cheſt, a number of priſoners many of them officers of high rank; the retreat of the Ruſſian army, the next and the following days; their general Fermor's requeſt for leave to bury the dead; their incapacity to advance or form any new enterpriſe; the King of Pruſſia's unmoleſted operations againſt his other enemies; all theſe form the moſt clear and certain demonſtration of a victory in all points, for which a victory is deſireable.

Nothing leſs indeed than a very compleat victory could have done any eſſential ſervice to the King's affairs at that time, when four armies of his enemies were making their way to one common center, and threatened to unite in the heart of Brandenburg. The King renewed the attack on the Ruſſians the next morning. The event of the laſt day had ſhewed them, that there was no way of ſafety but in a retreat, and in effect they retreated before the Pruſſians as far as Landſperg on the frontiers of Poland. The King of Pruſſia was convinced that their late check muſt wholly diſable them from attempting any thing material againſt his dominions on that ſide; and he ſaw clearly that whatever he might hope to gain by improving his advantage againſt the Ruſſians, he muſt loſe far more by allowing his other enemies to make a progreſs on the ſide of Saxony. He ſatisfied himſelf therefore, with leaving a ſmall body of troops under Count Dohna, to obſerve the motions of the Muſcovite army; and marched with the greateſt part of his forces and the utmoſt expedition to the relief of Prince Henry.

M. Daun having laid aſide his firſt project for paſſing the Elbe at Meiſſen, enterpriſed nothing new on the ſide of Saxony for ſome days; he contented himſelf with taking a poſition at Stolpen to the eaſtward of the Elbe, by which, whilſt he preſerved to himſelf an eaſy communication with the army of the Empire, he interrupted the communication between Bautzen and Dreſden; he favoured the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Luſatia to the confines of Brandenburg; and by drawing the attention of the Pruſſian forces which were left in Sileſia to the northward of that duchy, he facilitated the progreſs of the arms of the generals Harſch and de Ville in the ſouthern parts. Admirable diſpoſitions without queſtion, if the time had not called for more vigorous meaſures, and if the reſcue of Saxony from the King of Pruſſia had not been

the great object of the campaign! It is not impoſſible that the court of Vienna had ſtill ſuch an hankering after Sileſia, as induced them to ſlacken their efforts on the ſide of Saxony, in hope, that if M. Daun could protect the operations there, ſo as to find full employment for the King of Pruſſia, their other forces might reduce Sileſia with great facility; and thus perhaps by aiming at two ſuch difficult objects at once, as it generally happens, they loſt them both. Upon any other ſuppoſition, it is not very eaſy to account for the ſeeming inactivity of M. Daun, while he had ſo fair a game in his hands. However advantageouſly Prince Henry might have choſen his poſt, or however ſtrongly he might have ſecured it, yet the prodigious ſuperiority of the combined armies ſeems to have more than over-balanced that advantage, and to have juſtified, nay, to have demanded ſome bold and deciſive attempt.

In fact, this appeared at length to be the marſhal's own opinion. For when the ſtrong fortreſs of Sonneſtein moſt unaccountably ſurrendered, with a garriſon of 1400 men, to the Auſtrian general Mac-Guire after the reſiſtance of no more than a ſingle day; M. Daun propoſed that the Prince of Deux-Ponts ſhould attack Prince Henry, whilſt the grand army of the Auſtrians laying bridges between two fires, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, ſhould paſs the Elbe, and falling at the ſame time on the Pruſſians, ſecond the attack of the Imperialiſts, and cut off the retreat of their enemies towards Dreſden. This was to bring matters to a ſpeedy deciſion. But now the King of Pruſſia by the moſt rapid marches had reached the frontiers of Saxony. The whole deſign was diſconcerted; and far from being able to diſlodge Prince Henry, they found themſelves utterly unable to prevent the King his brother from joining him, with his whole army. On his approach General Laudohn abandoned all his advantages in the Lower Luſatia, and fell back upon M. Daun; who himſelf retired from the neighbourhood of Dreſden, and fell back as far as Zittau. The army of the Empire poſſeſſed of the ſtrong poſt of Pirna, which the Saxons had occupied in the beginning of the war, kept their ground; but did not undertake any thing. Thus in fifteen days the King of Pruſſia, by his unparalleled ſpirit, diligence, and magnanimity, fought, and defeated a ſuperior body of his enemies, in one extremity of his dominions, and baffled without fighting another ſuperior body in the other extremity.

Sept. 5.

Sept. 10.

Sep. 11.

Theſe advantages, glorious as they were, were not the only ones which followed the victory of Zorndorf. The Swedes, who directed their motions by thoſe of their Ruſſian allies, haſtened their operations when that army had advanced into Brandenburg. General Wedel was detached from Saxony, to ſtop their progreſs; and the Prince of Bevern, now governor of Stetin, gave them ſome oppoſition. All this, however, had proved ineffectual, if the news of the defeat of the Ruſſians had not alarmed the Swedes in ſuch a manner, as to make them return with more expedition than they had advanced. Tho' the King of Pruſſia's affairs began to put on a better appearance by theſe efforts, the for-

fortune of the war ſtill hung in a very dubious ſcale. The enemy was ſtill ſuperior. The Swedes and Ruſſians had ſtill ſome footing in his dominions. The Auſtrians and Imperialiſts were yet in Saxony; and if the King's armies had it in their power to take ſtrong ſituations; the enemy had the ſame advantages. The condition of things was extremely critical, and the leaſt error or misfortune threatened ſtill to plunge the King of Pruſſia into an abyſs of calamities.

CHAP. XII.

General Oberg defeated at Lanwerenhagen. King of Pruſſia ſurpriſed at Hohkirchen. M Keith and Prince Francis of Brunſwick killed. Affair at Gorlitz. King of Pruſſia marches into Sileſia. M. Daun inveſts Dreſden. The ſuburbs burned. King of Pruſſia raiſes the ſiege of Neiſs and Coſel. He returns into Saxony. The Auſtrians retire into Bohemia. Diſpoſitions for the winter.

THE operations of the armies in Weſtphalia, ſeemed for a long time to languiſh. The grand army of the French under M. de Contades, was wholly unable to drive Prince Ferdinand from the poſt which he had choſen ſo judiciouſly along the Lippe. The other diviſion of the French forces under the Prince de Soubiſe, had made no great progreſs on the ſide of Heſſe-Caſſel, againſt the Prince Iſenburg, who ſtill kept his ground in that principality, in order to protect the courſe of the Weſer, and to cover the electorate. The French were ſenſible that an attack on the principal army of the allies, would prove a very dangerous attempt, in which even if they ſhould have ſome ſucceſs, their progreſs into the King's electoral dominions muſt be very ſlow and difficult. But as the body of the allies employed in Heſſe-Caſſel was far the weakeſt, and as an advantage on that ſide promiſed them the command of the Weſer, and a better paſſage into the heart of the enemies country, they determined to make an attempt there. To further this deſign, a conſiderable detachment was made from the army of M. de Contades, which increaſed the Prince of Soubiſe's corps to at leaſt 30,000 men. Prince Ferdinand, who was ſufficiently aware of the enemies plan, had ſome time before ſent General Oberg with a ſtrong reinforcement to join the Prince Iſenburg; but notwithſtanding this reinforcement the whole force of the allies in Heſſe did not exceed 15,000. This body was attacked by the French at Lanwerenhagen, and their great ſuperiority, eſpecially in point of cavalry, obliged the allies to retire with the loſs of about 1500 men. The allies unable to keep the field, had however ſome woods in their rear which covered their retreat, and they preſerved ſo good a countenance as prevented their defeat from becoming total. Sept. 30.

Great conſequences might have been apprehended from this affair. But the vigilance of Prince Ferdinand, who had eſtabliſhed the moſt

ready communications all along the Lippe, ſuffered the victorious army to reap but little advantage from their victory. That accompliſhed general advanced with the utmoſt expedition towards Rheda, and the Prince Iſenburg having fallen back upon him, they joined in ſuch a manner as perfectly to ſecure the Weſer, without loſing any thing on the ſide of the Rhine. And although theſe neceſſary motions in ſome ſort uncovered the electorate, ſo as to lay it open to the incurſions of the enemies light troops, who penetrated even to the gates of Hanover; yet the French were not in a condition to eſtabliſh any conſiderable body, or to take any poſt of moment in that part.

During this time, the armies of the King of Pruſſia and M. Daun made no very remarkable movements. The marſhal kept his advantageous camp at Stolpen, by which he preſerved a communication with the army of the Empire. The army was ſecured by its inacceſſible ſituation, but it enterpriſed nothing of conſequence. The King of Pruſſia on the other hand, having taken poſſeſſion of the important poſt of Bautzen, which lies ſo opportunely for commanding at once both Miſnia and Luſatia, extended his right wing to Hohkirchen. By this poſition he preſerved a communication with the army of his brother Prince Henry, he protected Brandenburg from the incurſions of the Auſtrians, and at the ſame time that he ſecured theſe intereſting objects, he was better ſituated for throwing ſuccours into Sileſia, than he could be any where elſe conſiſtently with his general plan. The two armies kept the moſt watchful eye upon each other's motions. The principal aim of the King of Pruſſia ſeemed to have been the preventing M. Daun from communicating with Bohemia. The great intention of M. Daun was to cut off the King from Sileſia. Things were ſo balanced, that it did not ſeem poſſible by mere ſkill in marches and poſitions to anſwer theſe ends very fully: therefore a battle ſeemed inevitable. But it ſeemed too that conſidering the ſituations of both armies, a battle could not be attempted without extreme danger to the party who ſhould begin the attack.

M. Daun ſaw that if any more time was loſt without action, the very ſeaſon muſt oblige him to evacuate Saxony, and thus give up all the fruits of the campaign. He came to a reſolution of giving the King of Pruſſia battle. But even in the vigour of this reſolution, appeared the extreme caution which characteriſes that able general. Having communicated his deſign to the Prince of Deux-Ponts, and ſettled meaſures with him, he marched in the dead of a very dark night, in three columns, towards the right of the King of Pruſſia's camp. Notwithſtanding the darkneſs of the night, notwithſtanding the neceſſary diviſion of the Auſtrian army, the greatneſs of their numbers, and the length of way they had to march, yet ſuch was the wiſe conduct and great good fortune of this deſign, that they all arrived at the ſame time at the Pruſſian camp, none having loſt their way, without diſcovery, without confuſion, and began the attack with the utmoſt regularity and reſolution at five o'clock in the morning. Oct. 14.

How

How the King's out-guards were kept ſo as to make ſuch a ſurpriſe practicable, is hard to ſay. It is hard to accuſe the vigilance of ſo able a commander, or the attention of ſo many finiſhed officers as ſerved under him. To ſpeak of treachery is a way of accounting for misfortunes, more common than reaſonable. However it was, the Pruſſians had not time to ſtrike their tents, when they found the enemy in the midſt of the camp, and an impetuous attack already begun. Scarce had the battle began, when a defeat ſeemed certain; not ſo much from the confuſion of the troops, as the irreparable loſs of two officers in the higheſt command, and of the greateſt merit. M. Keith received two muſquet balls, and fell dead upon the ſpot. Prince Francis of Brunſwick had his head ſhot off by a cannon ball as he mounted his horſe. The King of Pruſſia had then the whole of affairs to ſuſtain alone, at the time when he moſt wanted aſſiſtance. But his preſence of mind, his firmneſs, his activity, remedied in ſome meaſure the effects of this unforeſeen attack, and the loſſes and diſorders it had occaſioned; he was every where preſent, and inſpired his troops with an ardor like his own. The King ordered ſome detachments from his left, to reinforce his right wing; but in the moment the orders were received, the left itſelf was furiouſly attacked. General Ketzow who commanded in that quarter, with difficulty repulſed the Auſtrians, and was not able to afford any conſiderable aſſiſtance to the right, which was alone obliged to ſupport the whole weight of the grand attack.

The Auſtrians in the beginning of the engagement had beaten them out of the village of Hohkirchen; as the fate of the day depended upon that poſt, the hotteſt of the diſpute was there. The Pruſſians made three bloody and unſucceſsful attacks on the village; on the fourth they carried it; but the Auſtrians pouring continually freſh troops upon that ſpot, drove them out at length after reiterated efforts, and a prodigious ſlaughter on all ſides. Then the king deſpairing of the fortune of that field, ordered a retreat; his troops, which had been ſuddenly attacked in a dark night by ſuperior numbers, and had ran to arms ſome half naked, and all in the utmoſt confuſion, had notwithſtanding made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and maintained the fight for near five hours. They made their retreat in good order without being purſued, ſupported by the good countenance of their cavalry, and the fire of a numerous and well ſerved artillery, which was placed in the center of their camp. They loſt in this bloody action at leaſt 7000 men, killed, wounded, and priſoners, together with many cannon. The Auſtrian account allowed their own loſs in killed and wounded to amount to near 5000.

The King of Pruſſia, in retiring from Hohkirchen, in fact only altered the poſition of his right wing, which fell back as far as Weiſſenburg. His left ſtill remained at Bautzen. This poſition was nearly as good as the former. The great loſs, was the loſs of reputation which always attends a defeat, and the loſs of two great generals which attended this in particular. M. Keith was a Scotchman born. He engaged with his brother the Lord Mariſhal in the rebellion of 1715.

Being

Being obliged to relinquiſh his country on this occaſion, he entered into the troops of Spain, and afterwards paſſing into Ruſſia, he obtained a conſiderable command, and performed many ſignal ſervices in their wars with Turkey and Sweden; and ſerved them alſo in peace by ſeveral embaſſies. But finding the honours of that country no better than a ſplendid ſervitude, and not meeting with thoſe rewards, which his long and faithful ſervices deſerved, he left that court for one where merit is better known and better rewarded; and having been employed ſince the beginning of the war, in a diſtinguiſhed command in the King of Pruſſia's armies, he fell at laſt in a ſervice that was worthy of him.

If the King of Pruſſia loſt ſome reputation in ſuffering himſelf to be ſurpriſed in this affair; he fully retrieved it by his extraordinary conduct in the courſe of the action, and his admirable efforts after it. On the whole, perhaps, when all circumſtances are conſidered, the King of Pruſſia will appear greater in this defeat, than in any victory he ever yet obtained. The wing of his army that was attacked, was ſurpriſed at a diſtance from him, the two generals that commanded it ſlain in the firſt onſet, his other principal generals wounded, the whole wing in confuſion without a leader; to come, in theſe deſperate circumſtances, in haſte from another quarter; to recover all; twice to repulſe the enemy, and at laſt to retire, overborn only by numbers and fatigue, without being purſued, is ſuch an inſtance of great generalſhip, as perhaps has never been exceeded.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in Saxony, the Ruſſians made no farther attempts on the ſide of Brandenburg; they remained in their camp near Landſperg, until the 21ſt of September; when after ſeveral feigned motions, made to cover their real deſign, they began their retreat towards Pomerania, where they arrived on the 26th.

It was impoſſible that they ſhould keep their ground in that province during the winter, unleſs they could ſecure ſome ſea-port, from whence they might be ſupplied with proviſions. The little town of Colberg was very opportune for that purpoſe, as it is a ſea-port on the Baltic, and ſo meanly fortified that the reduction of it appeared to be as eaſy as expedient. On the 3d of October, they formed the ſiege of this inconſiderable place, with a body of 15,000 men. But ſuch was the bravery of Major Heydon the governor, and ſuch the incapacity of the Ruſſians for operations of this nature, that this little town, defended only by a rampart, without any outwork, and lined with a very feeble garriſon, held out againſt the repeated attacks of the enemy twenty-ſix days, and then obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, Oct. 29. without any ſuccours whatſoever from without. This was the laſt enterpriſe of the Ruſſians. Their vaſt army retired with diſgrace, firſt from Brandenburg, and then from Pomerania; not having been able to maſter one place of ſtrength in either country; but having deſtroyed with the moſt ſavage barbarity both the open towns and defenceleſs villages; leaving as ſtrong impreſſions of contempt

tempt for their incapacity, as of horror for their cruelty.

After the defeat which the King received at Hohkirchen, he omitted no measures to prevent the enemy from making any material advantage of it. He perceived clearly, that the advantage they proposed to derive from it, was to cover the operations of their armies in Silesia; and that they had no longer any serious design upon Saxony during this campaign. The King therefore made no scruple to reinforce his army by considerable detachments from that of Prince Henry, which were brought up by that Prince himself. And as he saw that Neiss, the siege of which had been already formed and prosecuted with great vigour, must certainly surrender if it were not speedily succoured, he resolved to march into Silesia.

To the execution of this design the greatest difficulties started up on all sides. The army of M. Daun lately victorious, had no other business than to intercept him. To fight was dubious; to avoid it, hard. If he could even avoid a battle, he had much to apprehend from the efforts of the enemy to harass him on his march. If he should be so happy as to escape or to conquer these difficulties, yet his march entirely uncovered Saxony, and abandoned that most interesting possession, very poorly defended, to all the force of two powerful armies.

On the other hand, if the consideration of Saxony should detain him in his present situation, Silesia ran the same risk, and the same or greater disadvantages must ensue to his affairs, by suffering the Austrians to obtain a footing there. This dilemma, which would have rendered a meaner genius entirely inactive, and hindered him from taking any resolution, only obliged the King of Prussia to take his resolution with the greater speed, and to execute it with the greater vigour.

On the 24th of November at night, he quitted his camp at Dobreschutz, and making a great compass, he arrived, without any obstruction from the enemy, in the plain of Gorlitz. A body of the Austrians had in vain endeavoured to secure this post before him; those that arrived were defeated, with the loss of eight hundred men. By this happy march, all the advantages of M. Daun's studied position, all the fruits of his boasted victory at Hohkirchen, were lost in a moment, and an open passage to Silesia lay before the King. He pursued his march with the greatest diligence. General Laudohn, with 24,000 men, was sent to pursue him. That active general continually harassed his rear guard; but the King continued his march without interruption, and suffered him to take many little advantages, rather than by delaying to contest small matters, to endanger a design, which might be decisive of the whole campaign.

On the other hand, Daun, not content with the obstacles which General Laudohn threw in the King's way, sent a large body of horse and foot by another route to reinforce the army, which under the generals Harsch and de Ville had formed the siege of Neiss, and the blockade of Cosel. But he perceived that all these measures would probably prove ineffectual, as his principal project, which was to cover Silesia, had been defeated. He therefore turned his views towards Saxony, and satisfying himself with detaching General Laudohn, which might create an opinion that the whole

whole Auſtrian army purſued, he followed the King no farther than Gorlitz; which place he immediately quitted, and having by forced marches gained the Elbe, he paſſed that river at Pirna, and advanced towards Dreſden. At the ſame time the army of the Empire, by its motions, having obliged the Pruſſian army, then extremely weakened by the detachments that had been drawn from it, to retire from its poſt before Dreſden, ſome miles to the weſtward of that city, cut off their communication with Leipſic, whilſt M. Daun attempted to cut off their communication with Dreſden; but they found means to throw themſelves into that city, and afterwards to retire to the other ſide of the Elbe. The Auſtrians and Imperialiſts began at once to inveſt thoſe two important places; another party advanced towards Torgau, and attempted that town. It ſeemed utterly impoſſible to prevent the Auſtrians from becoming maſters of Saxony, who in a manner covered the whole country with their forces.

Nov. 6.

In the mean time, the King of Pruſſia drew nearer and nearer to Neiſs. The ſiege of that fortreſs was commenced on the 4th of Auguſt; on the 3d of October it was compleatly inveſted; and the place was puſhed on one ſide with the greateſt vigour, and on the other maintained with the moſt conſummate ſkill and bravery, until the approach of the King of Pruſſia obliged the Auſtrians, on the firſt of November, to raiſe the ſiege, leaving a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores behind them. The ſame terror obliged the parties employed in the blockade of Coſel, to leave that place at liberty, and to fall back, together with the armies of the generals Harſch and de Ville, into Bohemia, and the Auſtrian Sileſia.

The King of Pruſſia, when he had thus by the report of his march, without fighting, driven his enemies out of Sileſia, loſt not a moment to return by the ſame route, and with the ſame expedition to the relief of Saxony. Two bodies of his troops had moved for the ſame purpoſe out of Pomerania, one under Count Dohna, and one under General Wedel. The corps under Wedel had thrown itſelf into Torgau, repulſed the Auſtrians, who had attempted that place, and purſued them as far as Eulenburg. The grand operation of the Auſtrians was againſt Dreſden. M. Daun, with an army of 60,000 men, came before that city, on the very day on which the King of Pruſſia began his march to oppoſe him, ſo that he might well imagine his ſucceſs certain againſt a place meanly fortified, and defended only by 12,000 men. The ſame day he began to cannonade it, and his light troops, ſupported by the grenadiers of the army, made a ſharp attack upon the ſuburbs. The governor Count Schmettau ſaw that from the weakneſs of the ſuburbs it would prove impoſſible for him to prevent the enemy from poſſeſſing himſelf of them by a *coup de main*; and if they ſucceeded in this attempt, the great height of the houſes, being ſix or ſeven ſtories, and entirely commanding the ramparts, would render the reduction of the body of the place equally eaſy and certain. Theſe conſiderations determined him to ſet theſe ſuburbs on fire.

Nov. 9.

It is well known that the ſuburbs of Dreſden compoſe one of the fineſt towns in Europe, and are greatly

greatly ſuperior to that which lies within the walls. Here the moſt wealthy part of the inhabitants reſide, and here are carried on thoſe ſeveral curious manufactures for which Dreſden is ſo famous. Count Daun foreſaw this conſequence of his attempt. He endeavoured to intimidate the governor from this meaſure, to which he knew the cruel reaſon of war would naturally lead him, by threatening to make him perſonally anſwerable for the ſteps he ſhould take; but Count Schmettau anſwered with the firmneſs that became a man of honour and a ſoldier, that he would anſwer whatever he ſhould do, and would not only burn the ſuburbs, in caſe M. Daun advanced, but would likewiſe defend the city itſelf ſtreet by ſtreet, and at laſt even the caſtle, which was the royal reſidence, if he ſhould be driven to it. When the magiſtrates were appriſed of this reſolution, they fell at the feet of Count Schmettau, and implored him to change his mind, and to have mercy on that devoted part of their city. The part of the royal family, who remained in Dreſden, joined their ſupplications to thoſe of the magiſtrates; they prayed him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and to allow at leaſt a ſecure reſidence to thoſe, who had been deprived of every thing elſe. All entreaties were in vain. Schmettau continued firm in his reſolution. He told them that their ſafety depended on themſelves, and on M. Daun; that if he made no attempts, the ſuburbs ſhould be ſtill ſecure; but that if he took any farther ſteps, the neceſſity of his maſter's ſervice, and his own honour, would compel him to act very diſagreeable to the lenity of his diſpoſition. The magiſtrates retired in deſpair. Combuſtibles were laid in all the houſes.

At three o'clock next morning, the ſignal for firing the ſuburbs was given; and in a moment, a place ſo lately the ſeat of eaſe and luxury, flouriſhing in traffic, in pleaſures, and ingenious arts, was all in flames. A calamity ſo dreadful need no high colouring. However, as little miſchief attended ſuch a combuſtion as the nature of the thing could admit. Very few loſt their lives; but many their whole ſubſtance. When this was done, the Pruſſian troops abandoned the flaming ſuburbs, and retired in good order into the city. Nov. 10.

M. Daun ſaw this fire, which whilſt it laid waſte the capital of his ally, made it more difficult for him to force it, he ſent in ſome empty threats to the governor. But the Saxon miniſter at Ratiſbon made grievous complaints to the Diet of what he repreſented as the moſt unparalleled act of wanton and unprovoked cruelty, that had ever been committed. The emiſſaries of the court of Vienna ſpread the ſame complaints; and they made no ſcruple to invent, and to alter facts in ſuch a manner as to move the greateſt pity towards the ſufferers, and the greateſt indignation againſt the King of Pruſſia. All theſe, however, were in a ſhort time abundantly confuted, by the authentic certificates of the magiſtrates of Dreſden, and of thoſe officers of the court, who were perfectly acquainted with the tranſaction. By theſe certificates it appears that only two hundred and fifty houſes were conſumed. Though this was a terrible calamity, it was nothing to the accounts given in the gazettes of the Auſtrian faction.

By

By theſe certificates it appears alſo, that the people were not ſurpriſed, but had ſufficient notice of the governor's intentions, to enable them to provide for their ſafety. In a word, all the charges of cruelty againſt the Pruſſian commander, and ſoldiery, were fully overthrown.

This fire made a *coup de main* impracticable; regular operations demanded time, and the King of Pruſſia was now in full march towards Saxony. M. Daun retired from before the place on the 17th. The King after croſſing Luſatia, paſſing the Elbe, and joining his troops under Count Dohna and General Wedel, arrived triumphantly at Dreſden on the 20th. The armies of M. Daun and the Empire gave way towards Bohemia, into which kingdom they ſoon after finally retreated, without enterpriſing any thing further. Six ſieges were raiſed almoſt at the ſame time; that of Colberg, carried on by General Palmbach, under the orders of Marſhal Fermor; that of Neiſs, by M. de Harſch; that of Coſel; that of Dreſden, by Marſhal Daun; the blockade of Torgau, by M. Haddic; and that of Leipſic, by the Prince of Deux-Ponts.

About the time that the Auſtrians retired into winter quarters, the French did the ſame; and the Hanoverians permitted them to do it without moleſtation, the ſeaſon being too far advanced, and their army perhaps not of ſufficient ſtrength for offenſive operations; and Prince Ferdinand kept the field no longer. The Britiſh troops had no occaſion of ſignalizing their bravery during this year; but without a battle the nation ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs, and was touched with a very deep and general ſorrow. The Duke of Marlborough died in Munſter, the 20th of October, of a fever, contracted by the fatigues of the campaign. Never did the nation loſe in one man, a temper more candid and benevolent, manners more amiable and open, a more primitive integrity, a more exalted generoſity, a more warm and feeling heart. He left all the enjoyments, which an ample fortune and an high rank could beſtow in the public eye; and which every milder virtue, every diſpoſition to make and to be made happy, could give in a domeſtic life: he left theſe for the ſervice of his country, and died for its defence, as he had lived for its ornament and happineſs.

If we compare the events of this year with thoſe of the laſt, we ſhall find in the actions of the preſent year, perhaps ſomething leſs of that aſtoniſhing eclat; fewer battles; not ſo many nor ſo ſtriking revolutions of fortune; but we may diſcover upon all ſides far greater management, and a more ſtudied and refined conduct; more artful movements, a more judicious choice of poſts, more quick and vigorous marches. If in the laſt year, the King of Pruſſia was the hero of the imagination, he is this year the hero of the judgment; and we have, I think, reaſon to admire him upon juſter principles. Obliged to evacuate Moravia, he throws himſelf into Bohemia, and executes a retreat with all the ſpirit of an invaſion. He marches more than an hundred miles thro' an enemy's country, followed and haraſſed by large armies, who are unable to obtain any advantages over him. Gaining at length his own territories, he engages the vaſt army of the Ruſ-

ſians, and defeats it. He is unable to follow his blow, but he diſables them from ſtriking any blow againſt that part of his dominions, which he is obliged to leave. Whilſt he is engaged with the Ruſſians on the frontiers of Poland, the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts enter Saxony. Before they can do any thing deciſive, the King is himſelf ſuddenly in Saxony, and by his preſence at once diſconcerts all their projects. The ſcene is again changed, they ſurpriſe him in his camp at Hohkirchen, two of his generals are killed, his army defeated, his camp is taken. They attack Sileſia with a formidable army. Notwithſtanding his late defeat; notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of his enemies; notwithſtanding the advantage of their poſts; he makes an amazing ſweep about all their forces, eludes their vigilance, renders their poſitions unprofitable; and marching with an aſtoniſhing rapidity into the remoteſt parts of Sileſia, obliges the Auſtrian armies to retire with precipitation out of that province. Then he flies to the relief of Saxony, which his enemies had again profited of his abſence to invade; and again by the ſame rapid and well conducted march, he obliges them to abandon their prize. Defeated by the Auſtrians he acquired by his conduct all the advantages of the moſt compleat victory. He guarded all his poſſeſſions in ſuch a manner, as to enable them all to endure his abſence for ſome ſhort time; and he conducted his marches with ſuch ſpirit, as did not make it neceſſary to them to hold out any longer; he made twice the circuit of his dominions, and in their turn he relieved them all.

Nor was the conduct of Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick leſs worthy of admiration. Placed at the head of a body of troops, who were but lately obliged to lay down their arms, he found the enemy in poſſeſſion of the whole open country, and of all the ſtrong places in it. Commencing the campaign in the midſt of a ſevere winter, without any place of ſtrength in his hands, he drove the enemy from all thoſe they held. He obliged them to repaſs the Rhine, he followed and defeated them in a pitched battle. Being afterwards obliged by the great force of France on its own frontier, and the numerous armies they had in different places, to repaſs the Rhine; he defended Lippe againſt numbers greatly ſuperior, and though they defeated a part of his army, they were not able to turn their victory to the leaſt advantage. Prince Ferdinand's campaign may well paſs for a perfect model of defenſive operations.

The Auſtrians, in taking winter quarters, diſpoſed their forces ſo as to form a chain of an amazing length from the frontiers of Moravia paſſing through Bohemia, all along the ſkirts of Sileſia and the borders of Saxony. There the Imperial army joined this chain, and continued it through Thuringia and Franconia, where it was united to the quarters of the Prince de Soubiſe. Theſe troops had fallen back from Heſſe-Caſſel, finding themſelves unable to maintain their ground in the landgraviate. The Prince de Soubiſe's cantonments extended weſtward along the courſe of the Maine and Lahn, to meet thoſe of M. de Contades which ſtretched to the Rhine, and continued the chain beyond it quite to the

the Maeſe, ſo as to command the whole courſe of the Rhine, on both ſides, both upward and downward. Prince Ferdinand was unable to extend himſelf to ſuch a length; and eſpecially found it impracticable to eſtabliſh quarters on the other ſide of the Rhine; but he diſpoſed his troops in the moſt advantageous manner in the biſhopricks of Munſter, Paderborn, and Hildeſheim, and in the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel. The ſeveral bodies may all unite with eaſe, and ſupport each other. To preſerve a communication between this and the Pruſſian army, as well as to break ſome part of that formidable chain of the enemy, the King ſent ſome bodies of his troops into Thuringia, who diſpoſſeſſed the army of the Empire of ſeveral of their poſts there, and they now threaten to penetrate ſtill farther.

The King of Pruſſia, when he had a ſecond time driven the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts out of Saxony, reſolved to keep no meaſures with that unhappy country. He declared that he was reſolved no longer to conſider it as a depoſit, but as a country which he had twice ſubdued by his arms. He therefore ordered thoſe of the King of Poland's privy council, who ſtill remained at Dreſden, to retire at a very ſhort warning. But if the King of Pruſſia had a right, as perhaps he had, to conſider Saxony as a lawful conqueſt, he certainly ſeemed not to conſider the people as ſubjects, when he continued to exact the moſt ſevere contributions; and in a manner too very little becoming a lawful ſovereign; for he ſurrounded the exchange with ſoldiers, and confining the merchants in narrow lodgings on ſtraw beds, he obliged them by extreme ſuffering, to draw bills on their foreign correſpondents for very large ſums. This city had been quite exhauſted by former payments, and had not long before ſuffered military execution. An enemy that acted thus, had acted ſeverely; but when a country is entirely poſſeſſed by any power, and claimed as a conqueſt, the rights of war ſeem to ceaſe; and the people have a claim to be governed in ſuch a manner as becomes a juſt prince; eſpecially when no extreme neceſſity in his affairs compels him to theſe rigorous courſes. To retaliate on theſe miſerable people ſome part of the cruelties committed by the Ruſſians on his dominions, ſeems to be very unreaſonable, as it is but too obvious, that the barbarity of that people could not be reſtrained, however it might be exaſperated by the total deſtruction of Saxony. Such retaliations are odious and cruel. We heartily wiſh we could praiſe the King of Pruſſia as much for his temperate uſe of his conqueſt, as for thoſe wonderful and heroic qualities by which he obtained it. We might be conſidered as partial in our account, if we had omitted to take notice of what is alledged againſt the King of Pruſſia, when we have ſpoken ſo fully of the outrages committed by his enemies. It is now time to turn our eyes from this great theatre towards leſſer events, but ſuch as will employ us altogether as agreeably; the operations of the Britiſh fleets and armies in Europe and America againſt the French.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The burning of the ſhips at St. Malo. Taking of Cherbourg. Defeat at St. Cas. Operations in America. Siege and taking of Louiſbourg. Engliſh army defeated at Ticonderoga. They take Frontenac. The French abandon Fort du Queſne. Concluſion of the annals of the year 1758.

IN the beginning of this year, the good condition of our navy and our army; the ſpirit and popularity of the miniſtry; the wiſe choice of commanders, in contempt of vulgar and trivial maxims; the prevalence of the contrary to all theſe amongſt the enemy; gave us the beſt grounded hopes of a vigorous and ſucceſsful campaign. Concerning the theatre of our operations there was ſome doubt. It was the opinion of ſome, that our puſh in Europe ſhould be made on the ſide of Germany; and that we ought to ſtrengthen the army of Prince Ferdinand with ſuch a reſpectable body of troops, as might enable that miniſhed commander to exert all his talents, and improve to the utmoſt the advantages he had already obtained over the French. They imagined, that if an early and conſiderable reinforcement were ſent to the prince, while the French army was yet in a diſtreſſed condition, and if in this condition that ſhould receive any conſiderable blow, they would find it extremely difficult to retrieve it; and receiving this blow on the frontier of their own territories, the prince might carry the war into France itſelf; and thus very probably bring matters to a ſpeedy deciſion. That in purſuing this plan a diverſion on the coaſt of France was by no means excluded: and that on the contrary it muſt, on this plan, be attended with conſequences infinitely more important than it could otherwiſe; that otherwiſe, France might laugh at the little deſultory efforts of an handful of men, who were to be embarked and diſembarked with great difficulty and hazard, and which would always be obliged to fly at the firſt approach of an enemy. That whilſt the French had only an army greatly inferior in number to engage on the ſide of Germany, they would always find themſelves well able to act abroad, and defend themſelves at home.

On the other hand it was ſtrongly urged, that we ought to make the deſtruction of the French marine our great object, and to conſider all continental operations only in a ſecondary light. That in ſending a large body of Engliſh troops to the king's army on the Rhine, we muſt neceſſarily weaken our efforts in America, and on the coaſt of France; and by drawing away all our forces, we muſt ſhake that internal ſecurity, which invigorated all our operations abroad. That whilſt we maintained an army of 50,000 foreigners in Germany, it would be the greateſt imprudence to ſend alſo a large body of our own national troops into the ſame country, and by that means not only ſquander away our men, but employ almoſt every penny granted for the land ſervice out of Great Britain; a method which could not fail of exhauſting us in a very ſhort time. That the force already in Germany was ſufficient to keep the French engaged, and that the propoſed expeditions to France would,

would, by attacking the coaſt, now in one part, now in another, and keeping all parts in continual alarms, neceſſarily detain a very conſiderable part of their forces at home, and thus make a powerful diverſion, whilſt it was purſuing what ought to be the grand perpetual object of all our operations, the deſtruction of the French maritime power.

The latter opinion prevailed; but it was however ſo far modified by the arguments on the other ſide, that after ſome time a few regiments were ſent into Germany, as we have before related. Theſe and better reaſons, no doubt, determined the operations on the coaſt of France; but whilſt the neceſſary preparations were making, their deſtination was kept an inviolable ſecret; and now, as they had the year before, inſpired France with no little terror. Two ſquadrons, by the latter end of May, were in readineſs for ſailing. The greater under Lord Anſon, the ſmaller under Commodore Howe, which was ſo deſigned to convoy the tranſports, and to favour the landing and reimbarkment. The land forces conſiſted of ſixteen battalions, and nine troops of light horſe: they were commanded by the late Duke of Marlborough. They ſailed from Portſmouth; but as ſoon as the fleet ſet ſail, the ſquadron of my Lord Anſon ſeparated from the reſt, and bore off to the Bay of Biſcay, in order to ſpread the alarm more widely, and to obſerve the French ſquadron in Breſt. The other part of the fleet which was commanded by Commodore Howe, with the tranſports, arrived without any accident in Cancalle Bay, at a ſmall diſtance from the city of St. Malo. Here the troops landed without oppoſition, and having fortified a poſt near Cancalle, (a poſt by nature well fitted for defence) for the ſecurity of their retreat, they marched in two columns to St. Maloes. When the army arrived there, it was ſoon viſible that the town, ſtrongly ſituated on a peninſula, communicating with the main land only by a long and narrow cauſeway, was by no means a proper object of a *coup de main*; and though for want of outworks, it was ill qualified to ſuſtain a regular ſiege; yet our forces were, for want of ſtrength and artillery ſufficient, altogether as ill qualified for ſuch an operation. They were therefore contented with ſetting fire to about an hundred ſail of ſhipping, many of them privateers, which lay under the cannon of the town, and to ſeveral magazines filled with naval ſtores. The damage was very conſiderable; yet, what is to be remarked, the enemy did not fire a ſingle ſhot on the detachment employed in this ſervice. Having nothing more to do on this ſide, they retired to Cancalle; and reimbarked with as little oppoſition as they met with at landing; the land and ſea commanders having made all the diſpoſitions with great judgment.

June 1. 5th. 8th. 12th.

Before the fleet returned, they reconnoitred the town of Granville on the coaſt of Normandy; but finding that a large body of troops were encamped in the neighbourhood, they made no attempt there. From thence they moved towards Cherbourg, and made the proper diſpoſitions for landing near that place; but a hard gale blowing in to the ſhore, and the tranſports beginning to fall foul

foul on each other, it became extremely hazardous to attempt landing. Beſides, the proviſion was near exhauſted, and the ſoldiers by being ſo long cooped up in the tranſports, were grown ſickly. It became highly neceſſary to return home; and they arrived at St. Helen's on the 29th of June.

The ſucceſs of this expedition, by which the French ſuffered largely, with ſcarce any loſs on our ſide, though it ſufficiently anſwered the intention of the armament, fell ſomewhat ſhort of the expectations of the public, who had formed much greater hopes than it was poſſible for the nature of ſuch enterpriſes to fulfil. However, their hopes were again revived; by ſeeing that every thing was prepared for another expedition, and that our armies and fleets were to be kept in conſtant action during the ſummer. The time was now come when we were to turn the tables upon France, and to retaliate by real attacks, the terrors which had been raiſed by her menaces of an invaſion. The Duke of Marlborough had now taken the command of the Engliſh forces in Germany; and General Bligh ſucceeded him in this command. Prince Edward reſolved to go upon the expedition, and to form himſelf for the ſervice of his country under ſo brave and able a commander as Howe. It is eaſy to imagine, how much the ſpirit, the preſence and example of the gallant young Prince, who went with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs through all the detail of a midſhipman's duty, inſpired both into the ſeamen and the troops.

On the firſt of Auguſt, the fleet ſet ſail from St. Helen's. In a few days they came to anchor before Cherbourg. The French had drawn a line ſtrengthened by forts, along the moſt probable places for landing. They had drawn down three regiments of regular troops, and a conſiderable body of militia to the ſhore, and had in all appearance threatened a very reſolute oppoſition to the deſcent of the Engliſh forces. But the commodore diſpoſed the men of war and bomb ketches ſo judiciouſly, and made ſo ſharp a fire upon the enemy, that they never ventured out of their intrenchments; ſo that the landing was effected in excellent order, and with very little loſs. The French who made ſo poor an oppoſition to the landing had ſtill many advantages from the nature of the ground which they occupied; but they neglected them all; and abandoning by a moſt ſhameful deſpair their forts and lines on the coaſt, they ſuffered the Engliſh to enter Cherbourg the day after the landing, without throwing the leaſt obſtacle in their way. It muſt be remembered too that the whole number of the Engliſh forces on this expedition, was rather ſhort of 6000 men. Aug. 6.

Cherbourg is on the land ſide an open town; neither is it very ſtrongly defended towards the ſea. The harbour is naturally bad. But the place is well ſituated, in the midſt of the channel, for protecting the French, and annoying the Engliſh commerce in time of war, and perhaps for facilitating an invaſion on England itſelf. Monſieur Belidore, the famous engineer, had demonſtrated its importance, and propoſed a plan for the improvement and defence of the harbour, as well as for the fortifications of the town. This plan was approved,

and partly put in execution by the building of a mole, digging a baſon, and making ſluices and flood gates with excellent materials and at a vaſt expence. The work had been for a conſiderable time diſcontinued; but in this expedition, that work of ſo much ingenuity, charge, and labour, was totally deſtroyed. Whilſt our humanity regrets the unhappy neceſſity of war, we cannot help thinking that the Engliſh nation was freed by the ſucceſs of this expedition, from what might one day be cauſe of no trivial alarms.

When this work of deſtruction was over, all the veſſels in the harbour burned, and hoſtages taken for the contributions levied on the town, the forces reimbarked with great ſpeed and ſafety without any interruption from the enemy, and with the ſame expedition, care, and conduct, as they had been firſt landed; the army having continued ten days unmoleſted in France.

16th.

The nation exulted greatly in this advantage, eſpecially as it almoſt accompanied the news of our glorious ſucceſſes in America. Nothing was omitted to give the action its utmoſt eclat; the braſs cannon and mortars taken at Cherbourg were drawn from Kenſington to the Tower, quite through the city, in great pomp and order, adorned with ſtreamers, attended by guards, drums, muſic, and whatever elſe might draw the attention of the vulgar. They who cenſured this proceſſion as too oſtentatious, did not conſider how forcibly things of this nature ſtrike upon ordinary minds, and how greatly they contribute to keep the people in good humour to ſupport the many charges and loſſes that are incident to the moſt ſucceſsful war.

Sept. 16.

The fleet when it left Cherbourg, was driven to the coaſt of England; but the troops were not diſembarked; it was reſolved, that the coaſt of France ſhould have no reſpite, and accordingly they ſailed towards St. Malo, and landed in the bay of St. Lunar at a ſmall diſtance from the town of St. Malo. This choice of a place for landing, muſt neceſſarily have ſurpriſed all thoſe who remembered upon what reaſons the attempt againſt that place had been ſo recently laid aſide. There was no other object of ſufficient conſideration near it. The town was at leaſt in as good a poſture of defence as it had been then; and the force which was to attack it had ſince then been conſiderably leſſened. There is undoubtedly ſomething very unaccountable, as well in the choice, as in the whole conduct of this affair. The perſons in the principal commands, ſhifted the blame from one to another. There is nothing more remote from our deſign, than to ſet up for judges in matters of this nature; or ungenerouſly to lean on any officer, who meaning well to the ſervice of his country, by ſome misfortune or miſtake fails in ſuch hazardous and intricate enterpriſes. We ſhall be ſatisfied with relating the facts as they happened.

As ſoon as the troops were landed in the bay of St. Lunar, it became evident that the deſign againſt St. Malo was utterly impracticable. Other projects were then propoſed, but they all ſeemed equally liable to objection. Whilſt they debated concerning a plan for their operations, the fleet was in the

the greateſt danger. The bay of St. Lunar is extremely rocky; and the experience of the people of the country, together with what he ſaw himſelf, convinced the commodore that it was impoſſible to remain any longer in this road with tolerable ſafety. Therefore he moved up to the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

The fleet was ſeparated from the land forces; but it was ſtill eaſy to preſerve a communication between them; and as no attack was yet apprehended, they made no ſcruple to penetrate farther into the country. In two days they arrived at the village of Matignon, having had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with ſmall bodies of the enemy, who from time to time appeared on their flanks, and who always diſappeared when they were briſkly encountered. By this time the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, was advanced within ſix miles of the Engliſh army, with a body of twelve battalions and ſix ſquadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. This determined the council of war to retreat; they wanted but three miles to the bay of St. Cas. But in this little march a conſiderable time was conſumed, and the French army was cloſe upon them before they could be compleatly reimbarked. A very ſteep hill formed a ſort of amphitheatre about the bay of St. Cas, where the embarkation was making; but before the laſt diviſion, which conſiſted of all the grenadiers of the army, and the firſt regiment of guards, could get off, the French had marched down this hill, through an hollow way, and formed themſelves in a long line againſt the few Engliſh troops that remained. There remained in this exigency only the expedient of aſſuming a bold countenance, and attacking them with vigour. The bravery of our troops on this deſperate occaſion, was worthy of a better fortune. The ſhips and frigates ſeconded their efforts, and made a ſevere fire upon the enemy. All was to no purpoſe; their ammunition was at laſt ſpent; the enemies numbers prevailed; our little body attempted to retreat, but they fell into confuſion, they broke, an horrible ſlaughter followed, many ran into the water, and met their fate in that element. The ſhore was covered with dead bodies. General Dury was drowned. Sir John Armitage, a young volunteer of great fortune and hopes, was ſhot through the head. Several officers, men of large fortune and conſideration, fell. At length the firing of the frigates ceaſed, and the French immediately gave quarter. About 400 were made priſoners, 600 were killed and wounded.

In the midſt of this carnage, in the midſt of a fire that ſtaggered the braveſt ſeamen who managed the boats, Commodore Howe exhibited a noble example of intrepidity and fortitude, by ordering himſelf to be rowed in his own boat through the thickeſt of the fire, to encourage all that were engaged in that ſervice, and to bring off as many men as his veſſel could carry.

This affair diſpirited the people of England, and elated the people of France, far more than an affair of ſo little conſequence ought to have done. It was in fact no more than the cutting off a rear guard. There is often more bloodſhed in ſkirmiſhes in Germany, which make no figure in the Gazettes. And

certainly, if our expeditions to the coaſt of France were planned with any judgment, on our part we had rather reaſon to congratulate ourſelves that we were able to land three times on that coaſt, with ſo inconſiderable a loſs. The French indeed had reaſon to magnify this loſs; and they did greatly magnify it, in order to conſole their people, who had ſeen their trade ſuffer ſo much, and their country ſo long inſulted with impunity.

Whatever our ſucceſſes were on the coaſt of France, they did not affect us in the ſame manner with thoſe which we had in America. From this part of the world we had long been ſtrangers to any thing, but delays, misfortunes, diſappointments, and diſgraces. But the ſpirit which had been rouſed at home, diffuſed itſelf into all parts of the world where we had any concern, and invigorated all our operations.

Admiral Boſcawen with a powerful fleet of men of war, and ſeveral tranſports, ſailed for Halifax, from England, Feb. 19th. He had the chief command of the expedition againſt Louiſbourg, and in particular the direction of the naval operations. General Amherſt, from whoſe character great things were expected, and who juſtified theſe expectations, was to command the land forces. Theſe amounted to about 14 00 men, including ſome light troops, fitted for the peculiar ſervice of the country. The whole fleet, conſiſting of 151 ſhips, ſet ſail from the harbour of Halifax. On the ſecond of June they appeared before Louiſbourg. They were ſix days on the coaſt before a landing was found practicable; ſuch a prodigious ſurf ſwelled all along the ſhore, that no boat could poſſibly live near it. The French not truſting to this oſtacle, had drawn entrenchments in every part where it might be poſſible to land, ſupported them with batteries in convenient places, and lined them with a numerous infantry. At length the ſurf, though violent at beſt, was obſerved to be ſomewhat abated, and the admiral and general did not loſe a moment to avail themſelves of this firſt opportunity of landing; they made all their diſpoſitions for it with the higheſt judgment. They ordered the frigates towards the enemies right and left, to rake them on their flanks. Then the troops were diſpoſed for landing in three diviſions. That on the left was commanded by General Wolfe, and was deſtined to the real attack. The diviſions in the center to the right, were only deſigned for feigned attacks to draw the enemies attention to all parts, and to diſtract their defence. June 8.

When the fire of the frigates continued about a quarter of an hour, General Wolfe's diviſion moved towards the land; the enemy reſerved their ſhot until the boats were near the ſhore, and then directed the whole fire of their cannon and muſquetry upon them. The ſurf aided their fire. Many of the boats overſet, many were broke to pieces, the men jumped into the water, ſome were killed, ſome drowned; the reſt, ſupported and encouraged in all difficulties, by the example, ſpirit, and conduct of their truly gallant commander, gained the ſhore, took poſt, fell upon the enemy with ſuch order and reſolution, that they ſoon obliged them to fly in confuſion. As ſoon as this poſt was made good, the center moved towards the

the left, and the right followed the center, ſo that the landing was compleated, though not without much time and trouble, in an excellent order, and with little loſs.

The operations of a ſiege are too minute and unintereſting to make a detail of them agreeable to readers, who are not converſant in the art military. The operations againſt Louiſbourg for ſeveral days went on very ſlowly, owing entirely to the prodigious ſurf and the rough weather, which made it extremely difficult to land the artillery, ſtores, and inſtruments to be employed in the ſiege; however, the excellent conduct of the generals Amherſt and Wolfe, by degrees overcame all the difficulties of the weather, which was extremely unfavourable, the ground which was rugged in ſome places and boggy in others, and the reſiſtance of the garriſon which was conſiderable. The French had five men of war of the line in the harbour, who could bring all their guns to bear upon the approaches of the Engliſh troops. The firſt thing done was to ſecure a point called the light-houſe battery, from whence they might play upon the veſſels, and on the batteries on the other ſide of the harbour. General Wolfe performed this ſervice with his uſual vigour and ce-
12th. lerity, and took poſſeſſion of this and all the other poſts in that quarter. His fire from this poſt on the 25th ſilenced the iſland battery, which was that moſt immediately oppoſed to his; but the ſhips ſtill continued to bear upon him until the 21ſt of the following month, when one of them blew up, and communicating the fire to two others, they alſo were in a ſhort time conſumed to the water edge. This was a loſs not to be repaired; the approaches drew near the covered way, and things were in a good condition for making a lodgment in it; the enemies fire was conſiderably ſlackened; the town was conſumed to the ground in many places, and the works had ſuffered much in all. Yet the enemy ſtill delaying to ſurrender, gave occaſion to add one brave action to the others which had been diſplayed during the courſe of this ſiege. The admiral, who had all along done every thing poſſible to ſecond the efforts of the land forces, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, reſolved on a ſtroke, which by being deciſive of the poſſeſſion of the harbour, might make the reduction of the town a matter of little difficulty. He reſolved to ſend in a detachment of 600 ſeamen in boats to take or burn the two ſhips of the line which remained, and if he ſhould ſucceed in this, he propoſed the next day to ſend in ſome of his own great ſhips who might batter the town on the ſide of the harbour. This was not more wiſely planned by the admiral, than gallantly and ſucceſsfully executed by Captain Laforey. In ſpite of the fire from the ſhips and the batteries, he made himſelf maſter of July 25. both theſe ſhips; one he towed off, and the other, as ſhe ran aground, was ſet on fire.

This ſtroke, in ſupport of the ſpirited advances of the land forces, was concluſive. July 26. The town ſurrendered the next day. The garriſon were priſoners of war, and amounted with the irregulars and ſeamen to 5637.

The taking of Louiſbourg was an event the moſt deſired by all our colonies; that harbour had always been a receptacle convenient to the enemies privateers, who infeſted the Engliſh trade in North America. It was the moſt effectual blow which France had received from the commencement of the war. By the taking of Louiſbourg, ſhe loſt the only place from whence ſhe could carry on the cod-fiſhery; and the only place ſhe had in a convenient ſituation for the reinforcements that were ſent to ſupport the war in the other parts of America; and with Louiſbourg fell the iſland of St. John's, and whatever other inferior ſtations they had for carrying on the fiſhery towards Gaſpeſie and the bay De Chaleurs, which our ſhips ſoon after this event entirely deſtroyed. It is incredible how much this ſucceſs in America, joined to the ſpirit of our other meaſures, operated to raiſe our military reputation in Europe, and to ſink that of France, and conſequently how much it influenced our moſt eſſential intereſts, and thoſe of our allies.

The plan of our operations in America was, however, by no means confined ſolely to this object, important as it was. Two other attempts were propoſed: the firſt attempt was with a great force to drive the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point; in which, if we could ſucceed, the enemy would loſe thoſe poſts from which they were in the beſt condition to moleſt our colonies, and by loſing them, would lay open an eaſy road into the very heart of their ſettlements in Canada. The ſecond attempt was to be made with a conſiderable, though an inferior force, from Penſylvania againſt Fort du Queſne: the ſucceſs of this attempt would eſtabliſh us in the poſſeſſion of the Ohio, and break off the connection between Canada and Louiſiana.

General Abercrombie, commander in chief of our forces in America, conducted the firſt of thoſe expeditions. He embarked upon Lake George with near 16000 troops, regulars and provincials, and a numerous artillery, on the 5th of July; and after a proſperous navigation, arrived the next day at the place where it had been propoſed to make the landing. They landed without oppoſition. The enemies advanced guards fled at their approach. The Engliſh army proceeded in four columns to Ticonderoga. As the country through which their march lay is difficult and woody, and the guides which conducted the march to this unknown country, were extremely unſkilful, the troops were bewildered, the columns broke and fell in upon one another. Whilſt they marched out in this alarming diſorder the advanced guard of the French, which had lately fled before them, was bewildered in the ſame manner; and in the ſame diſorder fell in with our forces. A ſkirmiſh enſued, in which this party was quickly defeated with the loſs of near 300 killed and 148 priſoners. The loſs on the Engliſh ſide was inconſiderable in numbers; but great in conſequence. Lord Howe was killed. This gallant man, from the moment he landed in America, had wiſely conformed and made his regiment conform to the kind of ſervice which the country required. He did not ſuffer any under him to encumber themſelves with ſuperfluous baggage;

gage; he himſelf ſet the example, and fared like a common ſoldier. The firſt to encounter danger, to endure hunger, to ſupport fatigue; rigid in his diſcipline, but eaſy in his manners, his officers and ſoldiers readily obeyed the commander, becauſe they loved the man; and now at the moment when ſuch abilities, and ſuch an example were the moſt wanted, was fatally loſt a life which was long enough for his honour, but not for his country. It adds indeed to the glory of ſuch a death, and to the conſolation of his country, that we ſtill poſſeſs the heir of his titles, his fortunes, and virtues, whilſt we tremble to ſee the ſame virtues expoſing themſelves to the ſame dangers *.

Excepting this loſs, the army had hitherto proceeded ſucceſsfully. In a little time they appeared before Ticonderoga. This is a very important poſt, and as ſtrongly ſecured. The fort is ſituated on a tongue of land between Lake George and a narrow gut, which communicates with the Lake Champlain. On three ſides it is ſurrounded with water; and for a good part of the fourth it has a dangerous moraſs in front; where that failed, the French had made a very ſtrong line upwards of eight feet high, defended by cannon, and ſecured by 4 or 5000 men. A great fall of trees with their branches outward, was ſpread before the entrenchment for about an hundred yards.

July 8.

The general cauſed the ground to be reconnoitred; and the engineer made ſo favourable a report of the weakneſs of the entrenchment, that it appeared practicable to force it by muſquetry alone. A fatal reſolution was taken, in conſequence of this report, not to wait the arrival of the artillery, which on account of the badneſs of the ground, could not be eaſily brought up, but to attack the enemy without loſs of time. They were confirmed in this precipitate reſolution, by a rumour that a body of 3000 men were on their march to join the French at Ticonderoga, and very ſhortly expected to arrive.

When the attack began, the difficulty of the ground and the ſtrength of the enemies lines which had been ſo little foreſeen, was but too ſeverely felt. Although the troops behaved with the utmoſt ſpirit and gallantry, they ſuffered ſo terribly in their approaches, and made ſo little impreſſion on the entrenchment, that the general ſeeing their reiterated and obſtinate efforts fail of ſucceſs, being upwards

* Soon after the news of Lord Howe's death arrived, the following advertiſement appeared in the public papers; an application worthy of a Roman matron, in the virtuous times of the republic, and which could not fail of ſucceſs, where the leaſt ſpark of virtue exiſted:

'To the gentlemen, clergy, freeholders, and burgeſſes, of the town and county of the town of Nottingham.

'As Lord Howe is now abſent upon the public ſervice, and Lieutenant Colonel Howe is with his regiment at Louiſbourg, it reſts upon me to beg the favour of your votes and intereſts, that Lieutenant Colonel Howe may ſupply the place of his late brother, as your repreſentative in parliament.

'Permit me therefore to implore the protection of every one of you, as the mother of him, whoſe life has been loſt in the ſervice of his country.

Albemarle Street, Sept. 14, 1758. CHARLOTTE HOWE.

upwards of four hours expoſed to a moſt terrible fire, thought it neceſſary to order a retreat, to ſave the remains of the army. Near 2000 of our men were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; the number of the taken being very inconſiderable. This precipitate attack was followed by a retreat as precipitate; inſomuch that our army gained their former camp to the ſouthward of Lake George, the evening after the action. July 9.

To repair the misfortune of this bloody defeat, General Abercrombie detached Colonel Bradſtreet with about 3000 provincials againſt Fort Frontenac. The colonel with great prudence and vigour, ſurmounting great difficulties, brought his army to Oſwego, where he embarked on the Lake Ontario, and arrived at Frontenac the 25th of Auguſt. This fort ſtands at the communication of Lake Ontario with the river St. Lawrence, the entrance into which river it in ſome manner commands. However, for a poſt of ſuch moment, it was poorly fortified, and poorly garriſoned. It was taken without the loſs of a man on our ſide, in leſs than two days after it had been attacked. The garriſon, conſiſting of 130 men, were made priſoners; nine armed ſloops were taken and burned; and a large quantity of proviſions amaſſed there for the uſe of their garriſons, to the ſouthward, was deſtroyed. The fort was demoliſhed. Colonel Bradſtreet having performed this important ſervice, returned. Many were of opinion, that ſo fine a poſt ought to have been kept and ſtrongly garriſoned; others thought that it would be impoſſible to preſerve a place at ſuch a diſtance from our own eſtabliſhments. Aug. 27.

It is very poſſible, that the ſucceſs of Colonel Bradſtreet greatly facilitated that of the expedition under General Forbes. The general had had a very tedious and troubleſome march, through a country almoſt impracticable, very little known, and continually haraſſed on his route by the enemies Indians. An advanced guard of this army, conſiſting of about 800 men under Major Grant, had moſt unaccountably advanced cloſe to Fort du Queſne, with a deſign as it ſhould ſeem of reducing the place by a *coup de main*; but the garriſon ſuddenly ſallying out and attacking them warmly on all ſides, killed and made priſoners many of this party, and diſperſed the reſt. This was however their laſt ſucceſs; for the body of the army being conducted with greater ſkill and circumſpection, baffled all their attempts; ſo that the French being convinced by ſeveral ſkirmiſhes that all their efforts to ſurpriſe the troops, or interrupt their communication, were to no purpoſe, and being conſcious that their fort was not tenable againſt a regular attack, they wiſely abandoned the place after deſtroying their works; and fell down the Ohio, to the number of 4 or 500 men, towards their more ſouthern ſettlements. Nov. 24.

General Forbes once more erected the Engliſh flag on Fort du Queſne. Without any reſiſtance we became maſters in the third year after the commencement of hoſtilities of that fortreſs, the contention for which had kindled up the flames of ſo general and deſtructive a war. This place with its maſters has changed 25th.

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its name, and is called Pittſburg, with a propriety which does not need to be pointed out.

Notwithſtanding the unhappy affair at Ticonderoga, the campaign of 1758 in America was very advantageous, and very honourable to the Engliſh intereſt. Louiſbourg, St. John's, Frontenac, and du Queſne reduced, remove from our colonies all terror of the Indian incurſions, draw from the French thoſe uſeful allies, free our frontiers from the yoke of their enemies forts, make their ſupplies difficult, their communications precarious, and all their defenſive or offenſive operations uneffective; whilſt their country uncovered of its principal bulwarks, lies open to the heart, and affords the moſt pleaſing proſpects of ſucceſs to the vigorous meaſures which we may be aſſured will be taken in the next campaign. General Amherſt is now commander.

It would be doing great injuſtice to the ſpirit and conduct of the miniſtry, not to obſerve, that they omitted to diſtreſs the enemy in no part, and that their plans of operation were as extenſive as they were vigorous.

Two ſhips of the line with ſome frigates, were ſent early Mar. 9. in the ſpring to the coaſt of Africa, to drive the French from their ſettlements there. They entered the river Senegal, and in ſpite of the obſtruction of a dangerous bar, which the ſhips of war could not paſs, they obliged the French fort which commands the May 1. river to ſurrender. And on the 29th of December following, Commodore Keppel, with the aſſiſtance of ſome troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Worge, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Goree and its forts; the garriſon ſurrendering at diſcretion to his majeſty's ſquadron. By theſe ſucceſſes, we have taken from the enemy one of the moſt valuable branches of their commerce, and one the moſt capable of abundant improvement *.

From

* The river Senega, or Senegal, is one of thoſe channels of the river Niger, by which it is ſuppoſed to diſcharge its waters into the Atlantic ocean: The river Niger, according to the beſt maps, riſes in the eaſt of Africa; and after a courſe of 300 miles, nearly due weſt, divides into three branches, the moſt northerly of which is the Senegal, as above; the middle is the Gambia, or Gambra; and the moſt ſouthern, Rio Grande. Senegal empties itſelf into the Atlantic ocean in 16 north lat. The entrance of it is guarded by ſeveral forts, the principal of which is Fort Lewis, built on an iſland of the ſame name. It is a quadrangular fort with two baſtions, and of no inconſiderable ſtrength. At the mouth of the river is a bar; the beſt ſeaſon for paſſing it, is from March to Auguſt, or September, or rather from April to July, becauſe the tides are then higheſt. The Engliſh had formerly ſettlements here, out of which they were driven by the French, who have ingroſſed the whole trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, which is near 500 miles. The Dutch were the firſt who ſettled Senegal, and built two forts. The French made themſelves maſters of them in 1678. In 1692 the Engliſh ſeized them; but next year the French retook them, and have kept them ever ſince. They built Fort Lewis in 1692, and have beyond it a multitude of other ſettlements, extending 200 leagues up the river. The principal commodities which the French import from this ſettlement, are that valuable article gum ſenega, hides, bees-

From the East Indies we have this year heard nothing remarkable. It does not seem that the French, notwithstanding the great struggle they made to send out a strong armament under General Lally, have been in a condition to enterprise any thing. It is said, and probably with good foundation, that the greatest part of that force was dwindled away with sickness during the voyage. Our naval force was exerted with spirit and effect in the Mediterranean. The French found that the possession of Minorca could not drive us from the dominion of the Mediterranean, where Admiral Osborn gave the enemies maritime strength such blows, as they must long feel, and which merited him the greatest of all honours, to be joined with the conquerors of Louisbourg, in the thanks of the representative body of their country. But as these, although very important, are detached affairs, we imagined it better to give them in our Chronicle; as they could not so well come into the body of this work without interrupting the series we propose to carry on.

The coming year seems big with great events. In Germany the affairs of the rival powers of Prussia and Austria, appear to be more nearly balanced than at any time since the beginning of the war. Their force is as great as ever, and their animosity is no-way lessened. Great steps are taken to assemble powerful armies on the Rhine; whilst Great Britain has sent out two considerable armaments, one to the West Indies, the other to Africa; the success of which must go a great way towards determining the issue of the war. Other great preparations are also making on the part of Great Britain. In the mean time, the Dutch, enraged at the captures of their ships, make complaints; and threaten armaments. The death of the Princess of Orange, which happened at a most critical juncture, adds more perplexity to affairs in that quarter. If we look to the southward, the clouds seem gathering there also. The imminent death of the King of Spain, will be an event fruitful of troubles. In this affair the King of Sardinia, the house of Austria, and the house of Bourbon, will find themselves concerned; to say nothing of the maritime powers. In a word, the flame of war threatens to spread in every part of Europe. What revolutions in politics these things will make, what new connections they will create, what old they will dissolve, what changes they will create in the fortunes of the present belligerent powers, or what disposition to peace or war they may produce, will be the subject of our next volume.

If the reader should perceive many faults and inaccuracies in this work, let him remember the disadvantages we labour under. Our accounts are taken from the

bees-wax, elephants teeth, cotton, gold dust, negro slaves, ostrich feathers, ambergris, indigo, and civet.

At present we are obliged to buy all our gum senega of the Dutch, who purchase it from the French; and they set what price they please on it. But as the trade to Africa is now open, by this important acquisition, the price of this valuable drug, which is so much used in several of our manufactures, will be much reduced.

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public ones of the year, which are themſelves often inaccurate, often contradictory. We find it very difficult to trace the true cauſes of events, which time only can draw from obſcurity. It is hard to find a connection between the facts upon whoſe authenticity we may depend. And in the maſs of materials of a dubious authority, it is equally hard to know what ought to be choſen, to make out ſuch a connection. Yet with all theſe difficulties, we are of opinion, that the reader will find ſome entertainment, as well as ſome help to his memory, from reading a connected ſeries of thoſe very remarkable and intereſting events which this war has produced, and which he has hitherto no where ſeen but in a looſe detached manner. If we can do this we are ſatisfied: for we do not pretend to give the name of hiſtory to what we have written.

THE CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. A Fine equeſtrian ſtatue of his preſent majeſty King GEORGE, by Van Noſt, was erected on St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. On the front of the pedeſtal is the following inſcription:

Georgio Secundo,
Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ
Et Hiberniæ
Regi
Forti et Reipublicæ
Maxime fideli
Patriis virtutibus
Patrem Secuto
S P Q D.
A. D. 1758.
Thomas Mead, Prætore Urbano.
Michaele Sweny, } Vice-comitibus.
Gulielmo Forbes, }

7th. By a Letter from Captain Bray, commander of his majeſty's armed veſſel the Adventure, received this day at the Admiralty, there is an account of the taking the Machault privateer of Dunkirk, with 14 nine pounders, and 182 men. Captain Bray, ſoon after the engagement began, ordered the helm to be put hard aport, which had the deſired effect of laying her athwart hawſe, her bowſprit coming in between the Adventure's main and mizen maſts. They immediately paſſed the end of the mizen top-ſail ſheet through the enemy's bobſtay, and made it faſt; but fearing to loſe ſo good an opportunity, and that they would get clear, Captain Bray and the pilot got a hawſer, and paſſed it three times round the Machault's bowſprit and the capſton on the Adventure's quarter deck, ſo that the action depended chiefly on the ſmall-arms, which was very ſmart about an hour. She then ſtruck her colours, but upon boarding her, began to fire again, which was ſoon ſilenced. She had killed and wounded 40 men, with the loſs only of one man killed, and two wounded, on board the Adventure.

This evening 70 men on board the Namur in Portſmouth harbour forced their way into the dock, and from thence ſet out for London, in order to lay their complaints before the lords of the Admiralty; 15 of whom attempted to procure an audience, but were all ordered to be put in irons and carried back, in order to be tried by a court martial for mutiny. It is reported that the badneſs of their proviſion was the cauſe of their complaint.

13th. A cup and ſalver intended to be preſented to Captain Lockhart, was ſent this day to Lloyd's to be viewed by the merchants. It was curiouſly chaſed and emboſſed with the ſeven French privateers, his own ſhip and arms. The ſalver is 26 inches diameter, with the following inſcription:

The

The gift of the two public companies,
The under-writers and merchants of the city of London,
To Capt. John Lockhart, commander of the Tartar,
For his ſignal ſervice in ſupporting the trade,
By diſtreſſing the French privateers in the year 1757.

The merchants of Briſtol preſented him alſo with a gold cup, worth 100 l.

This day a committee of the ſubſcribers to a fund for ſupplying the poor in the city of York with corn at a lower rate than the markets, began to deliver out the ſame, when 334 families were ſerved with the beſt of corn at 1 s. a peck, or 4 s. the buſhel.

14th. By a letter from Captain Lockhart to the Admiralty, there was advice that his majeſty's ſhips Edinburgh, Dreadnought, Auguſta, and a ſloop, had blocked up the harbour of Cape Francois for ſome weeks: that on the 15th of October, all the French ſquadron ſailed to drive the Engliſh off the coaſt; and the next day the two ſquadrons came to a cloſe engagement, which continued till night, when the French ſquadron, having the land breeze, by the help of their frigates were towed into port, greatly diſabled, and the Opiniatre diſmalted. They had 300 men killed, and as many wounded. This advice Captain Lockhart received from the crew of a St. Domingo-man, which he had taken; and it has ſince been confirmed by a letter in Lloyd's Evening-poſt, directly from the ſpot. The ſame advices from the Admiralty take notice likewiſe of the taking of two French ſhips both laden with proviſions for Louiſbourg. The priſoners ſay, that they ſailed from l'Iſle d'Aix, in company with three other merchant-ſhips, laden with proviſions for Louiſbourg, under convoy of the Prudent and Capricieux, and the Tripon and Heroine frigates, the two former of which parted company with them the day before they were taken. The frigates made their eſcape from our ſhips by its falling little wind, before which his majeſty's ſhips outſailed them greatly; but there is reaſon to believe the other merchant-ſhips are taken by the ſhips that were left in chaſe of them.

A farmer upon Budgley Common, between Southampton and Redbridge, ſeeing a man with a blue coat, red waiſtcoat, and red pluſh breeches, very ragged, lying on the ground in a very weak condition, took him into his waggon, carried him to his houſe, gave him victuals and drink; but being full of vermin, made him up a bed of ſtraw in the waggon, under the waggon-houſe, and covered him with ſacks. Next morning he found him dead. He had an enſign's commiſſion in his pocket, dated in March laſt, appointing him, as ſuppoſed, an enſign to an independent company of invalids at Plymouth; but no money in his pocket, except one half-penny. 18th.

The following meſſage from the King was preſented by Mr. Secretary Pitt to the houſe.

GEORGE R.

'His majeſty having ordered the 'army, formed laſt year in his 'electoral dominions, to be put 'again into motion from the 28th 'of November laſt, and to act 'with the utmoſt vigour againſt 'the common enemy, in concert

'with

'with his good brother and ally the King of Pruſſia; and the exhauſted and ruined ſtate of that electorate and of its revenues, having rendered it impoſſible for the ſame to maintain and keep together that army, until the further neceſſary charge thereof, as well as the more particular meaſures now concerting for the effectual ſupport of the King of Pruſſia, can be laid before this houſe; his majeſty relying on the conſtant zeal of his faithful Commons, for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, againſt the dangerous deſigns of France, and her confederates, finds himſelf in the mean time under the abſolute neceſſity of recommending to this houſe the ſpeedy conſideration of ſuch a preſent ſupply, as may enable his majeſty, in this critical exigency, to ſubſiſt and keep together the ſaid army.'

In conſequence of this meſſage, 100,000l. was unanimouſly granted, to be taken immediately out of the ſupplies of laſt year unapplied, and to be remitted with all poſſible diſpatch.

21ſt. A court-martial was held on board the Newark, for the trial of the 15 mutineers belonging to the Namur man of war, who all received ſentence of death.

Information having been given to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that ſeveral officers were recruiting in that kingdom from Great Britain, without the knowledge of the government there, his excellency ſignified his pleaſure to ſuch officers, that they ſhould immediately deſiſt from raiſing men in that kingdom, and that they do immediately diſcharge all ſuch as they have already enliſted.

30th. By letters from Conſtantinople, we hear, that the caravan of pilgrims, returning from Mecca, had been attacked by a large body of Arabs, who had deſtroyed, as it is ſaid, from 50 to 60,000 perſons. This deſperate and unprecedented proceeding is ſuppoſed to have taken its riſe from the Arabs being diſguſted on account of the removal of the Paſcha of Damaſcus to Aleppo, who was greatly eſteemed by them, as a generous able man, and the Kiſlar Aga's having put in his room a man of different principles, who deprived them of ſome part of their dues, which they receive from the pilgrims. As the chief of the black eunuchs was the cauſe of all that has happened by that change, which he effected merely to ſerve his own intereſted views, the Grand Seignor ordered his head to be ſent for from Rhodes, where he was lately exiled, and on its arrival was expoſed to public view.

Captain Wallace of the King George of Briſtol, took up at ſea, off Bermudas, ſix men, the crew of the ſchooner Nancy of Boſton, one Gavian, maſter; the veſſel in a hard gale had overſet, but, after they had cut away her main-maſt, ſhe righted: but a ſea ſoon after beat in her ſtern, and having a quantity of bricks abaft, her ſtern ſunk and her head ſtuck upright, and then the people got on her bow. After the ſtorm abated, they got ſome mackerel out of the veſſel, and an iron inſtrument to ſtrike fiſh, and making an awning of one of the ſails, which they fixed to the bowſprit, they lived there 46 days before Captain Wallace met them; one of them died ſoon, and two others are deprived of their ſenſes.

The

The Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's-bench declared that court's opinion of the caſe of the bank note ſtolen out of the mail, and paid away by the robber, who received the full value of Mr. Miller, at the poſt-office at Hatfield, and then travelled on the ſame road in a four-wheel poſt-chaiſe and four horſes, and at the ſeveral ſtages paſſed off ſeveral other bank notes he had taken out of the mail at the ſame time; all which, at the requeſt of the owner, who ſent them by the poſt, were ſtopt by Mr. Rice, caſhier of the bank, and an action ſuffered to be brought againſt Mr. Rice, for recovery of the money; when after very learned pleadings on both ſides, it was moſt ſolemnly determined, 'That any perſon paying a valuable conſideration for a bank note to bearer, in a fair courſe of buſineſs, has an undoubted right to recover the money of the bank.' The pretext for ſtopping them at the bank was, becauſe they had been altered, the figures of 11, which denoted the date, having been by the robber dexterouſly converted to a 4.

This day being appointed for the execution of the 15 ſeamen, belonging to the Namur, the boats from every ſhip in commiſſion, manned and armed, attended, and rowed guard round the Royal Anne. A little before 12 o'clock the priſoners were brought up, in order to be executed, and the halters were fixing, when they were informed his majeſty had ſhewn mercy to 14, but they were to draw lots who ſhould be the man that was to ſuffer death. Matthew M'Can, the ſecond man that drew, had the unfortunate chance; and accordingly, at a gun fired as a ſignal, he was run up to the yard-arm, where he hung for near an hour. The reprieved were turned over to the Graſton and Sunderland, bound to the Eaſt Indies. It is ſaid, the cauſe of the mutiny was only the diſlike they had to quit the Namur, on board which ſhip Admiral Boſcawen, when he took upon him the command of the intended expedition, hoiſted his flag, and was to bring the crew of his former ſhip with him.

FEBRUARY.

Monſieur Rene Briſon, ſecond Captain of the Prince de Soubiſe, who formerly made his eſcape from where he reſided on his parole of honour, went into France, and was ſent back by order of the French king, made a ſecond attempt to eſcape out of Porcheſter caſtle, where he had been confined ever ſince his return. He had bribed the centinels on duty, but his attempt being ſuſpected by the officers of the priſon, they planted others at a diſtance, who immediately apprehended him, and carried him back to the caſtle. 1ſt.

A marble buſt of Doctor Claudius Gilbert, formerly vice provoſt of Dublin college in Ireland, was ſet up in that college.—This excellent perſon, beſides other valuable donations, bequeathed to that college a collection of books, conſiſting of 13000 volumes, choſen with great diſcernment and care. His buſt is placed at the head of theſe. It is the workmanſhip of Mr. Verpoil; and for the expreſſion and elegance does great honour to the taſte and ſkill of the ſtatuary. 4th.

It was ordered by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in the parliament of Ireland aſſembled. That the k g at arms attended 6th.

by his proper officers, do blot out and deface all enſigns of honour, borne by ſuch perſons as have no legal title thereto, upon their carriages, plate, and furniture, and to make regular returns of their proceedings therein to the clerk of parliament.

10th. His majeſty's ſhip Lancaſter being paid at Spithead, among the tradeſpeople that carried goods on board, were a great many Jews, who had large quantities of valuable effects with them; the Jews not meeting with the ſucceſs they deſired, were reſolved to go on ſhore: it blew very hard, and they had a ſailing boat, which they had hired for that purpoſe. About 20 Jews, and a few other people, got into her with their effects, but they had not gone far, when by gibeing the ſail, they were overſet. The ſhips boats immediately put off, and took up 9 or 10 of them. Nine Jews were drowned, and two died after they were brought on board.

13th. Extract of a letter from Portſmouth.

"Yeſterday arrived here, with a meſſenger belonging to the admiralty, in the greateſt haſte, a perſon who was immediately introduced, by orders from above, to Admiral Boſcawen; of whom the following particulars have tranſpired. This perſon was ſome time ſince maſter of an Engliſh veſſel, trading from port to port in North America, particularly up the river St. Laurence; but being taken by the enemy, has been priſoner with the General Montcalm and others near three years, who would not admit of any exchange for him, on account of his extenſive knowledge of all the coaſt, more particularly the ſtrength and ſoundings of Quebec and Louiſbourg; they therefore came to a reſolution to ſend him to Old France, in the next packet boat, there to be confined till the end of the war. He was accordingly embarked (the only Engliſhman) and the packet put on board. In their voyage he was admitted to the cabbin, where he took notice one day, they bundled up the packet, and put it into a canvas bag, having previouſly thereto made it ready to be thrown overboard, upon any danger of being taken.

They were conſtrained to put into Vigo for ſome proviſions, as alſo to gain ſome intelligence of the Engliſh in thoſe ſeas, and there found one or more Engliſh men of war at anchor; upon which he thought it a proper opportunity of putting the following ſcheme in execution. One night taking the opportunity of all, but the watch, being in a ſound ſleep, he took the packet out of the bag, and having fixed it to his mouth, he ſilently let himſelf down into the bay; and to prevent noiſe by ſwimming, floated upon his back into the wake of the Engliſh man of war, where he ſecured himſelf by the hawſer; and upon calling out for aſſiſtance, was immediately taken on board, and the packet entire. The captain examined him, treated him with great humanity, gave him a ſuit of his own cloaths, ſcarlet trimmed with black velvet, which he here appeared in, tranſcribed the packet, which is ſaid to be of the utmoſt importance, in regard to our ſucceſs in North America, and then ſent him over land, with the copy of the packet to Liſbon; from whence he was brought to Falmouth in a ſloop of war, and immediately ſet out poſt for London.

Upon

Upon his arrival in town, he was examined by the proper perſons in the adminiſtration, and rewarded with a preſent ſupply; and by his own deſire was immediately ſent to Portſmouth, to go out on board Admiral Boſcawen's own ſhip, upon the preſent expedition to North America, where he is to have the command of a ſloop of war.

19th. Admiral Boſcawen, with the fleet under his command, ſailed from St. Helen's for North America. The Invincible, one of his fleet, of 74 guns, Captain Bentley, miſſed her ſtays, and run upon a flat on the eaſt of St. Helen's. Her men, guns, ſtores, &c. were taken out, but that fine ſhip was quite loſt.

One of the ſhips lately arrived from the eaſt country, ſhipped ſuch a quantity of water, and in the late cold weather it froze to that degree, that the captain computed he had above forty tons of ice on board. Four of his men periſhed by the cold. They were obliged to cut their way through the ice into the hold of the ſhip.

21ſt. There was as great a market for fat cattle at Sevenoaks in Kent, as was ever known, notwithſtanding which they ſold at a high price from 14 to 20l. a head.—By an authentice liſt it appears, that there paſſed through Iſlington turnpike for Smithfield market, from Jan. 1754, to Jan. 1, 1755, oxen 28,952, ſheep 267,565; and from Jan. 1, 1757, to Jan. 1, 1758, oxen 30,952, ſheep 200, 180. By which it appears, that there is a decreaſe of more than 67,000 ſheep in this laſt year, and an increaſe only of about 2000 oxen, which is by no means a juſt proportion; ſo that on this principle the increaſe of the price of meat may be accounted for.

Extract of a letter from Rear-Admiral Cotes to Mr. Clevland, dated on board his majeſty's ſhip the Marlborough, November 9, 1757, in Port-Royal Harbour.

"The 25th of laſt month, Captain Forreſt, in his majeſty ſhip the Auguſta, with the Dreadnought and Edinburgh under his command, returned from their cruize off Cape Francois. Captain Forreſt gives me the following account of an action that happened the 21ſt, between the ſhips under his command, and ſeven French ſhips of war.

At ſeven in the morning, the Dreadnought made the ſignal for ſeeing the enemy's fleet coming out of Cape Francois; we made ſail to diſcover them plain; and at half paſt eight made ſeven ſail of large ſhips, a ſchooner, and a pilot boat. I then made the ſignal for the line a-head, and ſhortened ſail, to let the enemy come up, and to preſerve the weather-gage. At noon ſaw with great certainty they were four ſhips of the line, and three large frigates. I then made the ſignal for the Captains Suckling and Langdon, who agreed with me to engage them: accordingly we bore down, and about twenty-minutes after three, the action began with great briſkneſs on both ſides, and continued for two hours and an half, when the French commodore made a ſignal, and one of the frigates immediately came to tow him out of the line, and the reſt of the French ſhips followed him. Our ſhips had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts, ſails, and rigging, that we were in no condition to purſue them. Both officers and ſeamen behaved with the greateſt reſolution the whole time of the action, and were unhappy at the concluſion of it, that the ſhips were not in a con-

dition to follow the French, who had frigates to tow them off. I am informed the French, on this occaſion, had put on board the Sceptre her full complement of guns, either from the ſhore, or out of the India ſhip; and had alſo mounted the Outarde ſtore-ſhip with her full proportion of guns; and had taken not only the men out of the merchant ſhips, but ſoldiers from the garriſon, in hopes their appearance would frighten our ſmall ſquadron, and oblige them to leave their coaſt clear for them to carry out their large convoy of merchant ſhips; but our captains were too gallant to be terrified at their formidable appearance; and ſo far from avoiding them, that they bore down, and engaged with the greateſt reſolution and good conduct. And I have the pleaſure to acquaint their lordſhips, that the captains, officers, ſeamen, and marines, have done their duty on this occaſion, much to their honour; and I hope their good behaviour will be approved by their lordſhips."

William Page, who had not long before taken his trial at the Old Bailey, and at Hertford aſſizes, for divers robberies on the highway, and was acquitted at both places, was, after a ſhort trial at Rocheſter aſſizes, found guilty for robbing the late commiſſioner Farrington, about two years ago, on the evidence of the ſervant.

27th. Richard William Vaughan, late a linen-draper at Stafford, was committed to Newgate, for counterfeiting the notes of the bank of England. He had employed ſeveral artiſts to engrave the different parts of the note, by one of whom the diſcovery was made. He had filled up to the number of 20, and depoſited them in the hands of a young lady, whom he courted, as a proof of his being a perſon of ſubſtance. This is the firſt attempt of the kind that ever was made.

30th. Mrs. Dennington, a quaker of eighty years of age, at Hadeſield in Middleſex, was baptized, and admitted a member of the church of England.

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1ſt. His grace the Duke of Richmond ordered a room at Whitehall to be opened for the uſe of thoſe who ſtudy painting, ſculpture, and engraving, in which is contained a large collection of original plaſter caſts from the beſt antique ſtatues and buſts now at Rome and Florence, where any painter, ſculptor, carver, or other artiſt, to whom the ſtudy of theſe geſſes may be of uſe, will have liberty to draw, or model at any time: and upon application to the perſon that has the care of them, any particular figure will be placed in ſuch a light as the artiſt ſhall deſire. And any young man or boy, above the age of twelve years, may alſo have the ſame liberty, by a recommendation from any known artiſt. On Saturdays, Meſſrs. Wilton and Capriani are to attend to ſee what progreſs each has made, to correct their drawings and models, and to give them ſuch inſtructions as ſhall be thought neceſſary. There will be given at Chriſtmas and Midſummer annually to thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves by making the greateſt progreſs, the following premiums: a figure will be ſelected from the reſt, and a large ſilver medal will be given for the beſt deſign of it, and another for the beſt model in baſſo relievo.

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9th. About 200 ſailors, armed with clubs, went to the back of the Point at Portſmouth to a public houſe, which they pulled almoſt down; they threw the beds and furniture about the ſtreet, and ſtove all the beer in the cellar; after which they came into the town, and went into ſeveral public houſes, broke the windows, ſtove the butts of beer, and did other conſiderable damage.

11th. The powder mills belonging to Mr Smith at Hounſlow blew up; but happily no lives were loſt. This accident, no doubt, gave riſe to the following paragraph in the Reading Mercury of this day; 'Reading, March 12. Laſt night, 'about nine o'clock, a ſlight ſhock 'of an earthquake was felt at Colebrook, Maidenhead, and other 'places between London and this 'town, but we do not hear of 'any damage it has done. It was 'alſo perceived here.'

Mr. Henry Raine, of St. George Middleſex, having in his lifetime built and endowed an hoſpital for forty girls taken out of the charity ſchool, and maintained; by his will, dated October 17, 1736, bequeathed 4000l. in 3 per cent. annuities to truſtees to accumulate and improve the growing dividends until the ſame ſhall produce yearly 210l. to be diſpoſed of in marriage portions to two maidens brought up in his hoſpital, (viz. 100 l. and 5 l. for a wedding dinner each) who ſhall have continued there four years, attained the age of 22, and be beſt recommended by the maſters or miſtreſſes, whom they may have ſerved, for piety, induſtry, and a conſtant conformity to the eſtabliſhed church. The truſtees have given notice, that the ſum deſtined for this laudable purpoſe is compleated, and by an advertiſement ſummoned the maidens educated in the ſaid hoſpital, to appear on the 4th of next month, with proper certificates of their paſt behaviour and preſent circumſtances, in order that ſix may be ſelected of the moſt deſerving, to draw lots on the firſt

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of May for the prize of 100l. to be paid on the 5th of November following as her marriage portion, to an honeſt man, a member of the church of England, reſiding in the pariſhes of St. George, St. Paul Shadwell, or St. John Wapping, and approved by the truſtees; at which time another girl will be added to the five who ſhall have drawn blanks before: and to her who ſhall then draw the prize will be paid 100l. on her marriage the firſt of May following; the remaining five to continue intitled to a chance twice in every year, when a new candidate will be admitted, that every girl educated in this hoſpital, and careful of her character, may have a chance for this noble donation.

13th. Miſs Bab. Wyndham, of Saliſbury, ſiſter of Henry Wyndham, Eſq; of that city, a maiden lady of ample fortune, ordered her banker to prepare the ſum of 1000l. to be immediately remitted, in her own name, as a preſent to the king of Pruſſia.

14th. A notorious impoſtor was detected at Edinburgh. When taken up, he had four pair of thick coarſe ſtockings, a pillow under his waiſtcoat, and, by an affected motion in his head and hands, has had the addreſs for ſome time paſt, to paſs upon the inhabitants as both dropſical and paralytical, and a very great object of charity. When freed of his dreſſings, he comes out to be a ſtrong well made fellow, and was immediately ſent to the caſtle, as very fit to ſerve as a ſoldier.

Mr. Smelt, one of the engineers belonging to the board of ordnance, is now at Tinmouth caſtle, having orders to repair the old works, build barracks for 1000 men, and to erect new batteries towards the ſea, in order to defend and be a ſafeguard to the ſhips when at anchor in the road.

17th. A moſt ſhocking murder was committed at Hambleton on the Hill, a village near Oakham in Rutlandſhire, upon the bodies of Anne Woods and Robert Broome, two poor aged cottagers, by John Swanſon of that neighbourhood. Woods had employed Broome to trim a hedge, in a ground not far from her houſe; Swanſon, being of the ſame occupation, and envious to ſee another preferred to himſelf, went to the hedge with a hatchet under his arm; but before he had got three parts of the way, he met the old woman returning home from the man; and, without any previous ſalutation, knocked her down with his hatchet. He then went to the place where the poor man was at work, knocked him down in the like manner, chopt off his head with the hatchet, opened his body, and plucked out his heart, which he wrapt up with the head, in a piece of old rag. He then returned to the dead corps of the woman, cut down her ſtays before, opened her body, and pulling out her heart, bound up both the hearts and head together, which he carried home, and hid in a cheſt under his own bed. The officers of the pariſh, receiving information that Broome was murdered, immediately turned their ſuſpicions upon Swanſon, and went the ſame night to Swanſon's houſe, and, being admitted, charged him with the murder, who, after ſtanding dumb about three minutes, con-

confeſſed the whole; and that Robert Broome's head, and both hearts, lay concealed under his bed. He was ſecured immediately and committed to Oakham gaol. —— It appears by all the circumſtances of this murder, that the man was mad, and ought to have been confined long before.

Admiralty-Office.

Extract of a letter from Commodore Holmes to Mr. Clevland, dated from on board the Seahorſe at anchor off Embden, March 21, 1758.

"It is with the greateſt pleaſure that I acquaint my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's ſhips in this river. The enemy had not ſuffered the buoys to be laid this year, thinking by that means to obſtruct any attempts for the recovery of Embden at ſea. It was therefore, with equal ſurprize and concern, that they obſerved the arrival of his majeſty's ſhips Seahorſe and Strombolo; and after having doubled the number of their workmen upon the batteries they had begun, they ſet about raiſing three more towards the ſea, with all expedition, expecting to be attacked from that quarter. On the 17th, the Seahorſe and Strombolo anchored between Delfzeil and Knock, and on the 18th they came to their ſtation between Knock and Embden, by which the enemy ſaw themſelves cut off from all communication down the river. They continued working on their batteries towards the ſea, but at the ſame time made all the neceſſary preparations for evacuating the place.—The garriſon conſiſted of, French foot of Prince D'Eu's regiment, 1300.—Horſe of General Luſignan's regiment, 300.—Ditto of the regiment Belleſont du Roy, 300.—Ditto Orleans, 400.—Ditto Bourbon Buſſet, 300.—Auſtrian foot of the regiment of Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Colonel Van Pflatz, 1100.—Two companies of artillery, of 60 men each, 120.—In all 3720.—On the 19th, at ſix in the morning, the French troops were under arms, and marched out of the town before night. And, on the 20th, the Auſtrians began their march at nine in the morning. About noon, and not before, I had intelligence of theſe operations, and that they had been tranſporting their baggage and cannon up the river in ſmall veſſels over night; and that one of them was laying round a point of land, at ſome diſtance from us, to go up by the next tide. So ſoon as we could ſtem the tide, I diſpatched the armed cutter Acrias, and two of my boats, in purſuit of the enemy. They came up with the veſſel we had intelligence of, and took her. I reinforced them by another boat, and the whole detachment commanded by Captain Taylor continued the chace up the river. The enemy at this time lined both ſides of it, and gave the firſt fire on the boats, who were then coming up with three of their armed veſſels. The fire was briſkly returned on our ſide; and in ſight of their army, and under their fire, Capt. Taylor came up with one of them, attacked her, ran her a-ground, and carried her, after ſome firing on both ſides. The officers and men left the veſſel to recover the ſhore, in attempting of which, ſome of them were dropt by the fire from the boats. The other two veſſels, which had the cannon on board, got clear under favour of the night,

and cover of their army. The firſt veſſel taken, had the ſon of Lieutenant Colonel Schollheins, of Prince Charles of Lorraine's regiment, and one corporal and one pioneer on board, with ſome baggage belonging to his father. There was ſome money found, which, partly from the ſpecies, and partly from the manner of its being made up, was concluded to be pay for the troops, and therefore detained, together with the corporal and pioneer, and all the little implements of war they had with them. As for the lieutenant-colonel's ſon, he is but a boy, and not of an age to be regarded as an enemy; for which reaſon I have ſent him aſhore to be returned to his father, with all his and his father's things; and have wrote to his father, that, upon his giving me his honour, that the money is truly his private property, it ſhall be returned. The other veſſel that was taken, had on board Major de Bertrand, M. Von Longen, commiſſary of war; M. Trajane, adjutant de la place; N. Le Bouffe, lieutenant of artillery, and a guard of private men, with three hoſtages, which they had carried off from Embden, viz. Eodo Wilhelm Zur Michlen, doctor of laws, preſident of the college de Quarantes, and adminiſtrator of the royal and provincial college at Aurich; Baron Vone Hane, of Leci, adminiſtrator at Embden; and Haiko George Eden, adminiſtrator of Leer. M. Eodo Wilhelm Zur Michlen, received a ſhot in the veſſel during the ſcuffle, but it is not dangerous. From him I had the account already given to their lordſhips, of the happy effect the preſence of his majeſty's two ſhips have produced, by occaſioning the ſudden evacuation of the enemy out of the town of Embden."

An account arrived, that on the 28th of February, between Cape de Catt and Carthagena, Admiral Oſborn fell in with M. du Queſne in the * Foudroyant of 80, the Orpheus of 64, the Oriflame of 50, and the Pleiade of 24 guns, which were the four ſhips ſent from Toulon to reinforce M. de Clue at Carthagena. On ſeeing the Engliſh ſquadron they imdiately diſperſed and ſteered different courſes. About ſeven in the evening, Captain Storr in the Revenge of 64, ſupported by Captain Hughes in the Berwick of 64, and Captain Evans in the Preſton of 50 guns, took the Orpheus, commanded by M. de Harville, with 502 Men. Captain Gardiner, in the Monmouth of 64, ſupported by Captain Stanhope in the Swiftſure of 70, and Captain Hervey, in the Hampton-court of 64 guns, about one in the morning, took the Foudroyant, on board of which was the Marquis du Queſne, chef d' Eſcadre, with 800 men. Captain Rowley, in the Montagu of 60, and Captain Montagu, in the Monarch of 74 guns, run the Oriflame a-ſhore, under the caſtle of Aiglois; and had it not been for

* The length of Le Foudroyant, at Gibraltar, taken from her carpenter's account, is

	Feet Fr.	Feet. Eng.	In.
From her ſtern to the taffarel —— ——	171 =	185	3
Length of her keel —— ——	144 =	156	

being 12 feet longer than an Engliſh firſt rate; her extreme breadth about 50 feet, nearly the ſame with our firſt rate.

violating

violating the neutrality of the coaſt of Spain, they would certainly have deſtroyed her. The Pleiade, of 24 guns, got away by mere outſailing our ſhips.

In this action Captain Gardiner was killed *, and Captain Storr loſt the calf of one of his legs. The very gallant and brave behaviour of the officers and ſeamen on this occaſion, deſerve the higheſt commendations; particularly that of Lieutenant Carket, of the Monmouth, who §, after the captain's death, engaged and diſabled the Foudroyant in ſuch a manner, as to oblige her to ſtrike as ſoon as the other ſhips came up; for which ſervice Admiral Oſborn gave him the command of the Foudroyant as a reward.

28th. At York aſſizes, which ended the 25th, four perſons were found guilty of high treaſon in obſtructing the militia act, and received ſentence of death accordingly; two of the Weſleydale rioters were likewiſe convicted for violently taking away meal on the highway in returning from market; about twenty priſoners more were tried for riots, ſome of whom were continued, others fined and impriſoned, and others admitted to bail. Great lenity was ſhewn by the judges and jury, where the priſoners did not appear to act with premeditation.

It is reported, that at a quarry near Fulwell-Hills near Sunderland, the ſkeleton of a man was found, which meaſured nine feet and upwards.

APRIL.

Came on to be tried at Kingſton aſſizes before the 3d. Hon. Sir Michael Foſter, Knight, and a ſpecial jury of gentlemen of the county of Surry, the trial by way of indictment againſt Martha Grey for obſtructing certain footways, leading from Eaſt-Sheene thro' Richmond Park. The defendant declined entering into the merits, but reſted her defence on an objection to the indictment, that Eaſt-Sheene, which in the indictment was laid to be in the pariſh of Wimbleton, was in the pariſh of Mortlake; but it appearing to the ſatisfaction of the judge and jury, that Mortlake was not a pariſh, but a chapelry in Wimbleton, the jury found the defendant guilty.

Between the hours of 10 and 11 at night, the temporary wooden bridge, built for the convenience of carriages and paſſengers, whilſt London-bridge was widening and repairing, was diſcovered to be on fire, and continued burning till noon the next day, when the ruins fell into the Thames. An advertiſement was publiſhed by Mr. Secretary Pitt, with the offer of his majeſty's pardon to the diſcoverer of the perpetrators of ſo vile and wicked an 11th.

* Captain Gardiner was ſhot thro' the arm the firſt fire; and ſoon after as he was encouraging his people, and enquiring what damage they had ſuſtained between decks, he received a ſecond wound, by a muſket ball, in his forehead, which proved fatal to him.

§ The Monmouth had 150 men killed and wounded; the Foudroyant 200. The loſs of maſts on both ſides brought on a cloſe engagement, which laſted till the Swiftſure came up. M. du Queſne refuſed, however, to deliver his ſword to the captain of the Swiftſure; but gave it with great politeneſs to Lieutenant Carket.

action

action (it being ſuppoſed to be done wilfully and maliciouſly) and the city offered a reward of 200l. for the ſame purpoſe. The Lord Mayor licenſed 40 boats extraordinary to work on the three ſucceeding Lord's days, whoſe ſtations were advertiſed in the public papers, and great numbers of hands were ſet to work to make a paſſage over the remains of the old bridge. This unhappy accident proved very detrimental to the inhabitants on each ſide the bridge, and put a great ſtop to the trade of London and Southwark. The inhabitants of the Borough were alſo greatly diſtreſſed, by the deſtroying the troughs, which conveyed water to them during the repairing of the bridge.

Baron Kniphauſen, miniſter plenipotentiary from the King of Pruſſia, had his firſt audience of his majeſty, and on the 13th, of the Prince of Wales and the Princeſs Dowager.

17th. A proof was made at Paris of a cannon of a new invention, which fires ſixty times in ten minutes without ſponging. With a proper charge of powder it carries 100 weight of lead, and one man may bear its carriage. Another cannon of like conſtruction has been proved in Pruſſia.

19th. London-bridge was opened for foot-paſſengers, in the reparation of which above 500 workmen were conſtantly employed, Sundays not excepted.

James White, aged 23, and Walter White, his brother, aged 21, were executed at Kennington Common, for breaking open and robbing the dwelling-houſe of farmer Vincent of Crauley. They acknowledged the juſtice of their ſentence, but laid their ruin to an accomplice, who, they declared, decoyed them from their labouring work, by telling them how eaſily money was to be got by thieving.—While the unhappy wretches were hanging, a child about nine months old was put into the hands of the executioner, who nine times, with one of the hands of each of the dead bodies, ſtroked the child over the face. It ſeems the child had a wen on one of its cheeks, and that ſuperſtitious notion, which has long prevailed, of being touched as before mentioned, is looked on as a cure.

20th. Was held the anniverſary meeting of the ſons of the clergy, at which were preſent his grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſident, and the Lord Chief Juſtice Willes, vice-preſident of the corporation, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Biſhops of Ely, Lincoln, Carliſle, Saliſbury, Rocheſter, Litchfield, Cheſter, Glouceſter and St. David's, and moſt of the aldermen. The ſermon was preached by the Reverend Dr. Ibbetſon, archdeacon of St. Alban's, and the collection in the whole (including a bank note of 100l. given by Samſon Gideon, Eſq;) amounted to 1066l. 14s. which is above 150l. more than laſt year.

The money collected on Tueſday	306	18	0
Yeſterday at St. Paul's	207	1	6
At Merchant Taylors Hall	552	14	6
	£. 1066	14	0

Extract of a letter from Kenſington in Connecticut.

" On the third inſtant, about ſun-riſe, at this place was a fog of ſo ſtrange and extraordinary an appearance, that it filled us all with amazement. It came in great bodies,

dies, like thick clouds, down to the earth, and in its way, ſtriking againſt the houſes, would break and fall down the ſides in great bodies, rolling over and over. It reſembled the thick ſteam riſing from boiling wort, and was attended with ſuch heat, that we could hardly breathe. When firſt I ſaw it I really thought my houſe had been on fire, and ran out to ſee if it was ſo; but many people thought the world was on fire, and the laſt day come. One of our neighbours was then at Sutton, 100 miles to the eaſtward, and reports it was much the ſame there."

21ſt. In conſequence of an application to parliament on account of the late unhappy accident, a reſolution paſſed the houſe, "That a ſum not exceeding "15,000l. be granted to his ma- "jeſty, to be applied towards the "rebuilding London bridge."

The Right Reverend Dr. Thomas Secker, Lord Biſhop of Oxford, was confirmed at Bow-church Lord Archbiſhop of the cathedral and metropolitan church of Canterbury, by the Moſt Reverend the Lord Archbiſhop of York, and the Right Reverend the Lords Biſhops of Durham, Worceſter, Ely, Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Hereford, Carliſle, and Saliſbury, being appointed his majeſty's commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

It was this day reſolved, that towards the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of 4.500,000l. be raiſed by annuities after the rate of 3 1-half per cent. for 24 years, the intereſt to commence from July 5; and 500,000l. by way of lottery, at 3 per cent. the intereſt to commence from the 5th of January 1756.

Payments on annuities.	Payments on lottery.
10 per c. Ap. 29	10 per c. Ap. 29
15 - - - May 30	10 - - - June 20
15 - - - June 28	20 - - - July 18
15 - - - July 27	20 - - Auguſt 19
15 - - Auguſt 30	20 - - - Sept. 20
15 - - - Sept. 27	20 - - - Oct. 20
15 - - - Oct. 29	

Three per cent. to be allowed for anticipating the payments on the annuities; nothing on the lottery, but to have the tickets as ſoon as they can be got ready. Thoſe who had ſubſcribed for 500l. were allowed 450l. in annuities, and 50l. in lottery tickets.

30th. The Hon. Mr. Finch and the Hon. Mr. Townſhend having propoſed, after the example of his grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, to give two prizes of fifteen guineas each to two ſenior bachelors of arts, and the like to two middle bachelors of the univerſity of Cambridge, who ſhall compoſe the beſt exerciſes in latin proſe, to be read publicly on a day hereafter to be appointed near the commencement; the vice chancellor gives notice, that the ſubjects for this year are, for the ſenior bachelors: *Utrum ſumma hominum felicitas juxta Epicurum in ſenſum delectationibus præcipue ponatur.* For the middle bachelors: *Utrum diverſarum gentium mores & inſtituta a diverſo eorum ſitu explicari poſſint.*

Ages of ten perſons now living in the pariſh of Boughton under Blean in the county of Kent.

	Years.	qu.
Thomas Hawkins, Eſq; in Naſh-Park	81	1
A woman at the Oaſts in the Park	80	1
Carry over	161	2
Brought		

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Ages of ten perſons now living in the pariſh of Boughton under Blean in the county of Kent.

	Years.	qu.
Thomas Hawkins, Eſq; in Naſh-Park	81	1
A woman at the Oaſts in the Park	80	1
Carry over	161	2

Brought

Brought over	161	2
Richard Drury, at the ſame place	72	0
His wife	78	0
Farmer Kingſland, joining to the Park	78	0
Hammon Gooding, near the ſame place	78	0
Goody Blackenbury, eaſt of the Park	96	0
Thomas Burley, a little farther	81	2
Mrs. Ovendon	81	2
Mrs. Spurgeon	78	0
In all	804	2

The following remarkable account is given by an officer on board a French Eaſt-Indiaman, in a letter to a friend at the Hague.

Jan. 20, 1757.

"Juſt before we ſailed from Pondicherry, fires broke out on the ſurface of the ſea, three leagues from that place, with the utmoſt impetuoſity, throwing up pumice-ſtones, and other combuſtibles, und forming an iſland of a league long, and of the ſame breadth, which increaſed to a conſiderable height, with a volcano, making a moſt hideous noiſe, like thunder, or great guns, and a cloud proceeding from it, breaking into ſmall rain of ſand inſtead of water. This prodigy was firſt ſeen by a ſhip's crew belonging to Pondicherry, who thought at firſt it had been a water-ſpout; but coming near it, ſaw a prodigious flaſhing of fire, which ſmelt of brimſtone, and heard a moſt aſtoniſhing noiſe; afterwards a vaſt quantity of fiſh was perceived dead on the ſea, and appeared broiled. Sailing a little further, they met with ſuch quantities of pumice-ſtones, that it was hardly poſſible to make through them; at the ſame time they diſcerned land, but it appeared to them as a cloud of fire and ſmoke on the ſurface of the ſea, and the cloud aſcending into the air, diſtilled in ſhowers of rain, which brought abundance of ſand on their ſhip's deck, and being nigh the flaſhes of fire, and hearing the noiſe, they were under great conſternation; but it pleaſed God to ſend them a little breeze of wind that brought them from it. Another ſhip ſailed round it, and they were ſo becalmed, that the aſhes proceeding from the vaſt fire fell on their deck, and they were in great danger of being burnt."

25th. The judges report of the ſeven rioters convicted at the late York aſſizes, was laid before his majeſty, when the two ringleaders, Cole for obſtructing the militia act, and Berry for violently taking away corn, were ordered for execution, four of them to be tranſported for life, and one pardoned.

26th. Began the ſale of the capital collection of Italian, Flemiſh and Dutch paintings, of Sir Luke Schaub, and continued the two following days, at Mr. Langford's, in the great piazza, Covent-garden. The whole collection was ſold for 7784l. 5s. many of the pictures ſelling for very extraordinary prices, particularly a landſcape and figures of Claude Lorraine, for 105l.—A man pipeing and his children dancing, by Le Nain, for 180l. 12s.—Our Saviour and St. John, by Guido, for 157l. 10s.—St. Sebaſtian, by Guerchino, for 54l. 12s.—Our Saviour healing the lame, by Rubens, for 79l. 16s.—A landſcape with figures and cattle, by D. Teneirs, for 120l. 15s.—Sigiſmunda weeping over the heart of Tancred, by Correggio, for 404l. 5s.—A laughing boy,

boy, by Vandyck, for 126l.—The baptiſm of our Saviour, by Albano, for 120l. 15s.—Our Saviour aſleep, and the Virgin watching over him, by Guido, for 328l. 13s.—The Virgin, with Jeſus aſleep in her lap, by Vandyck, for 211l. 1s.—Boors at cards, by D. Teneirs, for 85l. 1s.—Four pieces, by Paul Brill, Rubens, Gillis, and Van Breughel, for 551l. 5s.—Jacob parting from Laban, by F. Baſſano, for 115l. 10s.—Departure of Rinaldo from Armida, by Le Brun, for 73l. 10s.—A landſcape and figures, by G. Pouſſin, for 109l. 4s.—The Virgin, our Saviour, and St. John, by Correggio, for 220l. 10s.—A converſation of boors, by D. Teneirs, for 157l. 10s.—Tent of Darius, by Le Brun, for 127l. 1s.—St. Peter repenting, by Guido, for 288l. 15s.—A capital picture of an holy family, by Raphael, for 703l. 10s.

29th. Whitehall. An expreſs arrived with advice that Schweidnitz ſurrendered on the 16th inſtant, and the garriſon was forced to ſurrender itſelf priſoners of war. It conſiſted of 230 officers, and 3200 private men. The blockade has beſides coſt the enemy 3500 men, who have periſhed by diſeaſes.

The firſt ſtone of a new bridge, to be built in purſuance of an act of parliament, from Brentford to Kew, was laid in the preſence of a great number of perſons of quality and diſtinction.

MAY.

1ſt. The truſtees of Raine's hoſpital met in purſuance of their advertiſement, and having ſelected ſix maidens educated therein, who were ſtrongly recommended by their maſters and miſtreſſes, the lot was drawn according to the will of the founder, in the preſence of a polite and numerous aſſembly, for the prize of 100l. for a marriage portion, which fell upon Anne Netherland, who went out of the hoſpital in the year 1743, and is to be married on the 5th of November next, when 5l. as by him directed, will be expended on a wedding dinner; and the five unſucceſsful girls will, with another then to be added, draw again for 100l. to be paid on May-day following.

3d. A young lady, who at Newmarket had laid a conſiderable wager, that ſhe could ride 1000 miles in 1000 hours, finiſhed her match in a little more than two thirds of the time. At her coming in, the country people ſtrewed flowers in her way.

8th. Florence Henſey, M.D. who had been ſome time in cuſtody, for holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, was brought before the court of King's bench, and ordered to prepare for trial the firſt of June.

The Marquis du Queſne, chef d'Eſcadre, lately taken priſoner in the Foudroyant, arrived in London.

9th. At the anniverſary meeting of the preſident and governors of the London lying-in-hoſpital in Alderſgate-ſtreet, the collection at church and at hall amounted to 611l. 10s.

10th. Was held the annual general meeting of the hoſpital for the maintenance of expoſed and deſerted young children, when a general committee for the year enſuing was elected by ballot. It appears, that ſince this charity has been made general by parliamentary proviſion, near 6000 infants have an-

annually been taken in; one third of whom, nearly, have died at nurſe. A matter that merits a parliamentary enquiry.

12th. Ladders and gates were affixed to Eaſt-Sheen gate in Surry, in order for foot people to go into Richmond Park; and alſo at Ham gate (purſuant to a verdict laſt aſſizes at Kingſton); ſo that her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Amelia has at length given up this long conteſted affair for the eaſe and convenience of the inhabitants.

13th. Admiralty Office. In purſuance of the King's pleaſure, Lord Anſon, Vice-Admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral of the White, was appointed commander in chief of a fleet, now fitting for the ſea.—Advice is received from Rear-Admiral Broderick, that on the 13th of laſt month, his majeſty's ſhip Prince George of 80 guns, in which the Rear Admiral hoiſted his flag, took fire at half an hour after one in the afternoon, in lat. 48: and after burning to the water's edge, the remnant of her ſunk at a little before ſix in the evening. The admiral ſays, he could not then give a particular account of the people on board, being about 780; but he feared the number loſt exceeded the number ſaved.

His majeſty's ſhip Windſor, of 60 guns, Captain Faulkner, with the Eſcorte frigate, being ſent to intercept two French frigates and three ſtore-ſhips from Dunkirk road to the weſtward, on the 27th paſt fell in with them about 16 leagues from the Ram-Head, when the two frigates brought to in a line, as if they intended to receive him, and the ſtore-ſhips continued ſtanding to the weſtward. When the Windſor came within about two gun ſhot of the frigates, they made all the ſail they could towards the coaſt of France: upon which Captain Faulkner ſent the Eſcorte after the ſtore-ſhips, while he gave chace to the frigates, and continued it till four in the afternoon; when finding they greatly outſailed him, he gave it over, and made after their convoy, which could then but juſt be diſcerned from the poop. The next morning at day-light only one of them was to be ſeen, which the Windſor came up with and took. She is called the St. Peter, of near 400 tons burthen, and her cargo conſiſted of proviſions, and 1000 ſtand of arms, intended for Quebec. Another of theſe ſtore-ſhips was fallen in with, the ſame day, by a ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips to the weſtward, commanded by Captain Douglas in the Alcide. She is called the Baden, is about the ſame ſize with the other, and laden with proviſions.

On the 29th about three o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Pratten ſeeing a ſail to the S. W. made a ſignal for the Dorſetſhire, of 70 guns and 520 men, commanded by Captain Denis, to give chace; and ſoon after obſerving the chace to be a large ſhip, diſpatched the Achilles, of 60 guns, commanded by the honourable Captain Barrington, after her, and then followed them with the reſt of the ſquadron. About ſeven o'clock the Dorſetſhire came up with the chace, which proved to be the Raiſonable, a French ſhip of war of 64 guns, and 630 men, and Captain Denis began to engage her very cloſely, and they continued warmly engaged till about nine o'clock, when the enemy's ſhip, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon, chevalier de Rohan,

Rohan, ſtruck, having ſuffered greatly in her hull, and had 61 men killed, and 100 men wounded. She was going from l'Orient to Breſt, a new ſhip, not above four or five months off the ſtocks. The Dorſetſhire's maſts, yards, and ſails, were greatly ſhattered. She had 15 men killed, and 21 wounded, in the action; and one of the wounded is ſince dead.

By the French accounts, the Raiſonable, with the Hero, Formidable, and Intrepide, and two frigates, were deſigned for Canada; to which place and Louiſbourg they have ſent ſeveral little ſquadrons, at different times; one under M. de Beauſſier, ſailed to the latter place on the 5th of April.

One Robert Anderſon was carried on board the Norfolk man of war, Commodore Brett, in the Downs, by the maſter of a Deal boat. The account he gave was this; that about three months ago, he was trepanned into the Iriſh brigades in the French King's ſervice; that about two o'clock on the 11th in the morning, when he was relieved from his poſt of centry by the water ſide at Graveling, he ſeized a ſmall boat within ten yards of his box, came down the canal two miles, in which he paſſed two captains guards, and ſeveral advanced poſts: that he then ſeized a fiſhing-boat, and ſet ſail for our coaſt, with the ſmall boat in tow; and that he ſteered directly for the Downs, with an intention to run into Ramſgate, where his wife lives; but was boarded by the Deal boat as above. He has brought muſket, bayonet, and all his accoutrements with him; is a very likely fellow, a gardener by trade, and all the knowledge he had of a boat was from being often a fiſhing for his amuſement. He ſteered by the ſtars till daylight, and then had the ſight of our coaſt. He had planned his deſign three weeks before, and had made himſelf perfectly maſter of the canal from conſtant obſervation, and knew by the ſame means the ſtated times when the fiſhermen arrived. Sir Piercy, with his wonted good-nature, ordered the boat to be ſold for the man's benefit.—This account is taken from part of a letter from an officer on board the Norfolk, and what corroborates it, is, an imperfect relation from Broad-Stairs, of the arrival there of a French fiſhing-boat with two Engliſhmen in it, and a German, a ſoldier in the French King's ſervice, who aſſiſted the Engliſhmen to make their eſcape, and for whoſe uſe the boat was put up to auction, and ſold for 9l. 5s.

17th. Twelve flat-bottomed boats, of a new conſtruction, were launched at Portſmouth, to be employed in landing the troops then going on the enterpriſe to France. They carry 63 men each, are rowed with 12 oars, and draw not above two feet water.

18th. A young grenadier, aged about 27, was ſhot at Plymouth for deſertion; what is remarkable, being to receive 500 laſhes by the ſentence of a regimental court-martial, he choſe to appeal to a general court-martial, who inſtead of confirming his former ſentence, inflicted that of death. The young man ſuffered with great fortitude, having done nothing, he ſaid, to offend his Saviour.

19th. By an advertiſement it appeared, that 933l. 7s. 6d. had been ſubſcribed to carry Mr. Fielding's plan into execution.

20th. By an advertiſement relating to Mr. Dingley's plan, it appears, that 3114l. 17s. had been ſubſcribed to carry it into execution.

Four French ſhips, part of ſeventeen, which ſailed the firſt inſtant from Bourdeaux, laden with proviſions and ſtores for Canada, and ſaid to be under convoy of a large privateer of 54 guns, and two frigates, were brought into Falmouth by Commodore Keppel's ſquadron.

21ſt. An account was received of a dreadful fire at Bridge-Town in Barbadoes, which in February laſt had conſumed 120 houſes; and beſides that the crops in that iſland were very ſhort, having had little rain in the rainy ſeaſon.

A waggon was burnt on Saliſbury-plain, laden with the whole rich wardrobe, ſcenery, and apparatus of the Bath theatre; beſides the entire property of each performer belonging to it. Some miles before the waggon reached Saliſbury, a ſervant of the theatre told the driver that the wheel would take fire, intreating him to ſtop and unload; but the fellow ſtill perſiſted in keeping on his way, and gave for reaſon, that he had driven twelve miles with his wheels ſmoking. About three miles from this city, the flame burſt out, and before ten boxes could be preſerved, the whole waggon was conſumed. The damage is ſaid to amount to 2000l.

23d. Two Stonehaven boats being out a fiſhing about ſix leagues from the land, a large French privateer brought aboard both their crews, uſed them civilly, paid them for their fiſh, and after detaining them ſome hours, diſmiſſed them when about nine miles from land. The fiſhermen report, that this ſhip mounts 40 guns, and carries 300 men, beſides marines. There were no ranſomers on board, and it appears that ſhe had juſt begun her cruize. [Stonehaven is about ten Scotch miles from Aberdeen.]

A diſcovery of the higheſt utility has lately been made at Edinburgh, and already ſufficiently confirmed by a number of ſucceſsful experiments: Dr. Francis Hume has inoculated for the meaſles, and has produced a diſeaſe free from all alarming ſymptoms.

30th. At a ſtore-cellar in Pall-Mall, Mrs. Hucks's cooper, and a chairman, who went down after him, were both ſuffocated, as ſuppoſed by the ſteam of 40 butts of unſtopped beer. [It might be of uſe to the public if ſome of our ingenious correſpondents would account for this accident.]

The following account of the ages of ten perſons in the borough of Hoath in Kent, eight of whom lived within a quarter of a mile of each other, and the other two but at a ſmall diſtance, is atteſted by good authority; Thomas Darby 89 years and a half; Richard Steed 87; William Chandler 77 and a half; Anne Chriſtian 76; William Brice 79 and a half; Suſanna Wix 87; Jane Thompſon 76; Amy Matthews 82 and a quarter; Elizabeth Brice 74; and Thomas Carey 78; in all 806 years and three quarters.

A ſociety has been lately erected at Glaſgow, under the name of the Glaſgow charitable marine ſociety; the end of which is to provide for ſuch ſeamen as ſhall become old, or diſabled in the ſervice of the merchants of that city; and alſo to afford relief for their poor widows

widows and children. A truly laudable charity.

The Weſt-India mail brought a confirmation of the news we had heard before of the Buckingham and Cambridge attacking and levelling with the ground, a ſmall fort in Grand Ance bay on the iſland of Martinico, and deſtroying three privateers, and converting the fourth into a tender. But what does the greateſt honour to Captain Tyrrel, the commodore, is the following incident; when the fort was demoliſhed, a village ſituated cloſe by it was a ſtrong temptation to men flushed with victory to attack, and they ſollicited warmly for leave to deſtroy it; but their brave commander replied, 'Gentlemen, it 'is beneath us to render a num-'ber of poor people miſerable, 'by deſtroying their habitations 'and little conveniencies of life; 'brave Engliſhmen ſcorn to diſtreſs 'even their enemies when not in 'arms againſt them:' This prevailed, and ſaved the lives of the innocent villagers.

His catholic majeſty was pleaſed to declare the Conde de Fuentes, who is appointed ambaſſador to Great Britain, a grandee of Spain, and one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber.

JUNE.

1ſt. The felons in Newgate intended for tranſportation, in order to make their eſcape, had ſawed thro' eight iron bars, each as thick as a man's wriſt, except enough to keep them together, and filled up the notches with dirt and iron duſt to prevent a diſcovery, but not ſucceeding in their attempt, the ringleaders were chained to the floor, as is uſual.—There has been a ſcheme much talked of for pulling down this gaol, and rebuilding it in a ſtronger and more commodious manner.

Florence Henſey, M. D. was brought to trial at the court of King's-bench in Weſtminſter-hall, on an indictment for high treaſon, before the Lord Chief Juſtice Manſfield, the Judges Denniſon, Foſter, and Wilmot: The council for the crown were the attorney and ſolicitor general, Sir Richard Lloyd, Mr. Norton, Mr. Parratt, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Serjeant Pool. The council for the priſoner were Mr. Moreton, and the Hon. Mr. Howard.

Several of his letters were produced in evidence againſt him, in one of which he ſollicits employment from a fellow-ſtudent at Leyden, who is promoted in France, and profeſſes great regard for the French nation, offering his beſt ſervices not only from intereſt but inclination.

In the courſe of the trial it appeared, that ſoon after the declaration of war in 1756, he became a penſioner to France, and agreed for 100 guineas a year, to give the beſt intelligence he could of the ſtate of affairs in this kingdom. Bat a difference afterwards ariſing about his ſalary, which he repreſented as too ſmall, and as an argument in his favour, ſaid he belonged to a club in the Strand (from which he could gain great intelligence) at which they always drank French wine at dinner; the correſpondence appears to have been ſome time diſcontinued: but in January 1757, it was agreed, that the doctor ſhould receive 20 guineas a month, on condition of ſending intelligence every poſt, but to forfeit a guinea for every omiſ-

ſion; he received however no more than one monthly payment, and they gave for reaſon, that his intelligence was nothing but extracts from the news-papers.

The plan for carrying on this correſpondence was the following: The doctor wrote a common letter with ink, and between each line the ſecrets of England in lemon juice. This was incloſed under three or four different covers, directed to different perſons, in the ſecret, who conveyed them from one hand to another, till the firſt incloſed came to the principal for whom it was deſigned. He had a brother who is a jeſuit, and was chaplain and ſecretary to the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague, from whom our reſident at that court gained a knowledge of ſome ſecrets relating to England, even before he had received any account thereof from his own court. This put him upon enquiry, and he ſoon learnt that the ſecretary had a brother, a phyſician in London, from whom poſſibly he might get intelligence; ſuſpicion being thus raiſed, the doctor was watched, and twenty-nine of his letters ſtopt.

From theſe letters it appeared, that he gave the French the firſt account of Admiral Boſcawen's ſailing to North America, and of the taking the Alcide and Lys, with every minute circumſtance relating to it; and from that time, of the ſailing of every fleet, and its deſtination; and was ſo minute as to give an account even of the launching of a man of war; he alſo gave an account of all diſficulties relating to raiſing money: and particularly deſcribed the ſecret expedition in 1757, aſſuring them it was intended againſt Rochfort or Breſt, but gave his opinion for the former. And in one of his letters he particularly adviſed a deſcent of the French upon our coaſt, as the moſt certain method of diſtreſſing the government by affecting the public credit, and mentioned the time when, and the place where it would be moſt proper.

The trial began at half an hour after ten in the morning, and ended at half an hour after eight in the evening; when the jury, after ſtaying out about half an hour, brought him in guilty. He is a native of Ireland, aged about 44, and has a diploma from the univerſity of Leyden to practiſe phyſic.

There were 131 gentlemen from different places in the county of Middleſex ſummoned on the jury, and near 100 anſwered to their names. The doctor objected againſt fifteen, and the council for the crown againſt three.

This day Florence Henſey, M. D. was brought to the bar of the court of King's-bench to receive ſentence, when Lord Manſfield, after a very moving ſpeech, pronounced ſentence in the uſual form, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, on Wedneſday the 5th of July next. 14th.

Mr. Lee, a wealthy farmer, at Wroxeter in Northamptonſhire, being complained to by his neighbours for keeping a vicious bull, inſiſted upon it that he was not vicious, and went to him himſelf to convince them of it, when the bull immediately ran at him, and killed him upon the ſpot.

The honourable houſe of commons reſolved, that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty (by ſuch members of that houſe as are of the priv council) to repreſent, that the ſ lari 16th

laries of moſt of the judges in his majeſty's ſuperior courts of juſtice in this kingdom, are inadequate to the dignity and importance of their offices; and therefore to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to advance any ſum not exceeding 11,450 l. to be applied in augmentation of the ſalaries of ſuch judges, and in ſuch proportions as his majeſty ſhould think fit for the preſent year; and to aſſure his majeſty that the houſe would make good the ſame to his majeſty.

17th. The King has been pleaſed to appoint the Right Honourable George William Earl of Briſtol, to be his majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Catholic King.

[The reciprocal appointment of ambaſſadors by the courts of Madrid and London, deſtroys at once the credit of the reports induſtriouſly propagated of late, of our being upon the eve of a Spaniſh war.]

Came on in the court of King's bench in Weſtminſter-hall, before Lord Chief Juſtice Mansfield, the trial on an information againſt Doctor Shebbeare, for writing a pamphlet called a ſixth Letter to the people of England; when, after a ſhort hearing, he was found guilty, and is to receive ſentence next term.

19th. A journeyman barber that lived at Wandſworth, being under ſome diſcontent of mind, cut his throat from ear to ear. There was a note found by him with theſe words: "I have wronged no man, nor never deſigned it; and am now gone before God."

22d. Was the hotteſt preſs for ſeamen on the Thames that has been known ſince the war began, no regard being had to protections, and upwards of 800 ſwept away. The crew of the Prince of Wales, a letter of marque ſhip, ſtood to arms, and ſaved themſelves by their reſolution.

27th. Matthew Weſt, butcher, priſoner in the New Gaol, and ringleader of thoſe felons, who lately endeavoured to eſcape from that gaol, got himſelf looſe from an iron collar, in which his neck was faſtened, and his arms extended, although he was chained down to the floor in the condemned room. When he got himſelf diſengaged from the floor, he had the reſolution to wring the collar from his neck, by fixing it between two of the bars of the gaol window, and by main ſtrength broke it ſhort in two.

Some workmen have lately dug up near Colonna, where it is thought the ancient city of Laubicum ſtood, (about 14 miles from Rome) an antique Venus of white marble, thought to be of more exquiſite workmanſhip than even the Venus of Medicis, and a fine buſt of Lucius Verus, with ſeveral vaſes, lamps, coins, and other antiquities; and a Greek inſcription has been diſcovered near the great building, importing that there was in that place a library.

29th. Ended the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, when Jacob Romart, a jeweller, for the murder of Theodore Wentworth, a fellow workman; and Henry Carrier, for publiſhing as true, an acceptance to a bill of exchange, with intent to defraud, received ſentence of death; and 21 for tranſportation.

JULY.

1ſt. Jacob Romart was carried from Newgate to Tyburn, and executed

executed for the murder of Theodore Wentworth. He was a native of Norway, 28 years of age, and very unhappy in his temper: in his confinement he had taken little care to make a proper defence on his trial, and was regardleſs afterwards what became of him, being poſſeſſed of a ſpirit of obſtinacy ſcarcely to be paralleled: he refuſed to acknowledge that he repented of the crime; but inſiſted he had a commiſſion from God for what he did. It appears from the ordinary of Newgate's account that he was a gloomy, viſionary enthuſiaſt; that he had twice faſted for an extraordinary length of time; and that Wentworth had been too free in joking with a man of his temper, though, when he received his death's wound, no words had paſſed between them.

Arrived at St. Helen's Commodore Howe, with his ſquadron of men of war and all the tranſports. They were obliged to proceed to St. Helen's for want of proviſions for the men, and forage for their horſes.

On the 7th the troops diſembarked and encamped, the foot on the Iſle of Wight, and the horſe on South-ſea common, at Portſmouth; they had 1200 ſick, occaſioned by the inclemency of the weather.

About eight o'clock at night, George (alias Captain) Forreſter, committed ſome time ſince to Briſtol gaol for forgery, and Captain Moliere, a Frenchman, for ſtealing a diamond ring, aſſiſted by ſeveral other felons, attempted to make their eſcape out of the gaol. The ſheriff, with ſome invalids, came to the aſſiſtance of the jailer, and were obliged to fire thrice among them before they would ſurrender, after which they were all properly ſecured. One of the ſhot went in at Forreſter's right breaſt, and came out through his back, and lodged in the partition.

A reprieve was brought to Newgate for Dr. Henſey, reſpiting his ſentence for a fortnight, early in the morning, but however, not ſo ſoon as to prevent the aſſembling of a great concourſe of people to ſee him executed, who committed ſome diſorders. The doctor has ſince been two or three times under examination, and it is ſaid has made great diſcoveries. 4th.

Admiral Saunders arrived at Spithead from the Streights, in the Monmouth, with the Revenge, Foudroyant, and Orpheus, and brought home with him above 1000 French priſoners. The Foudroyant is a ſurprizing 84 gun ſhip, her guns are on two decks, her lower tier monſtrouſly unwieldy, and not eaſy to be worked, the ſhot weighing very little ſhort of fifty pounds each. Notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in bulk, our thirty-two pound ſhot are thought by all judges to be on a par with them, and of as much efficacy when they take place. Her larboard ſide is moſt terribly mauled, there are ſeventy ſhot holes on that ſide plugged up; ſhe came home under jury maſts: Her lower tier abaft the main-maſt are fine braſs guns, ſeveral of which have very fine buſtos in an oval compartment of Lewis XIV. The Orpheus is a fine large 64 gun ſhip, ſhe is peppered very well too, her maſts very much wounded: It is ſurprizing how they ſtood home. She alſo has ſeveral fine braſs guns. The priſoners were put on board the Boyne, and from thence conveyed to Porcheſter caſtle.

A

8th. An old lodging-houſe in Plumb-tree court, Broad St. Giles's, fell down, by which accident ſeveral poor wretches were cruſhed to death, and many more deſperately maimed. There being other houſes in the court in the like tottering condition, the mob aſſembled in a few days afterwards, and pulled them down.

17th. Sir John Barnard, Knt. father of the city, and alderman of Bridge ward without, deſired the court of aldermen would permit him to reſign his gown on account of his age and bad ſtate of health; to which after much reluctance, and many importunities uſed by the aldermen preſent to the contrary, the court conſented.

John Cole, who at Chelmsford aſſizes received ſentence of death for the murder of Martha Adams, at her houſe at Eſcott in the hundred of Eſſex, was this day executed at Chelmsford, when John Loads, who came to ſee the execution, was charged by Cole at the gallows as being acceſſary in the ſaid murder; he was immediately apprehended, and had before a magiſtrate, where he confeſſed his guilt, and was committed to Chelmsford gaol.

18th. An experiment was made with the light horſe and flat-bottomed boats, from the South-ſea beach, near Portſmouth, where the horſe lie encamped; 12 horſes were put on board a boat, which had a platform laid in it railed round. They were carried to Spithead, and laid along-ſide a tranſport three miles from the beach, and were ſlung, and hoiſted into the ſhip, and re-imbarked into the boats with great eaſe. Several guns were fired to try the horſes, which they bore very patiently, only ſnorting a little at the ſmoke flying about them. They were landed on the beach again in extreme good order.

24th. His royal Highneſs Prince Edward, who had been ſome time indiſpoſed, arrived at Portſmouth, and embarked on board the Eſſex, Commodore Howe's own ſhip, in which he ſails as a volunteer in the intended expedition againſt France. His Royal Highneſs went from the dock-yard in the Eſſex's twelve-oared barge, attended by Lord George Sackville, and Admiral Holbourne. His Royal Highneſs had the ſtandard of England flying in the bow of the boat. Admiral Holbourne's barge followed with his flag flying in the bow of his boat, and all the captains according to their ſeniority, which made a very agreeable appearance.

25th. Was held a court of common council at Guildhall, when, upon the motion of John Paterſon, Eſq; it was reſolved, *nem. con.* "That Sir JohnBarnard, Knt. ſo juſtly and emphatically ſtiled the father of this city, having lately (to the great and laſting regret of this court) thought proper to reſign the office of alderman, the thanks of this court be given him for having ſo long and ſo faithfully devoted himſelf to the ſervice of his fellow-citizens, for the honour and influence which this city has, upon many occaſions, derived from the dignity of his character, and the wiſdom, ſteadineſs, and integrity of his conduct: for his firm adherence to the conſtitution both in church and ſtate, his noble ſtruggles for liberty, and his diſintereſted and invariable purſuit of the true glory and proſperity of his king and country, uninfluenced by

power, unawed by clamour, and unbiaſſed by the prejudice of party."

Sir Robert Ladbroke, at the ſaid court declared his aſſent to take upon him the office of father of this city, and the aldermanſhip of Bridge ward without.

A motion was made by the ſaid gentleman, thaat the thanks of the court of aldermen ſhould be given to Sir John Barnard, which was agreed to, and expreſſed in the following terms:

'It is unanimouſly agreed and 'ordered, that the thanks of this 'court be given to Sir John Bar-'nard, Knt. late one of the alder-'men, and father of this city, for 'his conſtant attendance and ſalu-'tary counſels in this court, his 'wiſe, vigilant, and impartial ad-'miniſtration of juſtice, his un-'wearied zeal for the honour, ſafe-'ty, and proſperity of his fellow-'citizens, his inviolable attachment 'to the laws and liberties of his 'country, and for the noble ex-'ample he has ſet of a long and 'uninterrupted courſe of virtue in 'private as well as public life.'

This day a further reſpite for Dr Henſey was brought to Newgate till the 8th of November.

The ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, having propoſed three medals for planting acorns for timber; a gold medal was this day adjudged to his grace the duke of Beaufort, for planting the largeſt quantity; a ſilver medal to Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq; for the next largeſt quantity; and a ſilver medal likewiſe to John Berney, Eſq; for planting the third largeſt quantity.

26th. At a committee of Chriſt's hoſpital, Sir John Barnard reſigned the preſidentſhip of that houſe, on account of his great age and infirmities.

31ſt. On the 5th of this month, Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, biſhop of Padua, a Venetian, was elected pope. He was born on the 7th of March 1693, and was formerly auditor of the Rota. He was made cardinal by Clement XII. on the 20th of October, 1737, at the nomination of the republic of Venice. He had the title of St. Mara d' Ara Cœli (the principal convent of the Cordeliers) and was protector of the Illyrian nation, the Pandours. He is ill-favoured and hunch-backed; but of a ſtrong vigorous conſtitution; a freſh complexion, walks well and firm; the honeſteſt man in the world; a moſt exemplary eccleſiaſtic; of the pureſt morals; devout, ſteady, learned, diligent; in ſhort, worthy to ſucceed the great Benedict XIV. though no body, certainly, ever thought he would be called to ſucceed him.

The following is a true copy of the manifeſto, which his grace the Duke of Marlborough publiſhed in Brittany on the 7th of June, the ſecond day after the landing of the troops at Cancalle.

"We the high and mighty Prince Charles Duke of Marlborough, Marquis of Blandford, Earl of Sunderland, Bron Churchill, Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, Privy-counſellor to his Britannic Majeſty, Grand Maſter of the Ordnance, and commander in chief of his forces, &c.

"Make known to all the inhabitants of Brittany, that the deſcent on their coaſt with the powerful army under our command, and our formidable armament by ſea, is not made

made with an intention to make war on the inhabitants of the country, excepting thoſe who ſhall be found in arms, or ſhall otherwiſe oppoſe the juſt war, which we wage againſt his majeſty the moſt Chriſtian king.

" Be it known, therefore, to all who will remain in peaceable poſſeſſion of their habitations and effects, that they may ſtay unmoleſted in their reſpective dwellings, and follow their uſual occupations; and that, excepting the cuſtoms and taxes which they pay to the king, nothing will be required of them, either in money or merchandizes, but what is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the army; and that for all the proviſions they ſhall bring in, they ſhall be paid ready money.

" On the contrary, if notwithſtanding this declaration which we have been pleaſed to make, the inhabitants of the towns or villages carry away their furniture, effects, or proviſions, and abandon their houſes or dwellings, we ſhall treat ſuch delinquents as enemies, and deſtroy by fire and ſword, or ſuch other methods, as ſhall be in our power, their towns, villages, dwellings, or houſes. Given at the head quarters at Parame.

June 7, 1758. MARLBOROUGH."

By his grace's command, BRYANT.

His grace ſent at the ſame time the following letter to the magiſtrates and echevins of St. Maloes.

GENTLEMEN,

" We being in poſſeſſion of all the country between Dinan, Rennes, and Doll, as far as St. Malo, and finding that all the inhabitants of the towns and villages in this extent of country have abandoned their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the uſual contributions: and as we are informed that the inhabitants have, by your orders, been compelled to go to St. Malo, we give you notice, that if they do not return peaceably to their houſes, and ſend their magiſtrates to our head quarters to ſettle the contributions, we ſhall think ourſelves obliged to ſet fire to them without further delay.

MARLBOROUGH."

AUGUST.

In the paſt month of July, by an exact meaſurement, above five inches of rain fell in London, a quantity ſurpaſſing any in the ſame month perhaps in the memory of man. The mean depth in England, one year with another, is about 23 inches and an half, of which a larger proportion uſually falls in the winter months. 1ſt.

A loan to his majeſty, in his quality of elector of Hanover, for two hundred thouſand pounds, was opened at the bank; which was immediately filled by the following gentlemen,

	£.
Sir Joſhua Vanneck ——	50000
Meſſrs. Backwell, Hart and Co. ——	50000
Sampſon Gideon, Eſq;	40000
Nicholas Magens, Eſq;	20000
George Amyand, Eſq;	15000
Bartholomew Burton, Eſq;	15000
Thomas Martin, Eſq;	5000
Joſeph Salvadore, Eſq;	5000
	200000

And Meſſrs. Amyand, Backwell, Burton, and Magens, are appointed truſtees for the management of the ſaid loan.

A great number of fowls, beaſts, &c. which came over in the Weſt-India fleet, were brought to St.

James's, preſents to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland.

2d. At Wigton there was ſuch a fall of rain, as has not been known in the memory of the oldeſt man living. It ſwelled the rivulets to ſuch a degree in that town and neighbourhood, that five bridges within two miles of the town were ſwept away by the flood. In ſeveral houſes in the town the water was ſix feet deep the day after the flood.

6th. Two powder-mills at Hounſlow blew up with about 600 weight of powder.

The lords of the admiralty received information, that a Dutch ſhip, having on board the baggage of the Marquis de Pignatelly, miniſter from the court of Spain to the court of Denmark, and ſeveral of his domeſtics, was, on the 30th of June laſt, boarded three times, by the crews of three different Engliſh privateers; that ſome of the crews armed with cutlaſſes, piſtols, and hatchets, forced open the hatchways, and went into the ſaid ſhip's hold, and there broke open two trunks belonging to the Marquis de Pignatelly, wherein were rich cloaths and laced liveries, which they carried away to their ſhip: and that whilſt they were ſo doing, the crew of another Engliſh veſſel joined, upon which the ſaid crews commited very great outrages, by breaking open all the ſaid Marquis de Pignatelly's caſes, and trunks, and taking and carrying away all the valuable effects, which were in ſix of the ſaid caſes and trunks, and deſtroying or damaging the reſt of thoſe effects; and then falling upon his, the ſaid miniſter's officers, beat them in a very cruel and ſhameful manner, and ſtripping them of their cloaths, carried them off, together with their letters of credit and a bill of exchange. Their lordſhips, therefore, in order to diſcover and bring to juſtice the perſons guilty of the piratical offences above-mentioned, are pleaſed to promiſe a reward of 500l. without any deduction, unto, or amongſt ſuch perſon or perſons, as ſhall, within three months from this time, diſcover any two or more of the offenders, concerned in committing the piracies above mentioned.

8th. Advice was received, that an unſucceſsful attempt had been made on the iſland of Goree, near the river Senegal; but that the ſhips who had attacked it, had loſt but a few men, and received very little damage.

The ſame day an account was received of the burning the Roſe, a French man of war of 40 guns, by the Monmouth, Captain Hervey in the iſland of Malta, of which inſult the Malteſe complain loudly.

10th. The Magdalen hoſpital in Goodman's fields for the reception of penitent proſtitutes was opened, when fifty petitions were preſented, and ſeveral of the penitents admitted.

This day a company of labourers, headed by ſome farmers, aſſembled in a riotous manner, and pulled down a bridge that was building near Norwich, and after having levelled it with the ground, they broke up the road, and then diſperſed.

11th. At Poole, in the county of Montgomery, whilſt the court of great ſeſſions was ſitting in the hall there over the market place, an alarm was given that the floor gave away; which occaſioned

ſo

ſo great crouding at the door and ſtairs, that ſix of the common people were trampled to death, and many others bruiſed.

12th. The aſſizes at Lancaſter ended, when many capital offenders were tried. On the firſt day of the aſſize an account was received of prodigious riots and tumults, in and about Mancheſter; that near 10,000 manufacturers had left off working, and entered into a combination to raiſe the price of wages by force; that large ſums of money were collected, and paid into the hands of ſome of the leaders, for the maintenance of the poorer ſort while they refuſed to work; that they inſulted and abuſed ſuch as would not join in the combination; that incendiary letters were diſperſed, and threats of vengeance denounced againſt all who ſhould oppoſe them; that buſineſs was at a ſtand, the magiſtrates were afraid to act, and every thing ſeemed in great confuſion. Lord Mansfield adapted part of his charge to the importance of the occaſion, and the grand jury, upon ſtrong evidence, ſingled out 17 or 18 of the ring-leaders, againſt whom they found bills of indictment; after which they unanimouſly joined in a requeſt to his lordſhip to give them in writing that charge, the effects of which they had ſo powerfully felt upon themſelves, and which, if made public, they had reaſon to hope would be equally felt by others in this critical period; but whether this requeſt was complied with, or not, is not ſaid.

16th. A captain of a privateer was taken into the cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty, near the Royal Exchange, on an information for committing ſeveral outrages on neutral veſſels in the Britiſh channel.

17th. Came on at the high court of admiralty, before Sir George Lee, Knight, ſeveral trials with regard to Dutch and Daniſh ſhips taken by our privateers; and it appearing to the ſatisfaction of the court, that their cargoes were French property, four were condemned as lawful prizes; and the court gave orders that the freights of three of them ſhould be paid, and the ſhips ſet at liberty; but a Dutch veſſel taken by the Hawk privateer, and carried into Gibralter, had both ſhip and cargo condemned; ſhe is a very valuable prize.

Richard Houſeman of Knareſborough, was committed to York caſtle on ſuſpicion of murdering Daniel Clark, of the ſame place, ſhoemaker, about 14 years ago: the diſcovery was remarkable. Some workmen digging about St. Robert's Cave, near Knareſborough, found the remains of a body, which they ſuppoſed to have been murdered; and as Daniel Clark had ſuddenly diſappeared, and was generally thought to have been murdered, they imagined it might be his body, and therefore apprehended Houſeman, and carried him before a juſtice, as it was recollected that he was one of the laſt perſons ſeen in Clark's company. On his examination he ſaid that the body found was not Clark's body, for Clark was buried in another place, which he mentioned, and accordingly the remains of another body were there found, on which he was committed as above. And one Eugene Aram was alſo committed on ſuſpicion of being an accomplice.

A prayer

27th A prayer of thankſgiving for the taking of Louiſbourg, was uſed in the churches and chapels throughout the kingdom.

Some wicked incendiaries having attempted to ſet fire to the new temporary bridge, a ſtrong guard is placed to prevent their deſign.

Four ſhips ſailed from Whitby on the Greenland fiſhery, one was loſt in the ice, one returned without any fiſh, and two brought home three whales between them. Two ſhips of Edinburgh returned with five large whales, and four others returned empty. The Oſwald, of Borrowſtowneſs, returned with two large whales. Many have arrived at the port of London with various ſucceſs.

On the 11th inſtant a veſſel arrived at Cork from Fyal, bound for Bremen; ſhe ſailed from Rio de Janeiro in laſt January, and was there in October, when General Lally, with five French men of war and two frigates, put in there in his way to the Eaſt Indies. His fleet had loſt above 1000 men from their ſailing from France, and was then ſo ſickly, that General Lally was heard to ſay that he could not undertake any thing againſt the Engliſh ſettlements without a reinforcement. On his proceeding from thence, he left an officer behind, who took his paſſage in the above ſhip for Europe, and died on the voyage. On examining his papers a large packet of letters was found, directed for the French ambaſſador at Liſbon, to be forwarded to Verſailles, which letters were laſt night forwarded to their excellencies the Lords Juſtices of this kingdom. The above veſſel on her paſſage met with eleven Spaniſh men of war, on the 24th of July, in lat. 40. 7. long. 23. 25. from London, ſtanding to the S. E. Note, the ſaid ſhips were all clean, and every one of them had new ſails.

Heads of an act paſſed laſt ſeſſions, to permit the importation of ſalted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland, for a limited time.

That it ſhall be lawful to import ſalted beef, pork, and butter, from Ireland, for ſix months, to commence the 24th of June, and expire the 24th of December 1758, without being ſubject to any penalties, forfeitures or other duties, on the landing thereof, except 1s. 3d. per ct. weight for beef or pork, and 4d. per ct. weight for butter; the ſame to be paid to the Exchequer, as part of the duties on ſalt, laid by the act of 5 Geo. II. If any ſhould be landed before duty is paid, the importer, beſides the forfeiture of the ſaid commodities, is to forfeit alſo 20s. per barrel, and ſo in proportion for any greater or leſſer quantity, half to the king, half to the informer. No bounty to be allowed on the exporting it from England.

New York, June 19.

Captain Smith arrived at Newhaven the 7th inſtant, in 25 days from Antigua, and reports that about a week before he ſailed, Commodore Moore with ſeven ſhips of the line, and two frigates, ſailed from thence on ſome ſecret deſign, thought to be againſt St. Domingo.

New York, July 3.

A few days ſince a flag of truce (it is ſaid of 30 men) came into Fort Edward, from Canada, to demand the return of the brave Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jerſey, agreeable to engagement, Monſ. Montcalm having rejected the propoſals that were offered with regard

gard to his exchange: and the colonel, we hear, ſet out yeſterday for Albany.

A woman, who uſed to paſs for a perſon of quality, and went by ſeveral different names, and kept ſervants in livery, was committed to the Gate-houſe for embezzling the goods entruſted with her in her ready-furniſhed lodgings in Dean-ſtreet, Soho. She was carried to gaol in a chair, attended by one of her footmen.

A quarrel happening in Thomas-ſtreet, Drury-lane, between John Garland, a bricklayer's labourer, and Thomas Lockwood, a fruiterer; the former uſed the latter ſo cruelly, that he left him for dead, and made his eſcape. Lockwood was carried the ſame night to the Middleſex hoſpital, where he died yeſterday morning.

28th. A man was obſerved to walk to and fro at Tower-wharf for near an hour; and when it was quite dark he went into the farthermoſt boat, threw himſelf from thence into the river, and was drowned. He was a tall, thin, well dreſſed man.

A ſervant maid at Execution-dock, delivered herſelf of a child, which being ſoon diſcovered by the people of the houſe, ſearch was made, and the infant was found torn in two, wrapt up in a flannel petticoat, and hid under the bed. She is ſecured.

A remarkable carriage ſet out from Alderſgate-ſtreet for Birmingham, from which town it arrived the Thurſday before, full of paſſengers and baggage, without uſing coomb, or any oily, unctuous, or other liquid matter whatever, to the wheels, or axles; its conſtruction being ſuch, as to render all ſuch helps uſeleſs. The inventor has engraved on the boxes of the wheels, theſe words, FRICTION ANNIHILATED, and it is aſſured that the carriage will go as long and as eaſy, if not longer and eaſier, without greaſing, than any of the ordinary ſtage carriages will do with greaſing. If this anſwers in common practice, it is perhaps the moſt uſeful invention in mechanics that this age has produced.

A diſpute happened between ſome officers of the 29th. cuſtoms and the maſter of a veſſel arrived from Ireland with ſalt beef, pork, bacon and neats tongues, which two laſt articles were objected to, as being an infringement of the act of parliament paſſed for allowing ſalted proviſions to be brought from Ireland; but the ſame being referred to the proper commiſſioners, it was agreed, that the intent and meaning of the ſaid act was, for importing all ſalted pork and beef whatever from that kingdom; and that bacon, tongues, and hams, were parts of beef and pork. [This is a miſtake, but the point is now ſettled by an amendment to the act this ſeſſion.]

Between nine and ten at night, a fire broke out among 30th. ſome new cordage, very near the ſtore-houſe in his majeſty's yard at Deptford, on which all the alarm bells were rung, and the gates ſet open, when great numbers of the artificers went to give their aſſiſtance, by whom it was ſoon extinguiſhed. There is great reaſon to believe that this fire was not accidental; the ſpot where the diſcovery was made is not 25 feet diſtance from a new 74 gun ſhip on the ſtocks, and within 16 feet of great quantities of combuſtibles,

buſtibles, ſuch as reſin, turpentine, &c. which were in cellars under the ſtore-houſe, the largeſt and moſt valuable of any belonging to the navy; ſo that from a loſs of theſe ſtores, with the diſappointment that muſt have naturally followed, the damage done to the ſervice would have been very great; but all this was happily prevented by the great vigilance of the officers, and the uncommon readineſs and activity of the workmen of the yard, who on this occaſion performed wonders, by removing almoſt inſtantaneouſly great pieces of timber, &c. and in ſeparating and rolling off large coils of cordage, ſeveral of which were then on fire; ſo that in leſs than an hour the whole was extinguiſhed, to the inexpreſſible joy of 3000 ſpectators. —— The commiſſioners of the navy have ſince promiſed 500l. reward to any perſon concerned in this wicked affair, who ſhall make diſcovery thereof, except the perſon who ſet the ſaid place on fire.

SEPTEMBER.

5th. A fire broke out in the Amſterdam galley, a new ſhip of 250 tons burthen, in the port of Limerick in Ireland, by which ſhe was immediately conſumed, and by the exploſion of ſome gunpowder, the ſails and rigging were blown upon a cottage upon the ſhore, and burnt it to the ground. She had ſome bale goods on board, and was to have taken in a lading of beef and pork for St. Euſtatia.

6th. Whitehall. The King having been pleaſed to order the colours taken at Louiſbourg, which were lately brought to the palace at Kenſington, to be depoſited in the cathedral church of St. Paul; proper detachments of horſe and foot grenadiers were ordered to parade at Kenſington at ten o'clock, and marched before his majeſty in the following order:

A ſerjeant, and twelve horſe grenadiers.

A field officer, and officers in proportion.

A detachment of fourſcore of the horſe grenadier guards.

Then eighty of the life-guards, with officers in proportion, with their ſtandard, kettle drums and trumpets.

Then a ſerjeant and twelve grenadiers of the foot guards.

Then eleven ſerjeants of the foot guards carrying the eleven French colours, advanced.

Then the four companies of grenadiers of the foot guards cloſed the march.

In this manner they proceeded from Kenſington through Hyde-Park, into St. James's Park, and through the Stable-yard St. James's, into Pall-mall, and ſo on to the weſt gate of St. Paul's, where the colours were received by the dean and chapter, attended by the choir; about which time the guns at the Tower, and in St. James's Park, were fired.

Theſe colours are put up near the weſt door of the cathedral, as a laſting memorial of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, in the reduction of the important fortreſs of Louiſbourg, and the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John.

7th. Two bricklayers labourers in digging at the back of Mr. Pearſon's houſe in Broad-ſtreet, diſcovered two veſſels with ancient coins to a conſiderable value.

At

At the anniverſary feaſt of the natives of Glouceſterſhire, held at Glouceſter, for the putting out of poor boys to trades, 157l. was collected by the gentlemen for that laudable purpoſe.

10th. Soon after morning ſervice at St. John, Wapping, the neighbourhood was alarmed with the cry of fire, which ſpread a general conſternation among the inhabitants. The houſe of Mr. Hughes, ſail-maker, adjoining to Gun-dock, was all in flames in an inſtant, and communicated itſelf to a biſcuit baker's adjoining, and with irreſiſtible fury burnt down 15 houſes on both ſides the way before water could be had to ſupply the engines, it being then ebb-tide. Numbers of the unhappy ſufferers had their goods carried off by perſons who pretended to aſſiſt them in their diſtreſs, ſome of whom are in cuſtody. A large ſhip that was repairing at Gun-dock, was ſet on fire, and her rigging and tops burnt away, and had they not taken the precaution to cut away her bowſprit, the veſſel muſt have been entirely burnt, as ſhe lay cloſe to the houſes.

11th. A gentleman was ſtopt in Holborn about 12 at night by two footpads, who, on the gentleman's making reſiſtance, ſhot him dead, and then robbed him. The villains have been ſince apprehended.

12th. In the afternoon, the Shrewſbury man of war joined the Unicorn and Lizard, and ſoon got ſight of a great number of ſmall coaſting veſſels, under convoy of the Calipſo and Thetis frigates, and an armed ſnow, working for Breſt. The greateſt part eſcaped by running into the paſs of Toulinguet; and the Lizard got between the paſs and the frigates, and engaged them both bravely for above two hours, when the Thetis ſheered off, and run in for the rocks at the mouth of Poul Davit, and the Calipſo with about twenty of the ſmall craft run in upon the rocks near Point de Leven, where it was ſuppoſed they muſt all periſh, it being a lee ſhore, and the ſwell of the ſea very great. The Lizard had one man killed and eight wounded.

14th. His majeſty's ſhips Kingſton and Burford arrived at Plymouth from Louiſbourg, with the tranſports, having the garriſon of Louiſbourg on board under their convoy.——His majeſty was pleaſed to make a preſent of 500l. to the Captains Amherſt and Edgecombe, who jointly brought the news of the taking of this important fortreſs; and to order a further ſum to each of thoſe gentlemen to purchaſe a ſword and ring.

15th. While two ſerjeants and a corporal were employed in making up cartridges in the exchange at Morpeth, the powder took fire, and above 1000 cartridges were blown up. The three men were terribly burnt, and the recovery of one of the ſerjeants is deſpaired of. The windows of the exchange were much ſhattered, and the conſequences would have been ſtill more dreadful, had not 3000 cartridges, and two ſacks of powder which were upon the table, providentially eſcaped.

16th. The cannon and mortars taken at Cherbourg paſſed by his majeſty, and ſet out from Hyde-Park, and came through the city in grand proceſſion, guarded by a company of matroſſes, with drums

drums beating and fifes playing all the way to the Tower, where they arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. There were 23 carriages, drawn by 229 horſes, with a poſtilion and driver to each carriage, in the following manner; the firſt drawn by 15 grey horſes, with the Engliſh colours and the French underneath; ſeven ditto, drawn by 13 horſes each; nine ditto, by 9 horſes each; three ditto by 7 horſes each; one ditto, by five horſes; then the two mortars by nine horſes each. Theſe pieces are finely ornamented with the arms of France, and other hieroglyphics, ſuch as trophies, &c. finiſhed in a maſterly manner: their names, exact weight, and nearly their bore, are as under:

Cannon	wt.	Inches in bore	Cannon	wt.	Inches in bore
Hecuba	4090	6	Antonin	5740	6
Nitocris	4080	do	Inſenſible	5660	do
Emerillon	5820	do	Malfaiſant	5500	do
Temerare	5680	do	Vanqueur	5690	do
Auguſta	5770	do	Juſte	5470	do

In the ſecond line.

Ulyſſe	2353	4	Sage	4346	5
Foudroyant	3311	5	Violente	4150	do
Renomyne	3367	do	Furieuſe	4160	do
Laborieux	3302	do	Imperieuſe	4160	do
Diligence	3960	do	Divinereſſe	4000	do
Moreſque	3980	do			

The two mortars had not their weight expreſſed. All the pieces except ſix remain nailed up, as they were taken at Cherbourg.

Eleven ſeamen accuſed of being concerned in the practices complained of by the Dutch and Danes, and for the diſcovery of whom the government offered a conſiderable reward, were brought up the river by a king's cutter, and are ſince committed to the Marſhalſea priſon. One of their accomplices has made himſelf an evidence, and has impeached ſeveral not yet taken.

The foot forces employed in the late expedition againſt St. Maloes, were diſembarked at Cowes in the Iſle of Wight, and marched directly for Newport, near which they encamped, with orders to hold themſelves in readineſs at a moment's warning. The light horſe diſembarked at Portſmouth, and marched to the quarters allotted them at Southampton, Peterſfield and Chicheſter, &c. 19th.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, having arrived at Kew from Portſmouth the day before, waited upon the King at Kenſington in his uniform. His majeſty received him graciouſly, and encouraged him to behave valiantly. There is another expedition againſt France on foot, in which the Prince is to be engaged. 21ſt.

The boat-builders at Portſmouth received freſh orders to put in hand directly a number of flat-bottomed boats, to replace thoſe that were deſtroyed in the bay of St. Cas. They are to be compleated in ten days, about which time, it is ſuppoſed, the troops will be ready to embark. 25th.

The ſoldiers of the firſt battalion of the firſt regiment of guards, began their march from the Iſle of Wight for London. They were met on the road by proper officers, with cloathing and other neceſſaries, of which they were in great want. A draught from the guards has already been made to ſupply their place, as well as of thoſe who were killed or taken priſoners in the late ſkirmiſh on the coaſt of France. 26th.

A farmer near Blandford in Dorſetſhire ploughing up part of an incloſed field, the ploughſhare ſtruck againſt an earthern veſſel or urn,

urn, and broke it in two, being quite rotten; it was full of aſhes and pieces of human bones, among which was the head of a javelin, or ſpear, of an uncommon ſize and faſhion, much too heavy to be wielded eaſily by any common man, weighing thirteen pounds and an half, and twenty-eight inches long, the ſocket three inches and a quarter in diameter. There was alſo in the ſame veſſel an helmet of braſs, which ſeemed to have been curiouſly wrought, but was quite decayed by time, the ruſt having eaten holes through it. Its diameter was twelve inches and three quarters, and it weighed near eleven pounds.

28th. Four tea dealers were tried before the commiſſioners of exciſe, and fined in the penalty of 10 l. per pound for ſelling bohea tea coloured for green tea; the colouring uſed for this purpoſe is ſuppoſed to be Dutch pink, which will make bohea tea of a fine green.

Was iſſued a decree of the Aulic council of the Empire, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the nobleſſe of the Empire, to ſend to Vienna an exact liſt of all thoſe who have diſobeyed the Avocatoria of the emperor, and who, as the decree expreſſes it, adhere to the Elector of Brandenburgh's rebellion, among whom the Elector of Hanover is particularly mentioned. It is declared that their revenues ſhall be ſequeſtrated, and they puniſhed in honours, body, and goods.

29th. A letter to the admiralty from Captain Kirk, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Lynn, convoy to the Jamaica fleet, conſiſting of 147 ſail, was made public, complaining of the diſregard paid to his ſignals by many of the merchantmen, and of the obſtinate and untowardly behaviour of others, by which the fleet ſuffered much; but more particularly complaining of the irregularities committed by ſeveral of the crews in the Spaniſh ſettlements, where they were obliged to put in for water, by which much offence was given to the governor of the Havanna, and much injury done to the poor people, whoſe cattle and hogs they killed and carried off in numbers without reſerve, after they had hoſpitably ſhewn them where they might be ſupplied with water.

30th. The plague at Smyrna has continued to rage with ſo much violence this ſummer, that by letters received from thence there is advice, that there are ſcarce people enough left in the neighbourhood of that city to gather in the fruits of the earth.

Bitter complaints have lately been made by the Spaniards againſt the conduct of our privateers, which have lately ſeized ſome of their ſhips under pretence of having French property on board.

By advices received from Genoa, the chief of the malecontents, de Paoli, has entered the province of Cape Corſo, in the iſland of Corſica, and with 2000 men laid ſiege to Roglano, to facilitate the ſurrender of which, he has cauſed the city of Baſtia to be blockaded with 1500 men.

There are divers accounts from Engliſh gentlemen of credit in France, which repreſent the uſage of the poor priſoners there as intolerable; one, in particular, remarks, that the number that has periſhed by the wretchedneſs of their condition

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in that country, exceeds that of the killed by ſea and land during the preſent war.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. His Portugueſe majeſty coming out of the country in the evening, attended by three of his domeſtics, was ſet upon by three fellows near Belem, in a loneſome place; two of them had muſkets, and the third had a blunderbuſs loaded with ſmall ſhot; one was diſcharged at the coachman, who is very much wounded; the king is very dangerouſly wounded in ſeveral parts of his body and face, and his right arm is ſo much ſhattered, that it is thought his majeſty will never have the uſe of it; the footman was miſerably wounded. None are permitted to ſee the king but the phyſicians and ſurgeons, and miniſters of ſtate. The queen tranſacts all public buſineſs during his majeſty's indiſpoſition.

A part of the battalion of militia for the county of Dorſet, commanded by Edward Hooper, Eſq; was reviewed near Cranborn by the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant of the county. The men were dreſſed in their uniform, made a handſome appearance, and performed their exerciſe with great dexterity.

In other counties ſo few gentlemen have offered to ſerve in the militia, that the act has been obliged to be ſuſpended until next year.

2d. The corps of an undertaker and pawnbroker near Moorgate, was interred in Iſlington church yard, attended by a company of the artillery, who were to perform the uſual ceremony of firing over his grave, as he was a member of their body: but in the proceſſion of the funeral a mob aroſe, and committed ſuch enormous outrages, out of reſentment to the deceaſed, that the clergyman who officiated had great difficulty to perform his office. It is ſaid that he died worth ſeveral thouſand pounds, and that he has left upwards of 200l. to pay to the debtors in priſon at his ſuit, a groat a day each for their maintenance, according to the act of parliament. The crowd was ſo great that ſeveral perſons were much hurt.

6th. John Houls, a farmer at Longhope in Glouceſterſhire, was convicted of drawing a narrow wheeled waggon on the turnpike road with more than four horſes, and paid the penalty of 5l. and his ſervant who drove the horſes was alſo convicted in the ſame penalty, and for want of ability to pay the ſame, was ſent to the houſe of correction for a month; which, 'tis hoped, will be a caution to others.

8th. A great ſtorm of wind at W. and W. by S. did conſiderable damage to the ſhipping in the Downs, at Portſmouth, and in many other places on the ſea coaſt. At the Iſle of Wight, a fiſh of an enormous ſize, ſuppoſed to be a whale, was caſt on ſhore near Athenfield rocks in that iſland, where he diſembogued daily large quantities of oil into the ſea. He was upwards of ſixty-ſix feet in length, and had part of an hawſer or cable hoiſted round his tail, ſo that it is ſuppoſed he was cut looſe from the

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ſtern of ſome ſhip, to prevent her ſinking.

9th. A fellow was committed to the new gaol in Southwark for ſelling adulterated tea in the Borough; a vile practice that ſeems to have got footing in the ſhops of ſome conſiderable dealers in this city, ſeveral grocers having been lately convicted before the commiſſioners of exciſe of ſelling dyed tea, and dying it with pernicious drugs, and fined in large ſums. Perhaps the legiſlature may take this practice under conſideration.

11th. Lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and Sir Charles Gilmore, Bart. arrived at court on their paroles of honour, to ſettle the exchange of priſoners.

The Briſtol merchant ſhip, with wine, grocery, and ſpirits, ran aground in the road of Liverpool, and ſince bulged. Part of her lading was put on ſhore on the Welch ſide, where the populace, notwithſtanding all that could be done to prevent it, broached the wine and ſpirits, got immoderately drunk, and committed the moſt violent outrages.

Doctor de Caſtro, a member of the Royal College of Phyſicians, and fellow of the Royal Society of London, ſeparated himſelf from the community of the Jews, by a letter which he wrote to the elders of the ſynagogue in the following words:

'Gentlemen,

'The different opinion and 'ſentiments I have entertained 'long ago, entirely diſſenting from 'thoſe of the ſynagogue, do not 'permit me any longer to keep 'the appearance of a member of 'your body; I now therefore take 'my leave of you, hereby renouncing expreſsly that communion in which I have been conſidered with yourſelves. I do not however renounce the intercourſe I may have with you in the general ſociety of men of honour and probity, of which character I know many among you, and whom, as ſuch, I ſhall always eſteem.

'I have ſent the key of my 'drawer, that you may diſpoſe of 'my place.

J. De Castro Sarmento.

30th. The public was in great pain for the Admirals Boſcawen and Hardy, who with four ſhips of the line, from Cape-Breton, were left to the weſtward of Scilly in ſight of ſix large French ſhips of war; ſome ſhots were exchanged, but the French were far from ſeeking an engagement, and our admirals arrived ſafe a few days after.

NOVEMBER.

7th. Doctor Henſey was further reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure.

The Dublin Trader, Captain White, who ſailed about the latter end of laſt month from Park-Gate, and was loſt, had on board for the linen merchants in Ireland about 70,000l. in money, and 80,000l. in goods; above ſixty paſſengers, among whom were the Earl of Drogheda and his ſecond ſon, and ſeveral other perſons of fortune.

14th. Began the drawing of the lottery at Guildhall, when N° 38,500, as firſt drawn ticket, was entitled to 500l.

Admiralty-Office. Captain Saumarez, of his majeſty's ſhip Antelope, having received intelligence

in King-Road, on the 31ſt paſt, that a French ſhip of war was lying in Lundy-Road, he weighed and went in queſt of her, and though the wind was contrary, and blew hard, he blew down channel, and, on the firſt inſtant, ſaw her at anchor at Ilfracombe. Upon diſcovering the Antelope, ſhe weighed and ſtood towards her, and upon coming pretty near, hoiſted her colours, and ſeemed prepared to engage, but ſoon after hauled them down. When the Antelope came within gun-ſhot, ſhe fired at the French ſhip, which ſhe not returning, Captain Saumarez ſent a boat with his firſt lieutenant, to know if they had ſurrendered; but finding the boat did not return, he bore down upon her ſtern, and aſked if ſhe had ſtruck, and was anſwered they had. She proved to be the Belliquieux, pierced for 66 guns, and had 64 mounted, with 417 men.

21ſt. No. 49,711 was drawn at Guildhall, a prize of 10,000l.

A rule was given in the great cauſe ſo long depending between the Honourable James Anneſley, Eſq; and Richard the preſent Earl of Angleſey, for paſſing publication by Mr. Anneſley's clerk in court; that is, cloſing the examination of witneſſes, and reſting the determination of the cauſe on the merits of the evidence given in.

23d. Both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, when the ſeſſions was opened by commiſſion, and the Lord Keeper by his majeſty's command made this ſpeech;

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

In purſuance of the authority given to us by his majeſty's commiſſion under the great ſeal, amongſt other things to declare the cauſes of his holding this parliament, his majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to direct us to aſſure you, that he always receives the higheſt ſatisfaction, in being able to lay before you any events, that may promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdoms.

That, in conſequence of your advice, and enabled by the aſſiſtance which you unanimouſly gave him, his majeſty has exerted his endeavours to carry on the war, in the moſt vigorous manner, in order to that deſirable end, always to be wiſhed, a ſafe and honourable peace. It has pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs his majeſty's meaſures and arms with ſucceſs in ſeveral parts; and to make our enemies feel, that the ſtrength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity.

We have it alſo in command from his majeſty to acquaint you, that the conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, of the higheſt importance to our operations in North America; and the reduction of Senegal; cannot fail to bring great diſtreſs upon the French commerce, and colonies; and, in proportion, to procure great advantages to our own. The nation has alſo been made ſenſible, that whilſt their forces are ſent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of their neighbours, their own coaſts are not inacceſſible to his majeſty's fleets and armies. This they have experienced in the demolition of their works at Cherburg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy this country; and in the loſs of a great number of

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ſhips and veſſels; but no treatment, however injurious to his majeſty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent ſubjects of that crown.

In Germany, his majeſty's good brother the King of Pruſſia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, have found full employment for the armies of France, and her confederates; from which our operations, both by ſea, and in America, have derived the moſt evident advantage. Their ſucceſſes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majeſty's troops and thoſe of his allies, have been ſignal and glorious.

His majeſty has further commanded us to obſerve to you, that the common cauſe of liberty and independency is ſtill making noble and vigorous efforts, againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs it. That the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of our riches, has, by the vigilant protection received from his majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be paralleled during ſuch troubles.

In this ſtate of things, his majeſty, in his wiſdom, thinks it unneceſſary to uſe many words to perſuade you to bear up againſt all difficulties; effectually to ſtand by, and defend his majeſty; vigorouſly to ſupport the King of Pruſſia, and the reſt of his majeſty's allies; and to exert yourſelves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

The uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occaſions it to be uncommonly expenſive. This his majeſty has ordered us to declare to you, that he ſincerely laments, and feels deeply for the burdens of his people. The ſeveral eſtimates are ordered to be laid before you; and his majeſty deſires only ſuch ſupplies, as ſhall be requiſite to puſh the war with advantage, and to be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

His majeſty has, in the laſt place, graciouſly commanded us to aſſure you, that he takes ſo much ſatisfaction in that good harmony which ſubſiſts amongſt his faithful ſubjects, that it is more proper for him now to thank you for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it. This union, neceſſary at all times, is more eſpecially ſo, in ſuch critical conjunctures; and his majeſty doubts not, but the good effects we have found from it, will be the ſtrongeſt motives to you to purſue it.

28th. Dr. Shebbeare received ſentence for a libellous pamphlet, intituled, A Sixth Letter to the People of England: he is fined five pounds; to ſtand in the pillory Dec. 5, at Charing-Croſs; to be confined three years; and then to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf bound in 500l. and two others in 250l. each.

In the Canterbury Mercury of this day's date, there is an account of the diſcovery of ſome remarkable human ſkeletons, near the road-ſide, at a place called Breech-Down; the firſt was found by a labourer widening the road, and had round his neck a ſtring of beads of various forms and ſizes, from the bigneſs of a pigeon's egg to that of a pea: by his ſide lay three inſtruments of war, one a kind of ſcimitar, the ſecond what the Scots call a dirk, and the third a ſpear. Near the ſame place

were afterwards found ſeven other ſkeletons, all ranged in good order at about a yard apart, and about two feet under ground; but neither of theſe had any thing to diſtinguiſh them. How theſe bodies came to be depoſited in this place affords matter of ſpeculation to the curious.

A melancholy affair happened on board a Scotch veſſel, laden with corn, which was juſt come up the river; and lay off Tower-wharf: the captain, on their coming up, would have had his people go on ſhore to refreſh themſelves, which they refuſed, and remained on board. Soon after (whether through wantonneſs, or cruelty, is not known) ſome fellows got on the deck, faſtened their hatches, ſtopped up their funnel, cut their cables, and ſet them adrift. In running down with the tide, ſhe fell foul of a tier of ſhips, the people of whom ſeeing her without any body on the deck, ſuſpected ſomething, and going down into the cabin, found three men lying dead, and the captain and a boy near expiring. The funnel, &c being ſtopped, occaſioned ſuch a ſmoke, as ſuffocated the three poor fellows; the captain is pretty well recovered, but there are very little hopes of the boy.

29th. Came on to be argued before the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and a ſpecial jury of gentlemen, a cauſe which has been depending above twelve months in that court; wherein Edward Burrow, Eſq; collector of his majeſty's cuſtoms at Hull, on the part of the King, was plaintiff, and a Dutch merchant defendant, touching the ſeizure of a Dutch veſſel, for importing French brandy into the port of Hull; when after many learned arguments on both ſides, (during the ſpace of ſix hours) a verdict was given for the plaintiff without the jury ever ſtirring out of court.

By the ſaid determination it is to be hoped a ſtop will be put to this particular trade of our good friends the Dutch.

DECEMBER.

5th. Dr. Shebbeare ſtood on the pillory, purſuant to his ſentence.

6th. Dr. Henſey was farther reſpited to January 21.

12th. N° 72,570 in the preſent lottery, was drawn a prize of 10,000l.

The drawing of the lottery was finiſhed, when N° 30,135, being the laſt drawn ticket, is entitled to 1000l.

An oak in Langley woods near Downton, Wilts, ſuppoſed to be near 1000 years growth, was ſold for 40l. It was the property of the Biſhop of Saliſbury, meaſured 6 feet 2 inches in diameter, and contained about 10 ton of timber.

On the 11th inſtant the old caſtle of Douglas, in Scotland, the reſidence of the Duke of Douglas, was conſumed by fire.

Sunday night, the 26th ult. about nine o'clock, a very remarkable meteor appeared in the firmament, and paſſed over the city of Edinburgh with great velocity. It was of a conic form, and in appearance about four or five inches diameter at the baſe, and as it went along, numbers of ſparks fell from it, like thoſe of a rocket when its force is ſpent. A moſt ſurpriſing light iſſued from it, ſo ſtrong, that while it laſted, which was for five or ſix ſeconds, one eaſily

eaſily could perceive the moſt minute thing upon the ſtreet. This meteor was likewiſe ſeen in ſeveral parts of the neighbourhood, and in appearance was much the ſame as above deſcribed.

This meteor was alſo ſeen at Dublin, Newcaſtle, Plymouth, and by three gentlemen in Chelſea fields, near London.

Mr. Speaker, in purſuance of the reſolution of the 6th inſtant, addreſſed himſelf to Admiral Boſcawen, and gave him the thanks of the houſe, as he ſtood in his place, in the following terms:

Admiral Boſcawen!

The houſe have unanimouſly reſolved, that their thanks ſhould be given to you for the ſervices you have done to your King and Country in North-America; and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you.

I wiſh I could do it in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion, and as they ought to be given to you, now ſtanding in your place, as a member of this houſe.

But were I able to enumerate and ſet forth, in the beſt manner, the great and extenſive advantages accruing to this nation from the conqueſt of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is the genuine and uniform ſenſe and language of every part of the kingdom.

Their joy too has been equal to their ſentiments upon the intereſting event: and in their ſentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude alſo to you, Sir, as a principal inſtrument in theſe moſt important acquiſitions.

You are now therefore receiving the acknowledgments of the people, only in a more ſolemn way—by the voice, the general voice, of their repreſentatives in parliament—The moſt honourable fame that any man can arrive at, in this, or any other country. It is, on theſe occaſions, a national honour, from a free people; ever cautiouſly to be conferred, in order to be the more eſteemed—to be the greater reward; and which ought to be reſerved for the moſt ſignal ſervices to the ſtate, and the moſt approved merit in them; ſuch as this houſe has uſually, and very lately, made their objects of public thanks.

The uſe, I am perſuaded, you will make of this juſt teſtimony, and high reward of your ſervices and merit, will be the preſerving in your own mind a laſting impreſſion of what the Commons of Great Britain are now tendering to you, and in a conſtant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your King and Country, which have made you to deſerve it.

In obedience to the commands of the houſe I do, with great pleaſure to myſelf, give you the thanks of the houſe for the ſervices you have done to your King and Country in North America.

To which Admiral Boſcawen anſwered.

Mr. Speaker!

I am happy in having been able to do my duty; but have not words to expreſs my ſenſe of the diſtinguiſhing reward, that has been conferred upon me by this houſe; nor can I enough thank you, Sir, for the polite and elegant manner, in which you have been pleaſed to convey to me the reſolution of the houſe.

And then the Speaker acquainted the houſe, that, in obedience to their commands, he had ſignified to

Admiral Osborn their thanks, and had received the following answer:

Sir, I want words to express my sense of the honour the house of Commons has been pleased to confer upon me, and only hope that you, Sir, will be as gracious to me in representing my gratitude to that august assembly, as you have been in acquainting me with their favourable acceptance of my services. I have done no more than my duty. I have only been the humble, though happy, instrument of executing the wise measures directed by his majesty.

I have no title, Sir, to any glory, but what is common to me as a seaman, and as an Englishman zealous for the service of my country, which is pleased to reward me with this instance of their approbation. From the situation of my health, Sir, I can flatter myself with having but few opportunities of employing the remainder of my life, in grateful exertion of my abilities for the honour and interest of my country. But as the house of Commons is so gloriously watchful to encourage the greatest merit, by rewarding the least, England can never want good officers; and however honoured I am by this distinction, may my services be the most inconsiderable, that shall be thus acknowledged. I am, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, and
Dec. 8. most humble servant,
1758. HENRY OSBORN.

The English prisoners, taken at St. Cas, arrived at Dover from France.

29th. At night about twelve o'clock, a stove of gun-powder at the Powder-mills on Hounslow-heath, belonging to Samuel Underhill, Esq; took fire, and blew up; as the quantity of powder that then lay drying therein was great, consisting of 17 ct. weight, the explosion was extremely violent and alarming, insomuch that his dwelling-house was considerably damaged thereby, and, though at near 300 yards distance from the works, several of the windows thereof were shattered to pieces, some furniture thrown down, particularly a repeating clock, part of the glass of a sash window was forced upon a bed, in which a gentleman then lay asleep, but happily no person received any hurt. What might be the cause of this accident is unknown to any one. In many parts the shock was felt, and supposed to be that of an earthquake.

Translation of a paragraph of a dispatch wrote by M. da Cunha, secretary of state in Portugal for foreign affairs and at war, dated Belem, Sept. 12.

'Last Sunday the King had a 'fall in his palace, by which he 'was considerably hurt in his right 'arm. He was let blood on Mon-'day, and is at present better. His 'majesty, being prevented by this 'accident from attending to pub-'lic affairs for some days, has em-'powered the queen to sign dis-'patches, and other instruments, 'during his illness.'

From Lisbon advice has been received, of a most wicked and daring attempt on the life of the King of Portugal. No clear and authentic account has yet been received, either of the particulars of the action itself, or the motives to it. Several persons of the most distinguished rank in that kingdom, have been already secured for this conspiracy; yet every thing concerning it is still involved in an impenetrable darkness, which all reasonings

ings and conjectures have hitherto conſpired to make only more obſcure. During the courſe of the enſuing year, we hope to receive ſome farther light, ſo as to enable us to give our readers a ſatisfactory account of this very extraordinary affair.

After the remarkable tranſactions of the year, ſomething of the remarkable turns of humour, whether real or fictitious, which diſplay themſelves in the public papers, will not we hope prove diſagreeable to our readers.

From the Daily Advertiſer.

A Young lady, juſt come out of Derbyſhire, ſtrayed from her guardian; ſhe is remarkably genteel and handſome; ſhe has been brought up by a farmer, near Derby, and knows no other but they are her her parents; but it is not ſo, for ſhe is a lady by birth, though of but little learning; ſhe has no cloaths with her, but a riding habit ſhe uſed to go to market in; ſhe will have a fine eſtate, as ſhe is an heireſs, but knows not her birth, as her parents died when ſhe was a child, and I had the care of her, ſo ſhe knows not but I am her mother; ſhe has a brown ſilk gown that ſhe borrowed of her maid, that is dyed ſilk, and her riding dreſs a light drab, lined with blue tammy, and it has blue loops at the button holes; ſhe has out-grown it; and I am ſure that ſhe is in great diſtreſs both for money and cloaths; but whoever has relieved her, I will be anſwerable, if they will give me a letter where ſhe may be found; ſhe knows not her own ſirname; I underſtand ſhe has been in Northampton for ſome time; ſhe has a cut in her forehead. Whoever will give me an account where ſhe is to be found, ſhall receive twenty guineas reward. Direct for M. W. at the George Inn, Derby.

Ladies! A young gentleman, aged 25, eaſy in fortune, happy in temper, of tolerable parts, not ſuperficially polite, but genteel addreſs, ſome knowledge of the world, and little acquaintance with the Fair, preſumes to offer his ſervice to one, not exceeding ten years older than himſelf, of good-nature, and affable diſpoſition, abſolutely miſtreſs of at leaſt 1000 l. will find the utmoſt ſincerity from one, who would make it the ultimate end of his ambition to render the marriage ſtate truly happy. Any lady who has ſpirit enough to break through the idle cuſtoms of the age, and not give trouble out of mere curioſity, inclined to anſwer this, may leave a line for X. O. at Gregg's coffee-houſe in York ſtreet, Covent-garden, ſhall receive immediate anſwer, and be waited on in perſon, at any time and place ſhe ſhall appoint. The moſt inviolable ſecrecy and honour will be punctually obſerved.

A ſingle gentleman, in a very good way of buſineſs, and can make 200 per cent. advantage of it, and free from debts, about 26 years of age, and is what the flatterer calls genteel, and rather handſome, of a chearful diſpoſition, and a very affable temper, not at all given to drinking, gaming, or any other vice that a lady can take umbrage at; one that would rather endeavour to get a fortune than ſpend one, has been in moſt parts of England, and is very well ac-

quainted with London, and no ſtranger to the fair ſex, but entirely ſo to any one he would prefer for a wife. As he has not been ſo happy as to meet with a lady that ſuits his diſpoſition as yet; a chearful diſpoſition, and free from the modern vices; one that is of the church of England, and has no objection to going there on the ſabbath, and to take ſome care for a future happineſs; one that would think herſelf rather happier in her huſband's company, than at public places; one that would more conſult the intereſt of her family than the glaſs in a morning; to be neat in perſon and apparel; and as to the lady's perſon it will be more agreeable to have it what the world calls agreeable than a beauty; with any fortune not leſs than 500 l. at her own diſpoſal, except ſhe has good intereſt, then leſs will be agreeable. Any lady this may ſuit, will be waited on by directing a line to G. C. at Peel's coffee-houſe in Fleet-ſtreet.

Inviolable ſecrecy may be depended on, as the gentleman does not chuſe a ſeven years ſiege.

A perſon of character, candour, and honour, who has an intire knowledge of the world, and has great intimacy with both ſexes among the nobility, gentry, and perſons of credit and reputation; and as it often happens, that many deſerving perſons of both ſexes are deprived of the opportunity of entering into the ſtate of matrimony, by being unacquainted with the merits of each other, therefore upon directing a line for A. Z. of any one's intention of entering into the above ſtate, to the advantage of each, to be left at Mr. Perry's, Miller's-court, Aldermanbury, ſecrecy and honour will be obſerved in bringing to a concluſion ſuch their intention. Any perſon who ſhall ſend a letter, is deſired to order the bearer to put it into the letter-box for fear it may be miſlaid: and it is deſired, that none but thoſe who are ſincere would make any application on the above ſubject.

In the Edinburgh Courant of the 28th ult. is the following extraordinary advertiſement.

Glaſgow, Oct. 23.

We Robert M'Nair, and Jean Holmes, having taken into conſideration the way and manner our daughter Jean acted in her marriage, that ſhe took none of our advice, nor adviſed us before ſhe married, for which reaſon we diſcharged her from our family, for more than twelve months; and being afraid that ſome or other of our family may alſo preſume to marry without duly adviſing us thereof; we, taking the affair into our ſerious conſideration, hereby diſcharge all and every one of our children from offering to marry without our ſpecial advice and conſent firſt had and obtained; and if any of our children ſhould propoſe or preſume to offer marriage to any, without, as aforeſaid, our advice and conſent, they in that caſe ſhall be baniſhed from our family twelve months; and if they ſhould go ſo far as to marry without our advice and conſent, in that caſe they are to be baniſhed from the family ſeven years; but whoever adviſes us of their intention to marry, and obtains our conſent, ſhall not only remain children of the family, but alſo ſhall have a due proportion of our goods, gear, and eſtate, as we ſhall think convenient, and as the bargain requires;

quires; and further, if any one of our children ſhall marry clandeſtinely, they, by ſo doing, ſhall loſe all claim, or title, to our effects, goods, gear, or eſtate; and we intimate this to all concerned, that none may pretend ignorance.

A General BILL of all the Chriſtenings and Burials in London, from Dec. 13, 1757, to Dec. 12. 1758.

Chriſtened		Buried	
Males	7347	Males	8932
Females	6862	Females	8644
	14209		17576

Decreaſed in the Burials this Year 3737.

Died under	2	Years of Age	5971
Between	2 and	5	1795
	5 and	10	717
	10 and	20	556
	20 and	30	1362
	30 and	40	1589
	40 and	50	1606
	50 and	60	1368
	60 and	70	1208
	70 and	80	961
	80 and	90	370
	90 and	100	68
		102	2
		103	1
		104	1
		106	1
			17576

The following remarkable incident was too long, and indeed of too extraordinary a nature, to be inſerted among the common articles of the Chronicle; and as it does not naturally fall under any other head of the work, we have therefore choſen to place it here, at the end of the occurrences of the year.

An account of ſome threatening letters ſent to the Duke of Marlborough, and a proſecution which his Grace carried on againſt William Barnard, ſuppoſing him to have written them.

ON the 29th of November his Grace the Duke of Marlborough received the following letter, from an unknown hand.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and ſpeed.

"MY LORD, XXVIII Nov.

As ceremony is an idle thing upon moſt occaſions, more eſpecially to perſons in my ſtate of mind, I ſhall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addreſſing this epiſtle to you, which is equally intereſting to us both. You are to know, then, that my preſent ſituation in life is ſuch, that I ſhould prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Deſperate diſeaſes require deſperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me, or to unmake yourſelf. As I never had the honour to live among the Great, the tenour of my propoſals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for ſome time, to find out a method to deſtroy another, without expoſing my own life: that I have accompliſhed, and defy the law. Now for the application of it. I am deſperate, and muſt be provided for. You have it in your power, it is my buſineſs to make it your inclination to ſerve me; which you muſt determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel ſupport for my

my life, or your own will be at a period before this ſeſſion of Parliament is over. I have more motives than one for ſingling you out firſt upon this occaſion; and I give you this fair warning, becauſe the means I ſhall make uſe of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of phyſic. If you think this of any conſequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday, (if the weather ſhould be rainy on Sunday) near the firſt tree, beyond the ſtile in Hyde Park, in the foot walk to Kenſington. Secrecy and compliance may preſerve you from a double danger of this ſort; as there is a certain part of the world, where your death has more than been wiſhed for upon other motives. I know the world too well to truſt this ſecret in any breaſt but my own. A few days determine me, your friend or enemy. FELTON.

"You will apprehend, that I mean you ſhould be alone; and depend upon it, that a diſcovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My ſafety is inſured by my ſilence, for confeſſion only can condemn me."

In conſequence of this letter, his Grace went to the place appointed at ten o'clock on the Sunday morning. He was on horſeback, had piſtols before him, and, as he was without a great coat, his ſtar was eaſily to be ſeen. He was without any attendant, but had a friend in the Park, who kept at ſuch a diſtance, as ſcarce to be noticed. When he firſt came up to the tree he ſaw nobody, either at it or near it, whom he could ſuſpect to be the perſon. He continued ſome time about the ſame ſpot, but nobody appearing, he rode away. It happened, that when he came to Hyde Park Corner, and turned his horſe, he ſaw ſomebody ſtand loitering, and looking at the water, over the bridge, within twenty yards of the tree; this induced him to ride back, which he did very gently, and, paſſing by the perſon, expected him to ſpeak to him, but was diſappointed. He paſſed by him a ſecond time, and the perſon ſtill taking no notice, his Grace made him a bow, and aſked, if he had not ſomething to ſay to him. He replied, 'No; 'I don't know you.' His Grace then ſaid, 'I am the Duke of 'Marlborough; now you know me, 'I imagine you have ſomething to 'ſay to me.' He replied, 'No; I 'have not:' and his Grace then rode away.

The next day, or the day after, the Duke received a ſecond letter, as follows:

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

"MY LORD,

You receive this as an acknowledgment of your punctuality, as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday laſt, tho' it was owing to you that it anſwered no purpoſe. The pageantry of being armed, and the enſign of your order, were uſeleſs, and too conſpicuous. You needed no attendant: the place was not calculated for miſchief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the weſt iſle of Weſtminſter Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your ſagacity will point out the perſon, whom you will addreſs, by aſking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name, and place of abode; according to which directions, you will pleaſe to

ſend

ſend two, or three, hundred pound bank notes, the next day, by the penny-poſt. Exert not your curioſity too early; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite. I am, &c. F."

The Duke was pleaſed to attend a ſecond time, at the place and hour appointed, and walked five or ſix minutes in the Abbey before he ſaw any body that he ſuſpected. He then ſaw the ſame perſon whom he had ſeen before in Hyde Park. He came in with a good-looking man, who had the appearance of a ſubſtantial tradeſman, and they went about, looking on the monuments. After ſome time the ſtranger went into the choir, and the perſon whom he had ſeen before, turned back, and came towards the Duke. The Duke then aſked him, if he had any thing to ſay to him, or any commands for him? and he replied, 'No, my Lord, I have not.' The Duke then ſaid, 'Sure you 'have? But he replied again with the ſame words, 'No, my Lord.' The Duke then left him, and as he continued to walk up and down one ſide of the iſle, his Grace walked up and down the other, to give him a little more time; but he did not ſpeak. The Duke had then ſeveral perſons diſguiſed in the Abbey, who were to have taken up the perſon he was to meet if the ſignal had been given; but the Duke did not give it, becauſe, though he was very ſure the perſon he had ſpoke to was the ſame he had ſeen in the Park, yet he choſe rather to run a farther riſk himſelf, than to take up an innocent man.

Very ſoon after this his Grace received a third letter, as follows.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

"My Lord,

I am fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday. I interpret it as owing to the weakneſs of human nature; but ſuch proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilſt it is impoſſible to anſwer the end propoſed. You will ſee me again ſoon, as it were by accident, and may eaſily find where I go to: in conſequence of which, by being ſent to, I ſhall wait on your Grace, but expect to be quite alone, and to converſe in whiſpers; you will likewiſe give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the converſation ſhall tranſpire. Theſe, and the former terms complied with, enſure your ſafety: my revenge in caſe of non-compliance (or any ſcheme to expoſe me) will be ſlower, but not leſs ſure; and ſtrong ſuſpicion, the utmoſt that can poſſibly enſue upon it: while the chances would be tenfold againſt you. You will poſſibly be in doubt after meeting, but it is quite neceſſary the outſide ſhould be a maſk to the in. The family of the Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my ſcheme."

This letter, by the expreſſion "you will ſee me again ſoon, as it "were by accident," ſeems to intimate, that the writer had not only ſeen the Duke, but that the Duke had ſeen the writer ſo as to know and remember him; for how elſe could his Grace ſee him "as it "were by accident," ſo as to note him, and find out whither he went?

His

His Grace, however, did not ſee either the perſon he had ſeen before, or any other perſon whom he had the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe to be the writer of the letters; but about two months afterwards he received the following letter as from another hand.

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

"May it pleaſe your Grace,

I have reaſon to believe that the ſon of one Barnard, a ſurveyor in Abingdon Buildings, Weſtminſter, is acquainted with ſome ſecrets that nearly concern your ſafety; his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of queſtioning him more privately; it would be uſeleſs to your Grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair,

Your ſincere friend,

ANONYMOUS.

"He frequently goes to Storey's-gate coffee-houſe."

About ten days after the receipt of this letter, the duke ſent a perſon, whoſe name is Merrick, to Storey's-gate coffee-houſe, to tell Mr. Barnard, that the Duke deſired to ſpeak to him. The meſſage was delivered to Mr. Barnard on Tueſday the 25th of April, in the evening; and he ſent word by the meſſenger, Mr. Merrick, that he would wait upon his Grace on Thurſday morning following, at half an hour after ten.

On Thurſday morning, at the time appointed, he went, and the Duke, who inſtantly knew him to be the perſon he had ſeen before in the Park and the Abbey, took him into a room, and ſhut the door. He then aſked him, as he had done at their former meetings, whether he had any thing to ſay to him? and he ſaid, he had nothing to ſay. The Duke then recapitulated all the letters, beginning with the firſt, and Barnard liſtened with attention and ſurpriſe, but without any appearance of fear. The Duke obſerved, that it ſeemed to him a ſtrange thing to find ſuch letters as theſe written with the correctneſs of a ſcholar; to which Barnard replied, "That a man might be very learned and very poor:" to which he might have added, that he might be very daring and very wicked. The Duke then ſhewed him the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned; upon which Barnard ſaid, "It is very odd; my father was then out of town." This ſpeech the Duke thought remarkable: becauſe, though Barnard ſaid his father was then out of town, the letter was without a date. The Duke then told him, that if he was innocent, it behoved him, more than his Grace, to diſcover the writers of the letters, eſpecially the laſt; upon which, he gave the Duke a ſmile, and went away.

How theſe circumſtances came to the knowledge of Mr. Fielding does not appear; but Fielding ſoon after took Mr. Barnard into cuſtody, and he was tried the laſt ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, for ſending a threatening letter, contrary to the ſtatute.

In the account of the trial, as it is printed in the ſeſſions paper, there is no mention of any evidence to prove the letters to be

Mr.

Mr. Barnard's hand-writing *, nor indeed any evidence to prove that he was the writer of them, except his being in Hyde Park, and in the Abbey, at the times when the writers of the firſt and ſecond letters appointed the Duke to meet him there.

It ſeemed, however, to be incumbent upon Mr. Barnard, to ſhew how he came to be at thoſe places juſt at thoſe times; and this he has done in a very particular manner, ſupported by very credible teſtimony.

He proved, that on the Sunday morning mentioned in the firſt letter to the Duke, his father ordered him to go to Kenſington to the ſollicitor of the turnpike, to know whether the treaſurer of the turnpike had not paid ſome money for his uſe: That in conſequence of this order, he did go to Kenſington, ſaw the ſollicitor of the turnpike there, dined afterwards with his uncle, at his houſe at Kenſington, in company with ſeveral other perſons, to whom he related the particulars of the Duke's coming up to him in Hyde Park, and aſking if he had any thing to ſay to him. This is atteſted by Barnard the father, who gave him orders to go to Kenſington, by the perſon to whom he went, by his uncle, with whom he dined, and ſeveral others that were at the ſame table.

As to his being in the Abbey, he proved that Mr James Greenwood, a relation, a brewer at Deptford, being at breakfaſt with him, on the Sunday mentioned in the ſecond letter, at his father's, where he had lain the night before, deſired him to get himſelf dreſſed and go with him into the Park: That he did not comply till after much ſollicitation; and that when they came to the end of Henry the VIIth's chapel, Mr. Barnard would have gone into the Park without going through the Abbey, if Mr. Greenwood had not inſiſted on the contrary, as he had never ſeen General Hargrave's monument. This Mr. Greenwood was that good-looking man whom the Duke ſays he ſaw come into the Abbey with Mr. Barnard. As Barnard had told Greenwood the ſtrange circumſtance of the Duke's ſpeaking to him in the Park, Greenwood, as ſoon as he ſaw the Duke, whom he knew, told Barnard who he was; for Barnard, being very near-ſighted, had not ſeen him, and if he had, would not have known him. Mr. Greenwood obſerving the Duke to come up to him, and paſs him ſeveral times, ſuppoſed he had a mind to ſpeak to Mr. Barnard, but would not do it till he was alone; and for that reaſon he left him, and went into the choir. Theſe facts are atteſted by Mr. Greenwood, the only perſon to whom they could be known; and it ſhould be obſerved, that Mr. Barnard could not appoint a meeting on theſe days, in conſequence of his having buſineſs which at thoſe times would call him to the places mentioned, becauſe he did not know of his going either to the Park or the Abbey, till the very days on which he went.

Mr. Barnard alſo proved by

* The three letters are ſaid to have been written in print hand, which accounts for there being no comparing the writing in the letters with his father's books, or with any other writing under his hand.

unexceptionable witneſſes, that he mentioned the ſtrange circumſtances of the Duke's meeting and ſpeaking to him, both in the Park and in the Abbey, among his friends and acquaintance, openly on the day when they happened, and very frequently afterwards: that his father is eſtabliſhed in a very reputable and profitable buſineſs, in which his ſon is likely to ſucceed him, being extremely capable of the employment, and very diligent in it. It is alſo proved, by ſeveral perſons of the higheſt character, particularly Dr. Markham, the preſent worthy maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, that he is in plentiful circumſtances, very far from being in any exigence which might urge him to obtain money at ſuch a riſk, not only of his reputation but his life; that his conduct had always been irreproachable; and his fidelity often tried.

The fourth letter ſtill remains an inſcrutable myſtery. No man could imagine, from what Mr. Barnard had ſaid from time to time, concerning the Duke's behaviour to him, that 'he was acquainted with ſome ſecrets which 'nearly concerned his Grace's 'ſafety;' and why any perſon, who might hear that the Duke had received threatening letters, without knowing from whom, ſhould mention Mr. Barnard, cannot eaſily be gueſſed. The only conjecture that ſeems probable, if on ſuch an occaſion a conjecture may be allowed, is, that ſome officious perſon, who had received ſome ſlight information of the Duke's buſineſs at the Abbey, and obſerved him ſpeaking to Mr. Barnard, might watch him home; and taking for granted that if he ſhould, in conſequence of this information, be detected in any evil deſign, the informer, whenever he ſhould think fit to reveal himſelf, would be rewarded, might be induced to make the information at a venture, and conceal himſelf till the event ſhould be known.

As to the Duke, he appears to have acted with the utmoſt tenderneſs and generoſity through the whole affair, to have undertaken the proſecution purely from public principles, and to have been more deſirous that the priſoner ſhould appear innocent than guilty.

SUP

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the ſervice of the year 1758.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 8, 1757.			
1. That 60000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice for 1758, including 14,845 marines.			
2. That a ſum not exceeding 4l. per man, per month, be allowed for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for ſea ſervice ——	3120000	0	0
DECEMBER 15.			
1. That a number of land forces, including 4008 invalids, amounting to 53,777 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included, be employed for the ſervice of 1758.			
2. That for defraying the charge of the ſaid number of land forces for guards and garriſons, and other his majeſty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, for 1758, there be granted a ſum not exceeding —— —— ——	1253368	18	6
3. For the pay of the general, and general ſtaff-officers, and officers of the hoſpitals for the land forces, for 1758 —— —— ——	37452	3	4
4. For maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations and Gibraltar, and for proviſions for the garriſons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, and Providence, for 1758 ——	623704	0	2
5. For defraying the charge of four regiments of foot, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving in North America, and the Eaſt-Indies, for 1758 ——	43968	4	2
	1958493	6	2
DECEMBER 20.			
1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land ſervice, for 1758 —— ——	181505	10	0
2. For defraying the extraordinary expence of the board of ordnance for land ſervice, not provided for by parliament —— ——	210301	17	3
3. To make good the ſum which had been iſſued by his majeſty's orders in purſuance of the addreſs of that houſe —— ——	31000	0	0
	422807	7	3
JANUARY 23, 1758.			
1. For a preſent ſupply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majeſty to ſubſiſt, and keep together, the army formed laſt year in his			

electoral

unexceptionable witneſſes, that he mentioned the ſtrange circumſtances of the Duke's meeting and ſpeaking to him, both in the Park and in the Abbey, among his friends and acquaintance, openly on the day when they happened, and very frequently afterwards: that his father is eſtabliſhed in a very reputable and profitable buſineſs, in which his ſon is likely to ſucceed him, being extremely capable of the employment, and very diligent in it. It is alſo proved, by ſeveral perſons of the higheſt character, particularly Dr. Markham, the preſent worthy maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, that he is in plentiful circumſtances, very far from being in any exigence which might urge him to obtain money at ſuch a riſk, not only of his reputation but his life; that his conduct had always been irreproachable; and his fidelity often tried.

The fourth letter ſtill remains an inſcrutable myſtery. No man could imagine, from what Mr. Barnard had ſaid from time to time, concerning the Duke's behaviour to him, that 'he was ac-'quainted with ſome ſecrets which 'nearly concerned his Grace's 'ſafety;' and why any perſon, who might hear that the Duke had received threatening letters, without knowing from whom, ſhould mention Mr. Barnard, cannot eaſily be gueſſed. The only conjecture that ſeems probable, if on ſuch an occaſion a conjecture may be allowed, is, that ſome officious perſon, who had received ſome ſlight information of the Duke's buſineſs at the Abbey, and obſerved him ſpeaking to Mr. Barnard, might watch him home; and taking for granted that if he ſhould, in conſequence of this information, be detected in any evil deſign, the informer, whenever he ſhould think fit to reveal himſelf, would be rewarded, might be induced to make the information at a venture, and conceal himſelf till the event ſhould be known.

As to the Duke, he appears to have acted with the utmoſt tenderneſs and generoſity through the whole affair, to have undertaken the proſecution purely from public principles, and to have been more deſirous that the priſoner ſhould appear innocent than guilty.

SUP-

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the ſervice of the year 1758.

	£.	s.	d.
DECEMBER 8, 1757.			
1. That 60000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice for 1758, including 14,845 marines.			
2. That a ſum not exceeding 4l. per man, per month, be allowed for maintaining them for 13 months, including the ordnance for ſea ſervice ——	3120000	0	0
DECEMBER 15.			
1. That a number of land forces, including 4008 invalids, amounting to 53,777 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included, be employed for the ſervice of 1758.			
2. That for defraying the charge of the ſaid number of land forces for guards and garriſons, and other his majeſty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernſey, and Jerſey, for 1758, there be granted a ſum not exceeding —— —— ——	1253368	18	6
3. For the pay of the general, and general ſtaff-officers, and officers of the hoſpitals for the land forces, for 1758 —— —— ——	37452	3	4
4. For maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations and Gibraltar, and for proviſions for the garriſons in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, and Providence, for 1758 ——	623704	0	2
5. For defraying the charge of four regiments of foot, on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving in North America, and the Eaſt-Indies, for 1758 ——	43968	4	2
	1958493	6	2
DECEMBER 20.			
1. For the charge of the office of ordnance for land ſervice, for 1758 —— ——	181505	10	0
2. For defraying the extraordinary expence of the board of ordnance for land ſervice, not provided for by parliament —— ——	210301	17	3
3. To make good the ſum which had been iſſued by his majeſty's orders in purſuance of the addreſs of that houſe —— ——	31000	0	0
	422807	7	3
JANUARY 23, 1758.			
1. For a preſent ſupply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majeſty to ſubſiſt, and keep together, the army formed laſt year in his			

electoral

	£.	s.	d.
electoral dominions, and then again put into motion, and actually employed againſt the common enemy in concert with the King of Pruſſia, agreed to *nem. con.*	100000	0	0
2. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea officers, for 1758	224421	5	8
3. Towards carrying on the works of the hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen, building at Haſler, near Goſport, for 1758	10000	0	0
4. Towards carrying on the works of the hoſpital for ſick and wounded ſeamen, building near Plymouth, for 1758	10000	0	0
5. Towards the ſupport of the royal hoſpital at Greenwich, for the better maintenance of the ſeamen of the ſaid hoſpital, worn out and become decrepit in the ſervice of their country	10000	0	0
	354421	5	8

JANUARY 31.

1. Upon account of the reduced officers of the land forces and marines, for 1758	35602	0	0
2. For defraying the charge for allowances to the ſeveral officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horſe guards, and regiment of horſe, reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four regiments of horſe guards, for 1758	3098	17	11
3. For the paying of the penſions to the widows of ſuch reduced officers of the land forces and marines, as died upon the eſtabliſhment of half-pay in Great Britain, and who were married to them before Dec. 25, 1716, for 1758	2226	0	0
	40926	17	11

FEBRUARY 6.

Towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of his majeſty's ſhips, for 1758	200000	0	0

FEBRUARY 23.

For defraying the charge of 2120 horſe, and 9900 foot, together with the general and ſtaff officers, the officers of the hoſpital, and officers, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 60 days, from Dec. 25, 1757, to Feb. 22, 1758, both incluſive, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaty	38360	19	1

MARCH 7.

Towards enabling the governors and guardians of the hoſpital for maintenance and education of expoſed

	£.	s.	d.
and deſerted young children, to receive all ſuch children, under a certain age to be by them limited, as ſhall be brought to the ſaid hoſpital, before Jan. 1, 1759; and alſo towards enabling them to maintain and educate ſuch children as were then under their care, and to continue to carry into execution the good purpoſes for which they were incorporated; and that the ſum granted ſhould be iſſued and paid for the uſe of the ſaid hoſpital, without fee or reward, or any deduction whatſoever	40000	0	0
MARCH 13.			
Towards paying off and diſcharging the debt of the navy	300000	0	0
MARCH 21.			
1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the year 1757	284802	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$
2. For defraying the charge of 2120 horſe, and 9900 foot, together with the general and ſtaff-officers, the officers of the hoſpital, and officers and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 60 days, from Feb. 23, 1758, to April 23 following, both incluſive, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaty	38360	19	$10\frac{3}{4}$
3. Upon account for out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital, for 1758	26000	0	0
	349163	0	$11\frac{1}{2}$
APRIL 6.			
1. To enable his majeſty to defray the like ſum raiſed in purſuance of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies, to be granted in the then current ſeſſion	800000	0	0
2. Upon account for ſupporting and maintaining the ſettlement of the colony of Nova Scotia, for 1758	9902	5	0
3. Upon account for defraying the charges incurred by ſupporting and maintaining the ſaid colony in 1756, and not provided for by parliament	£626	9	$9\frac{1}{2}$
4. Upon account for defraying the charges of the civil eſtabliſhment of the colony of Georgia, and other incidental expences attending the ſame, from June 24, 1757, to June 24, 1758	3557	10	0
	820086	4	$9\frac{1}{2}$

	£.	s.	d.
APRIL 20.			
1. To enable his majeſty to make good his engagements wiith the King of Pruſſia, purſuant to a convention between his majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, concluded April 11, 1758	670000	0	0
2. For defraying the charge of 38,000 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckkeburgh, together with that of general and ſtaff-officers, actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, from Nov. 28, 1757, to Dec. 24, 1758, incluſive, to be iſſued in advance every two months, in like manner as the pay of the Heſſian forces then in the ſervice of Great Britain, the ſaid body of troops to be muſtered by an Engliſh commiſſary, and the effective ſtate thereof to be alſo aſcertained by the ſignature of the commander in chief of the ſaid forces, the further ſum of	463084	6	10
3. In full ſatisfaction for defraying the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, and train of proviſions, wood, ſtraw, &c. and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and loſſes whatſoever incurred, and to be incurred, on account of his majeſty's army, conſiſting of 38,000 men actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, from Nov. 28 laſt, to Dec. 24 next, incluſive, the ſaid ſum to be iſſued from time to time, in like proportions as the pay of the ſaid troops	386915	13	2
4. For defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other ſervices incurred in 1757, and not provided for by parliament	145454	15	0½
5. For defraying the charge of what remained to be paid, for 2120 horſe and 9900 foot, together with the general and ſtaff-officers, the officers of the hoſpital, and officers, and others, belonging to the train of artillery, the troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, for 365 days, from Dec. 25, 1757, to Dec. 24, 1758, both days incluſive, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to treaty	165175	4	10½
6. To be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge	15000	0	0
	1845629	19	10½

	£.	s.	d.
MAY 2.			
Upon account towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing for the militia for 1758, and for defraying ſuch expences as were actually incurred upon the account of the militia in 1757	100000	0	0
MAY 4.			
Towards carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford	10000	0	0
JUNE 1.			
1. For reimburſing to the province of Maſſachuſet's bay, their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them, for his majeſty's ſervice, for the campaign in 1756	27380	19	11½
2. For reimburſing to the colony of Connecticut, the expence of furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them, for his majeſty's ſervice, for the campaign in 1756	13736	17	7
3. For repairing the pariſh church of St. Margaret's Weſtminſter	4000	0	0
	45117	17	6½
JUNE 8.			
To enable his majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of 1758; and to take all ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of the enemies, and as the exigency of affairs may require	800000	0	0
JUNE 10.			
1. Upon account to be paid to the Eaſt India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained by them, in lieu of the battalion of his majeſty's forces withdrawn from thoſe ſettlements	20000	0	0
2. To be employed in maintaining and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements upon the coaſt of Africa	10000	0	0
	30000	0	0
Sum total of the grants made by the committee of ſupply	10475007	0	1

Granted in the ſame ſeſſion by an addreſs, as follows.

June 16, it was upon motion reſolved, That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to repreſent, that the ſalaries of moſt of the judges in his majeſty's ſuperior courts of juſtice in this kingdom

	£.	s.	d.
were inadequate to the dignity and importance of their offices; and therefore to beſeech his majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to advance any ſum, not exceeding 11,450 l. to be applied in augmentation of the ſalaries of ſuch judges, and in ſuch proportions as his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, ſhould think fit, for the preſent year; and to aſſure his majeſty, that the houſe would make good the ſame to his majeſty.			
And on the 19th, the Earl of Thomond reported to the houſe, that the ſaid addreſs had been preſented to his majeſty, and that he had commanded him to acquaint the houſe, that he would give directions as thereby deſired; conſequently we muſt add to the above total	11450	0	0
Sum total of the grants of laſt ſeſſion	10486457	0	1

From the foregoing articles of ſupply, it is obſerved that for the ſupport of our connections on the continent, the following ſums have been granted

Jan. 23, article I.	100000	0	0
Feb. 23	38360	19	10¾
March 21, art. II.	38360	19	10¾
April 20, art. I.	670000	0	0
——— art. II.	463084	6	10
——— art. III.	386915	13	2
——— art. V.	165175	4	10½
Sum total	1861897	4	8

As ſoon as the houſe had agreed to the reſolutions of the committee of ſupply of Dec. 8, 1757, it was reſolved, that the houſe would next morning reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of ways and means for raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty; from which time this committee was continued to June 12, 1758, and in that time the following reſolutions were agreed to in the committee, and all upon the report agreed to by the houſe, as follows.

DECEMBER 12, 1757.

That the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, be continued and charged upon all malt which ſhall be made, and all mum which ſhall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which ſhall be made for ſale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from

	£.	s.	d.
June 23, 1758, to June 24, 1759. The produce of which is computed at, and granted for	750000	0	0

That the ſum of 4s. in the pound, and no more, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, and perſonal eſtates, and alſo the ſum of 4s. in the pound upon offices and penſions, be raiſed in that part of Great Britain, called England, Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, within the ſpace of one year, from March 25, 1758; and that a proportionable ceſs, according to the 9th article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain, called Scotland — — — — 2037874 1 10

Of which ſum, there was, by the bill brought in and paſſed in purſuance of this reſolution, the ſum of 1,989,920l. 8d. to be raiſed in England, &c. and 47,954l. 1s. 2d. to be raiſed in Scotland.

DECEMBER 20.

1. That the ſum remaining in his majeſty's Exchequer, diſpoſable by parliament, of the produce of the ſinking fund for the quarter ended Oct. 10, 1757, be iſſued and applied towards making good the ſupply of this ſeſſion — — — 93371 11 7¾

2. That there be iſſued and applied, out of ſuch monies as ſhall or may ariſe of the ſurplus, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the ſinking fund, the ſum of — — — 300000 0 0

393371 11 7¾

APRIL 18, 1758.

That the ſum remaining in his majeſty's Exchequer, diſpoſable by parliament, of the produce of the ſinking fund, on April 5, 1758, be iſſued and applied towards making good the ſupply this ſeſſion 492400 8 3

APRIL 22.

1. That the ſum of 4,500,000l. be raiſed by annuities, at 3l. 10s. per cent. per ann. and the ſum of 500,000l. by a lottery, to be attended with annuities, redeemable by parliament, after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. the ſaid ſeveral annuities to be transferable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament for payment thereof; and for which the ſinking fund ſhall be a collateral ſecurity; and that every perſon ſubſcribing for 500l. ſhall be entitled to 450l. in annuities, and 50l. in lottery tickets, and ſo in

£. s. d.

proportion for a greater or leſſer ſum; that the ſaid lottery ſhall conſiſt of tickets of the value of 10l. each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize, the blanks to be of the value of 6l. each; the blanks and prizes to bear an intereſt after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann. to commence from Jan. 5, 1759; and that the ſum of 4.500,000l. to be raiſed by annuities, bear an intereſt after the rate of 3l. 10s. per cent. per ann. from July 5, 1758; which ſaid annuities ſhall ſtand reduced to 3l. per. cent. per ann. after the expiration of 24 years, to be computed from July 5, 1758; and ſhall afterwards be redeemable in the whole or in part, by ſums not leſs than 500,000l. at one time, ſix months notice having been firſt given of ſuch payment or payments reſpectively; that any ſubſcriber may, on or before April 29 inſtant, at five o'clock in the afternoon, make a depoſit of 10l. per cent. on ſuch ſums as he ſhall chuſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 5.000,000l. with the caſhiers of the bank of England, as a ſecurity for making the future payments on the days herein after appointed. On the 5.000,000l. 10l. per cent. depoſit on or before April 29 inſtant, on the whole five millions. On 4.400,000l. in annuities, 15 per cent. on or before May 30 next—15 per cent. on or before June 28 next—15 per cent. on or before July 27 next—15 per cent. on or before Auguſt 30 next—15 per cent. on or before September 27 next—15 per cent. on or before October 26 next. On the lottery for 500,000l. 20 per cent. on or before June 10 next.—15 per cent. on or before July 10 next—15 per cent on or before Auguſt 19 next—20 per cent. on or before September 9 next—20 per cent. on or before October 9 next. Which ſeveral ſums ſo received ſhall by the ſaid caſhiers be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by this houſe in this ſeſſion of parliament, and not otherwiſe. That any ſubſcriber paying in the whole, or any part of his ſubſcription, previous to the days appointed for the reſpective payments, ſhall be allowed a diſcount after the rate of 3l. per cent. per ann from the days of ſuch reſpective payments to the reſpective times, on which ſuch payments are directed to be made; and that all ſuch perſons, as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery, ſhall have their tickets delivered as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out — — 5000000 0 0

2. That

	£.	s.	d.
2. That there be iſſued and applied out of ſuch monies, as ſhall or may ariſe of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the ſinking fund, the ſum of	1606076	5	1¼
	6606076	5	1¼

SATURDAY, April 29.

1. That there ſhould be paid yearly the ſum of 1s. in the pound of all ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and on all penſions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majeſty in Great Britain, exceeding the value of 100l. per. ann.

2. That there ſhall be paid for, and upon every dwelling-houſe inhabited, which now is, or hereafter ſhall be erected, within the kingdom of Great Britain, the yearly ſum of 1s. over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of this inſtant April, 1758.

3 That there ſhall be paid for every window, or light, in every dwelling-houſe, inhabited, or to be inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall contain 15 windows or lights, or upwards, the yearly ſum of 6d. for each window or light in ſuch houſe, over and above all duties chargeable thereupon, to commence from the fifth day of this inſtant April, 1758.

MAY 2.

1. That the annuities payable purſuant to the reſolution of this houſe of April 22 laſt, be charged upon the ſeveral additional rates and duties upon offices and penſions, and upon houſes and upon windows or lights, which were granted by the reſolutions of this houſe of Saturday laſt.

2. That an act made in the 9th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, entituled, "An act for further "encouraging and regulating the manufacture of "Britiſh made Sail Cloth, and for the more effec- "tual ſecuring the Duties now payable on Foreign "Sail Cloth imported into this Kingdom," which was to continue in force from June 24, 1736, for the term of five years, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, and which by ſeveral ſubſequent acts made in the 13th and 24th years of the reign of his preſent majeſty, was further continued until Dec. 25, 1757, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

3. That an act made in the 4th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, entituled, "An Act for "granting an Allowance upon the Exportation of "Britiſh made Gunpowder," which was to continue in force for five years from June 24, 1731, and from hence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, and which by ſeveral ſubſequent acts made in the 10th, 16th, and 24th years of the reign of his preſent majeſty, was further continued until June 24, 1757, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

4. That an act made in the 6th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, entituled, "An Act for the bet-"ter ſecuring and encouraging the Trade of his Ma-"jeſty's Sugar Colonies in America," which was to continue in force for five years, to be computed from June 24, 1733, and to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, and which by ſeveral ſubſequent acts made in the 12th, 19th, 26th, and 29th years of the reign of his preſent majeſty, was further continued until June 24, 1759, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

5. That ſo much of an act made in the 15th and 16th years of his preſent majeſty's reign, entituled, "An Act to impower the Importers or Proprietors of "Rum or Spirits of the Britiſh Sugar Plantations, to "land the ſame before Payment of the Duties of "Exciſe charged thereon, and to lodge the ſame in "Warehouſes at their own Expence, and for the "relief of Ralph Barrow, in reſpect to the Duty on "ſome Rock Salt loſt by the Overflowing of the Ri-"vers Weaver and Dane," as relates to the landing of rum or ſpirits of the Britiſh ſugar plantations before payment of the duties of exciſe, and to the lodging of the ſame in warehouſes at the expence of the importers or proprietors thereof; which was to continue in force until Dec. 29, 1749, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, and which by an act made in the 23d year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, was further continued from the expiration thereof until Sept. 29, 1757, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament, is near expiring, and fit to be continued.

MAY 9.

1. That the duty of 6d. per ounce Troy on all ſilver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched,

£. s. d.

touched, aſſayed, or marked in this kingdom, granted by an act made in the ſixth year of his late majeſty's reign, ſhall, from and after June 1, 1758, ceaſe, determine, and be no longer paid.

2. That in lieu thereof, the ſum of 40s. yearly, ſhall, from and after June 1, 1758, be paid to his majeſty, for a licence to be taken out by every perſon, trading in, ſelling or vending gold or ſilver plate.

3. That the ſums to be paid for the ſaid licences, ſhall be applied to the ſame uſes and purpoſes, as the preſent duty on ſilver plate made or wrought in this kingdom, is now liable, and appropriated unto, and in the ſame manner.

MAY 11.

That all drawbacks now payable on the exportation of ſilver plate, ſhall, from and after June 1, 1758, ceaſe and determine.

JUNE 1.

That from and after July 5, 1758, no perſon ſhall be permitted to ſell by retail, any ſweets or made wines, without having firſt taken out a licence for retailing wine.

JUNE 10

That there be raiſed by loans or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted the next ſeſſion of parliament, the ſum of —— 800000 0 0

Theſe were all the reſolutions, or proviſions made by this committee, amounting in the whole to — 11079722 6 10

So that they exceed the ſum total granted by the committee of ſupply in the ſum of —— 593265 6 9

To

To this we ſubjoin a State of the National Debt, provided or unprovided for by Parliament, as it ſtood Jan. 11, 1757, *and* Jan. 11, 1758, *together with an Account of the Produce of the Sinking Fund in that Year, and to the Payment of what Debts contracted before* Dec. 25, 1716, *the ſaid Fund has been applied.*

	Amount of the national debt on Jan. 11, 1758. £. s. d. q.	*Increaſed between* Jan. 11, 1758, *and* Jan. 11, 1759. £.	*Paid off within that time.* £. s. d. q.	*Amount of the national debt on* Jan. 11, 1759. £. s. d. q.
EXCHEQUER.				
Annuities for long terms, being the remainder of the original ſum contributed and unſubſcribed to the South-Sea company	1836275 17 10 3/4			1836275 17 10 3/4
Ditto for lives, with the benefit of ſurvivorſhip, being the original ſum contributed	180100			180100
Ditto for two and three lives, being the ſum remaining after what is fallen in by deaths	83055 14 10 3/4		500	82555 14 10 3/4
Exchequer bills made out for intereſt of old bills	2200			2200
Note, The land taxes and duties on malt being annual grants, are not charged in this account, nor the 1,000,000 l. charged on the deductions of 6 d. *per* pound on penſions, &c. nor the ſum of 800,0000 l. charged on the ſupply, *anno* 1758.				
EAST-INDIA Company.				
By two acts of parliament 9 Will. III. and 2 other acts 6 and 9 Anne, at 3 l. per cent. per ann.	3200000			3200000
Annuities at 3 l. per cent. 1744, charged on the ſurplus of the additional duties on low wines, ſpirits, and ſtrong waters	1000000			1000000
BANK of ENGLAND.				
On their original fund at 3 l. per cent. from Auguſt 1, 1743	3200000			3200000
For cancelling Exchequer bills 3 George I.	500000			500000
Purchaſed of the S. S. company	4000000			4000000
Annuities at 3 l. 10 s. per cent. charged on the duties on coals, &c. ſince Lady-day, 1719	1750000			1750000
Ditto charged on the ſurplus of the funds for lottery, 1714	1250000			1250000

Ditto 1746, charged on duties on licences for retailing ſpirituous liquors, ſince Lady Day, 1746	986800								986800		
Ditto at 3l. per cent. charged on the ſinking fund, by the acts 25, 28, 29, and 31 Geo. II.	13537821	5	1¼						13537821	5	1¼
Ditto charged on the ſaid fund by the act 25 Geo. II. viz.											
At 3l. 10s. per cent. 14984455l. 18s. 4d.	17701323	16	4						17701323	16	4
At 3l. per cent. 2716867l. 18s.											
Ditto at 3l. 10s. per cent. charged on ditto	1500000								1500000		
Ditto at 3l. per cent. charged on the ſtamp duties, &c. by the act 30 George II.				3000000					3000000		

Memorandum. The ſubſcribers of 100l. to the lottery 1745, were allowed an annuity for one life at 9s. a ticket, which amounted to 22,500l. but is now reduced, by lives fallen in, to 19,570l. 15s. And the ſubſcribers of 100l. to the lottery 1746, were allowed an annuity for one life of 18s. a ticket, which amounted to 45,000l. but is now reduced by lives fallen in, to 40,023l. 10s. And alſo the ſubſcribers of 100l. for 3 *per cent.* annuities 1757, were allowed an annuity for one life of 1l. 2s. 6d. a year, which amounted to 33,750l. which annuities are an increaſe of the national debt, but cannot be added thereto, as no money was advanced for the ſame.

SOUTH-SEA Company.

On their capital ſtock and annuities 9 George I.	2502309	13	11½						2502309	13	11½
Annuities at 3*l. per cent.* charged on the ſinking fund	2100000								2100000		
	74780886	8	2¼	3000000		500			77780386	8	2¼

An ESTIMATE *of the* DEBT *of his Majesty's* NAVY *on the Heads hereafter mentioned, as it stood on* Dec. 31, 1757.

HEADS *of the Naval Estimates.*	Particulars. £. s. d.	Total. £. s. d.
Wear and tear, ordinary and transports.		
DUE, to pay off and discharge all the bills registered in the course of the navy for stores, freight of transports, &c. supplied for the service thereof	686708 9	
To pay off and discharge the bills registered on the said course for premiums allowed by act of parliament	2987 17 7	
To freight of transports and tenders, and for stores delivered into his majesty's several yards, &c. for which no bills were made out on the aforesaid Dec. 31, as also to several bills of exchange	289735 7 5	1196715 14
To his majesty's yards and rope-yards, for the ordinary and extraordinary	205795	
For the half-pay to sea-officers, according to an establishment made by his late majesty in council on that behalf	11489	
Seamens Wages.		
Due, to pay the men, &c. unpaid on the books of ships paid off	221402 15 11¼	
To ships in sea pay, on the aforesaid Dec. 31, 1757	1643838	
To pay off and discharge all the bills entered in course for slop-cloaths, bedding for seamen, surgeons necessaries, bounties to widows and orphans of men slain at sea, &c.	48893 19 7	1914184 15 6¼
Victualling debt as per estimate received from those commissioners, viz.		
Due, for short allowance to the companies of his majesty's ships in pay, and which have been paid off	14211 11 7	
For paying off all the bills entered on their course	327336 8 8	
For provisions delivered, and services performed, for which no bills were made out on the aforesaid Dec. 31, 1757.	43966 10 4	412711 17
For necessary money, extra-necessary money, bills of exchange and contingencies	7062 3	
To the officers, workmen, and labourers employed at the several ports	20135 6 3	
Sick and wounded, the debt of that office, as per estimate received from those commissioners, viz.		
Due, for the quarters and cure of the sick and hurt seamen set on shore from his majesty's ships at the several ports, and for prisoners of war and contingencies relating to the said service		93910 10 3½
The total amounts to the sum of		3617522 16 10¾
From whence deducting the money in the treasurer's hands	134705 3 8½	6
As also the money that remained to come in of the supplies of the year as on the other side	19850 7 9½	154555 11
The debt of the navy will then be		3462967 5 4¾

There was remaining in the hands of the late and preſent Treaſurers of the Navy on Dec. 31, 1757, *in money, as undermentioned, and may be reckoned towards ſatisfying the following Debt of the Navy.*

In what treaſurer's hands.	*In* MONEY.	*Wear and tear ordinary and tranſ.* £. s. d.	*On the* HEADS *of Seamens wages.* £. s. d.	*Victuals.* £. s. d.	*Total.* £. s. d.
Right Hon. George Dodington, Eſq; firſt treaſurerſhip.	In money	5743 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1951 5 9	34 18 $2\frac{1}{2}$	7767 10 4
	Ditto towards the debt for ſick and hurt ſeamen		38 $4\frac{1}{4}$		
Right Hon. Henry Legge, Eſq;	In money	6746 3	2423 16 $10\frac{3}{4}$	2895 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$	12120 16 $2\frac{1}{4}$
	Ditto towards the debt for ſick and hurt ſeamen		55 15 5		
Right Hon. George Grenville, Eſq; firſt treaſurerſhip.	In money	4725 12 $2\frac{1}{4}$	4483 6 $4\frac{3}{4}$	5125 18 $6\frac{3}{4}$	15344 5 $6\frac{3}{4}$
	Ditto towards the debt for ſick and hurt ſeamen		1009 8 5		
Right Hon. George Dodington, Eſq; ſecond treaſurerſhip.	In money	11449 13 $3\frac{1}{2}$	1945 1 6	1507 5 $3\frac{1}{2}$	15978 15 2
	Ditto towards the debt for ſick and hurt ſeamen		1076 15		
Right Hon. George Grenville, Eſq; ſecond treaſurerſhip.	In money	34180 5 10	29058 3 $9\frac{1}{4}$	14219 4 $4\frac{1}{2}$	83493 16 $6\frac{1}{2}$
	Ditto towards the debt for ſick and hurt ſeamen		6036 2 7		
	£.	62844 17 7	48077 16 1	23782 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	134705 3 $8\frac{1}{2}$

There remained on Dec. 31, 1757, to come in of the ſupplies of the year 1757, including 10,000 l. for Plymouth hoſpital, 19850 l. 7s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

Duty on glaſs, and additional duty on ſpirits.	33867	8	5 ½				
Surplus of the additional duty on ſpirits	122726	3	2 ½				
Duty on houſes and windows	129814	2	4				
Duty on coaches	46463	14	10 ¾				
Additional duty on poundage	314072	18	3 ½				
				724388	19	3 ¼	
Duty on ſweets	10288	19	9				
Duty on ſalt	232811	2	11 ½				
				243100	2	8 ½	
Surplus of the additional duty on paper, ſoap, and coals	28136	0	10				
Duty on coals	13431	1	4 ½				
				41567	2	2 ½	
Additional duty on cards and dice	6934	12	11				
Ditto on ale-licences	60325	18	1				
New duty on plate	20331	17	1 ½				
				87593	8	1 ½	
				3121198	17	2 ½	

By the South-Sea company for annuities 1757, for 12 months intereſt and management, to January 5, 1758.	64181	5	
By caſh taken to make good the deficiency of the annuity funds 1757	7546	12	10
In full of 1.300,000l. granted for the ſervice of the year 1756	362530	10	2
In full of 1.200,000l. granted for ditto 1757	1200000		
In part of the ſupply 1758, to make good the civil liſt	31000		
	2660350	12	2 ½
Balance, Jan. 11, 1758	460848	5	
	3121198	17	2 ½

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over				3462967	5	4¾
N. B. In this debt is included for charge of tranſports between Jan. 1, 1757, and Dec. 31, following	314832	4	1			
And it appears by an account received from the commiſſioners of the victualling, that the expence of victuals ſupplied the ſoldiers between Jan. 1, 1757, and Dec. 31, following, amounts to	61304	9	7¾	376136	13	8¾
For which ſum of 376,136l. 13s. 8d.¾. no proviſion has been made by parliament, but if thought fit to be granted, as the like ſervice was provided for in former years,						
The nett debt of the navy will then be				3086830	11	8

An ACCOUNT *of the Produce of the Sinking Fund, and to the payment of what Debts contracted before* Jan. 11, 1758, *the ſaid Fund has been applied.*

Dr.

	£.	s.	d.	q.
THE Exchequer is to caſh on the ſinking fund, Jan. 11, 1757	306300	11	4	¼
To the produce of the ſinking fund between Jan. 11, 1757, and Jan. 11, 1758, viz.				
Surplus of the aggregate fund	952285	19	2	¾
Surplus of the general fund	606530	15	2	¼
South-Sea company fund	159452	19	1	½
	1718249	13	6	½
Monies brought to this fund purſuant to the act 25 George II.				
Of the duty on wrought plate	7583	19	2	½
Additional duty on paper	31382	17	9	
Surplus of the duties on wines	38477	15	1	½

Per contra Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
By monies iſſued between Jan. 11, 1757, and Jan. 11, 1758, viz.			
By the Bank of England for ſubſcribed annuities, at 3½ and 3l. per cent. for 12 months intereſt and charges of management, to Oct. 10, 1757	615845	19	10
By ditto, for ditto at 3l. per cent. for 12 months intereſt and management, to Jan. 5, 1758	320913	17	10¼
By ditto, for annuities, 1756, at 3½ per cent. for 12 months, intereſt and management, to Jan. 5, 1758	54311	19	9
By ditto for ditto, upon ſundry annuities	4020	6	9¼

STATE PAPERS.

Hague.

ON the 22d Dec. 1758, Major General York delivered the following memorial to the deputies of the States General.

"High and mighty Lords,

"I had the honour to acquaint you at the conference I obtained of your high mightineſſes on the 7th inſtant, that the king my maſter had authorized and inſtructed me to enter into a negotiation with ſuch perſons as your high mightineſſes ſhould think proper to nominate for that end; but that, as the affair required a minute diſcuſſion, it would be impoſſible to terminate it without ſome farther explanations. It is with the higheſt pleaſure that I this day open our conferences on this important ſubject; and I flatter myſelf that if your high mightineſſes are as deſirous of a reconciliation as his majeſty is, it will ſoon be happily concluded.

By the two reſolutions of Sept. 12, and Sept. 25, which were delivered to me the day following, your high mightineſſes thought proper to make ſome difficulty of receiving the declaration which I had the honour to preſent to you, in the king's name, againſt the trade carried on by your ſubjects to the French colonies in America, for the account of thoſe very colonies. If his majeſty, on being informed thereof, commanded me to declare that he could not depart from his preceding declaration, it was becauſe he thought this claim had no foundation in the treaties ſubſiſting between him and the republic. Beſides, ſhould the perſons concerned in this trade even be able to wreſt the ſenſe of treaties ſo as to deceive their friends and make the obſtructing of it by England paſs for a grievance, ſtill his majeſty is perſuaded that their high mightineſſes will ſee with pleaſure that his majeſty ſets aſide the diſcuſſion of this treaty, which is connected with ſo many others, and ſets himſelf wholly to do the ſubjects of his ancient allies all the ſervice, and to grant them every favour that ſhall not notably prejudice the welfare and ſafety of his people. It is in this light that his majeſty conſiders the trade, directly or indirectly, to the French colonies in America.

His majeſty is at war with the moſt chriſtian king: he cannot hope to get out of it with ſafety, or obtain a ſpeedy and laſting peace, which is his majeſty's ſole aim, if the princes who have declared themſelves neuter, inſtead of contenting themſelves with trading as uſual, without any riſk, aſſume a right of carrying on that trade with the king's enemies, which is not allowed them in time of peace. The injuſtice of this proceeding is too apparent to require more to be ſaid on it: one may venture to appeal to your high mightineſſes own conduct in the like caſe. A trade of this nature was never ſuffered by you; and it hath been op-

opposed by the *Salus Populi* in all countries, in like circumstances.

His majesty sees with pleasure the trade of his neighbours flourish, and would behold its increase with satisfaction, if its prosperity were not repugnant to this primary law. But he likewise persuades himself, that never, for the sake of some transient profit to individuals, will his ancient allies be the first to injure England in this essential part. Considering the thing in this light, I cannot doubt but your high mightinesses will give the king the pleasure to hear that they, for their subjects, have honestly abandoned it, and that this stumbling block is for ever removed. In settling this point, his majesty commands me to include in it the change, commonly called Overscheepen, which is made of a French vessel into a Dutch vessel, when the former dares not continue her course, and endeavours to save herself by carrying neutral colours, in order to avoid seizure at sea by the king's ships. Your high mightinesses while you acknowledge the justice of my first demand, cannot refuse the second; since that would be to declare, that you treat with good faith, whilst, at the same time, a more dangerous door would be left for fraud. Such a conduct is unworthy of the equity of your high mightinesses, especially in the present case, when the question is the prevention of any object of future dispute, and the restoration of harmony and good neighbourhood between the two powers.

The last point of my instructions, which relates to the amicable demands made by his majesty to your high mightinesses, requires a more minute consideration. I cannot enter upon that subject yet; but reserve it till afterwards. I must, nevertheless, observe to you, that the king has seen, not without pain, yet without giving them any molestation, a great number of Dutch ships pass by his harbours, since the commencement of the war, laden with all sorts of materials for building and repairing his enemies fleets. His majesty asks that certain articles of naval stores may be comprehended in the class of contreband: but he will so settle it with your high mightinesses, as that the inoffensive trade of your subjects to the North of Europe (if I may use that term) shall not be involved in this article. Your high mightinesses, who are yourselves a maritime power, and know how to contend for and defend your prerogatives as such, must always allow that in the present war against France, it is both the king's interest, and his duty, not only to hinder the marine of his enemy from becoming too formidable, but also to employ all means to weaken it. Can it be disputed that naval stores are not, in this view, as prejudicial as balls and gunpowder.

Let France be without ships, and her warlike stores will never make England uneasy. The importance of this article is so evident, that the king ventures to refer it to the judgment of your high mightinesses. These, my lords, are my instructions with regard to the satisfaction which the king would think himself entitled to require from the friendship and justice of the republic, if he had no other foundation for his

his claim. But I have already informed you, that it is his majesty's sincere desire to unite his own safety with the convenience of your high mightinesses; which makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge on this head.

In this representation of the points on which I have orders to insist with your high mightinesses, I have endeavoured to follow the method which you yourselves have begun to put in practice; that is to say, first to state the claim, and afterwards propose the expedients.

I come now to the articles of your resolutions of the 25th of September last.

I. As to the demand contained in the first article, I must observe to your high mightinesses, that this very treaty, which you so strongly insist on, prescribes the manner of proceeding in case of seizure or detention; and that you cannot claim the exercise of an extra-judicial power by his majesty, whose hands are tied with regard to his own subjects by the laws, and with regard to foreigners by treaties. If there have been any irregular sentences, either the judge must have been misled by appearances at the hearing of the cause, or delays were made, of which there was just reason to complain. The supreme court, established for judging in the last resort, hath always been ready to revise and correct abuses, if at any time any could be discovered in the sentences of the inferior courts. But your high mightinesses will give me leave to observe, that it is very extraordinary, that not one appeal hath yet been thrown in, notwithstanding the assurances given to your high mightinesses by many persons. This is a fact at which every body in England is astonished. And, doubtless, had the appellants been desirous to be heard, the number of complaints would have been greatly diminished.

Mean while, to assist and relieve the subjects of your high mightinesses as much as possible, and to avoid confounding the innocent with the guilty, his majesty hath just now ordered an exact list to be delivered to him of all the Dutch vessels detained in his harbours, in order to call those to an account who may have brought them in on frivolous pretences; to oblige them to release them, and to hasten the finishing of the trials in general. If there remains any thing more to be done for the further facility and security of the navigation of the republic, it will readily be agreed to by his majesty. The nation is desirous to second the king's good intentions on this head. I flatter myself that these assurances will be sufficient to dissipate those ill-grounded fears which possess certain persons in these provinces. A mutual confidence and a desire to avoid any subject of animosity are highly requisite in treating of matters of such importance, and of such a complicated nature.

II. As to the second article of the said resolutions, I almost dare venture to assure your high mightinesses, that if you cordially interest yourselves in his majesty's situation in the present war, and discover a readiness to grant the points which he thinks he hath a right to require of you, you will receive all possible satisfaction and security. It is his majesty's in-

tention that the ſubjects of your high mightineſſes ſhould fully enjoy all the privileges and immunities reſulting from the treaty of 1674, ſo far as the tenor of it is not derogated from by the preſent accommodation.

III. As to the third article, as ſoon as your high mightineſſes ſhall have agreed with his majeſty on the points which I have mentioned in his name, it will be eaſily ſettled.

IV. The fourth article contains complaints for which perhaps there is too much foundation, by the violences committed by Engliſh privateers, or veſſels pretending to be ſuch. His majeſty is ſincerely grieved that ſuch diſorders ſhould have been committed, to the diſgrace of his ſubjects. The whole nation joins with the king in endeavouring to ſuppreſs thoſe robberies. I take the liberty to communicate to you the orders iſſued by the admiralty of Great Britain againſt ſuch behaviour; and, for the honour of the merchants of London, I muſt add the advertiſement publiſhed by them, offering a reward for diſcovering the offenders. His majeſty intreats your high mightineſſes to aſſiſt him on this occaſion, by exhorting your ſubjects to bring to juſtice the authors of thoſe offences; in which they may depend on the utmoſt protection and encouragement. As to the reſt, the king is aſtoniſhed, that after ſo many applications made here for obtaining proofs of the facts alledged, not one, notwithſtanding the reward offered, is gone over to England to give evidence.

I take the liberty to refer to the contents of my firſt article for an anſwer to the fifth reſolution of your high mightineſſes; only adding, that his majeſty will with pleaſure agree to any method that ſhall be propoſed to him for authenticating the genuineneſs of ſhip-papers, in which point too many abuſes have been committed."

Hague, Aug. 2.

The Count d'Affry, the French ambaſſador, preſented the following memorial to the States General, July 25.

" High and Mighty Lords,

" On the repeated ſollicitations which M. de Berkenrode hath been ordered to make, and on thoſe which the counſellor penſionary hath often made, particularly of late, that the king my maſter would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant a bounty on herrings taken by the Dutch and imported into France; his majeſty authoriſes me to declare to your high mightineſſes, that he is diſpoſed to grant your ſubjects ſuch bounty; which ſhall be immediately ſettled at Paris, agreeably to the inſtructions which your high mightineſſes ſhall be pleaſed to ſend on that head to Mr. Berkenrode your ambaſſador.

The king my maſter has determined to grant this favour to the republic, from his friendſhip for her, and his aſſurance that the republic will never depart from that ſyſtem of equity and neutrality, which ſhe hath adopted with regard to the preſent war."

The Count d'Affry, the French ambaſſador, preſented to the States General a memorial on Jan. 25. ult. from which we ſhall give ſuch extracts as are a reply to Colonel Yorke's memorial.

" Your high mightineſſes were informed in the month of July laſt, that the king my maſter, and the empreſs queen of Hungary and

Bohemia, had agreed to put French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport. Their majesties, in order to give your republic a fresh proof of their friendship and confidence, were pleased, at that time, to command their respective ministers to communicate to your high mightinesses, by the president of your assembly, their just reasons for taking this resolution. Accordingly I waited on him the 18th of July, with Baron Reischach, and we declared to him: That, the empress queen, being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, was obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport. That, it was of the more importance to provide for the safety of those two places, as there was great reason to believe that the court of London, which sought only to spread the war, and perpetuate it, had formed a design to seize them; and as the port of Ostend was even blocked up by several English men of war and frigates. That, in these circumstances the empress queen applied to the king, as her ally nearest at hand, to furnish troops which might be substituted in Ostend and Nieuport, in the room of the empress queen's, there to remain only whilst it should be judged necessary and convenient for their reciprocal interests. That the empress queen had reserved to herself, in those two towns, the free and entire exercise of all the rights of property and sovereignty; such as, the administration of justice, the collecting of the revenue and taxes, and the disposition even of the artillery and stores of all sorts. (Your high mightinesses know that accordingly the count de la Mothe d'Hugues, who commands the king's troops at Ostend and Nieuport, took an oath to the empress queen, before the Count de Cobentzel, her minister plenipotentiary.) That, the friendship of the king, and the empress, for your high mightinesses, was a full security for their majesties constant attention to maintain the best understanding with your republic, and to prevent the regulation in question from doing it any prejudice, or giving it the least uneasiness.

It is by express command of the king my master, that I declare to your high mightinesses, That the introduction of French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport had no other motive than what I have just mentioned in this memorial: That his majesty's troops shall remain there only to the end of this present war; and that they shall even march out sooner if the empress queen desire it, and they shall march out that very moment that she shall intrust the guard of those two places to her own troops. The necessity of attending to their preservation is the more indispensable, as your high mightinesses cannot doubtless, be ignorant, that if the Low Countries have any thing to apprehend for their safety and quiet, it is against England alone that the powers interested therein ought to take precautions. It is needless to enter into particulars on this head. It is sufficient to apprize your high mightinesses, that one of the projects of that crown is to carry the war into the neighbourhood of your republic; and it is but too probable that the neutrality and territory of your high mightinesses would perhaps be no more regarded on this occasion, than the law of nations, treaties, and parole

of honour have been hitherto. The king perſuades himſelf, that after a declaration ſo preciſe, which his majeſty has been induced to make only by his affection for your republic, your high mightineſſes will form a juſt notion of the methods which the court of London is inceſſantly employing, to make your high mightineſſes ſhare in the calamities and dangers of a war, which his majeſty undertook with regret, and not till he was forced thereto by the moſt unjuſt and unexpected aggreſſion; and which he continues only from his fidelity to his engagements, and to fulfil the duty impoſed upon him by his quality of guarantee of the laws and liberties of the Germanic body."

Tranſlation of the famous memorial preſented to the States General by two hundred and ſixty-nine merchants, which is kept very ſecret in Holland.

"We the underſigned merchants, inſurers, and others, concerned in the commerce and navigation of the ſtate, moſt humbly repreſent, That the violences and unjuſt depredations committed by Engliſh men of war and privateers on the veſſels and effects of the ſubjects of the ſtate, are not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and exceſſes carried to ſuch a height, that the petitioners are forced to implore the aſſiſtance of your high mightineſſes, that the commerce and navigation of the republic, which are the two ſinews of the ſtate, may ſuffer no interruption, and be protected in the moſt efficacious manner, in order that the being of the ſtate may be preſerved, and that it may be kept from compleat and final ruin.

The petitioners ſhall not inſert here a long recital of their ſhips that have been illegally ſtopped and ſeized, nor of the piracies and violences that have been committed for a conſiderable ſpace of time, on the ſubjects of the republic; nor of the acts of inhumanity with which they were often attended, even ſo far, that leſs cruelty might have been expected from a declared enemy, than they have ſuffered from the ſubjects of a power with whom the ſtate is connected by the moſt ſolemn treaties of friendſhip. The whole is public and notorious.

Nor will the petitioners enlarge on the inſults offered to the Dutch flag, in contempt of your high mightineſſes, the natural protectors of the ſubjects of the republic. The facts are known to your high mightineſſes.

But the petitioners beg leave to repreſent, with all due ſubmiſſion, that they cannot forbear to lay their juſt complaints before your high mightineſſes, who are the protectors of their perſons, their eſtates, their commerce, and navigation; and to lay before you the indiſpenſable neceſſity of putting a ſtop, as ſoon as poſſible, to thoſe depredations and violences. The petitioners offer to contribute each his contingent, and to arm, at their own charge, for the ſupport and protection of their commerce and navigation.

The petitioners flatter themſelves that their toils, and the riſk to which their effects are expoſed on the ſeas, will have their proper influence on the general body of the ſtate, ſince the traders of this country, finding themſelves left to the diſcretion of a part of that nation with whom the ſtate is moſt

intimately connected, thouſands of tradeſmen and others, who are connected with merchants that have hitherto carried on a flouriſhing trade, will be reduced to diſtreſs and poverty; thoſe connections ceaſing by the extinction of the eſtates of merchants, who have always approved themſelves faithful to their country, theſe will be forced to abandon it, to their great regret, and ſeek ſhelter and protection elſewhere; which will give a mortal blow to the principal members of the ſtate.

For theſe juſt cauſes, the petitioners have recourſe to your high mightineſſes, moſt humbly imploring them, both in their own names, and in the name of a multitude of unhappy people, who are on the point of being ſtript of all their effects, of ſinking into the utmoſt diſtreſs, and being reduced to beggary, that it may pleaſe your high mightineſſes to grant to commerce and navigation ſuch ſpeedy, vigorous, and effectual protection, that the faithful ſubjects of this free ſtate may enjoy their poſſeſſions in full ſecurity.

And your petitioners, &c."

Memorial which the Princeſs Gouvernante preſented to the States General on the 7th of June, relating to the propoſed augmentation of their land forces.

"High and Mighty Lords,

"My quality, my duty, and my inclination, lead me to make the following repreſentation to your high mightineſſes. I had the honour to repreſent to you, when the war began to be kindled between France and England, about the limits of their territories in America, that this war would undoubtedly be transferred from that part of the world to Europe, and that prudence required that an augmentation ſhould be made in the land forces of the ſtate, in order to reinforce the garriſons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invaſion.

I farther foreſaw, that Europe, being made the theatre of war, ſeveral camps would be formed in Flanders, on the banks of the Rhine, and in the duchy of Cleves. The event having ſhewn the juſtneſs of thoſe conjectures, I again inſiſted upon the neceſſity of making this augmentation, that the republic might be in a condition to cauſe her neutrality to be reſpected, and to prevent her territories from being made the ſeat of war.

The provinces of Guelders and Overyſſel, frighted at the danger with which thoſe provinces are threatened by the proximity of two formidable armies, have reſolved to demand that the affair of the augmentation of the republic's forces may be taken into ſerious conſideration by the other provinces, and have requeſted me to join my ſolliciations to theirs, that this augmentation may take place; which I do the more readily, as I am equally ſenſible with them of the extent of the danger, that threatens the republic, eſpecially ſince the Hanoverian army croſſed the Rhine. This augmentation is the more neceſſary, as it behoves the ſtate to be able to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the ſtate if it ſhould be defeated; for in that caſe the conqueror, being authoriſed to purſue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of our country. None of the powers at war could be offended at the

effi-

efficacious measures taken by the republic to cause her neutrality to be respected, and to hinder her territories from being made the theatre of war. 'The good faith of the Dutch is well known; and from the assurances already given, those powers will rest satisfied, that the Dutch had no bad intention, and that their design is not to take part in the present troubles, but wholly to keep the war at a distance, and prevent their country from being the seat thereof.

Agreeable, therefore, to the request of the provinces of Guelders and Overyssel, I join my sollicitation to theirs, that your high mightinesses would take this affair into serious consideration, and that in regard to the crisis in which the republic is at present, this augmentation may take place.

I conclude these representations with praying the God of all understanding to preside in your deliberations, and that he would inspire you with vigorous resolutions proportioned to the dangers that threaten the state, and conformable to my desires and wishes."

In the answer which the Princess Regent gave, on the 7th of December, to the fourth deputation of the merchants, she said, among other things, 'That she beheld the state 'of trade with concern; that she 'was as much moved at it as any 'of the merchants; that its want 'of protection was not her fault, 'but that of the towns of Dort, 'Harlem, Amsterdam, Tergaw, 'Rotterdam, and the Brielle; that, 'had it not been for those towns, 'the forces of the state, by sea 'and land, would have been on a 'better footing; and that she had 'never ceased to protect trade; a 'proof of which was the letter of 'the king her father, wherein his 'majesty says, *The affair of the 'Dutch is now under consideration; 'and Yorke will speedily receive 'the necessary instructions for settling 'it amicably. Some method shall be 'thought of to curb the insolence of 'the privateers.* That she was informed, that Mr. Yorke had asked 'a conference to treat of this matter; and that she hoped the negotiation would be attended with 'success.'

The deputies were afterwards referred by her royal highness to M. de la Larrey, who now does the business that was formerly done by M. de Beck. The merchants laboured much to persuade this minister, that the augmentation of the land forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters quite distinct from each other, as light is from darkness; that there was no pressing motive for the augmentation; whereas innumerable reasons rendered the fitting out of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. M. de Larrey contented himself with saying, that the want of a sufficient fleet was not owing to her royal highness; that opinions differed on this head; and that it was a settled point at present, not to fit out a fleet without augmenting the army.

Whatever may be in this, four days after the speech was delivered, her royal highness carried it to the assembly of the States General, addressing herself to them in these words:

"High and Mighty Lords,

"It would be injustice to that zeal and vigilance for the safety of the state, of which your high mightinesses have long given me convincing proof, to endeavour to excite you now to greater zeal and

vigilance: it is from this perſuaſion I appear in the aſſembly of your high mightineſſes, to repreſent to you, that, ſeeing your earneſt and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland and Weſt Friſeland, of Zealand, and of Friſeland, to agree to the propoſed augmentation of the land forces, and equipment of a fleet, have been ineffectual, your high mightineſſes will be pleaſed to conſider of a way to put an end to this affair, and the ſooner the better, in order, on one hand, to ſatisfy the ſtrong and well-grounded inſtances of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Groningen; and on the other, to comply with the ardent juſt deſire of the commercial inhabitants of this country; who, *though* I had informed them of the negotiation between Great Britain and your high mightineſſes to accommodate the differences that have ariſen, and of my own aſſiduity to forward an equitable accommodation, and of the conſequences of the ſteps I thought it my duty to take, have, *nevertheleſs*, ſent me a deputation for the fourth time to inſiſt on a very conſiderable augmentation of the naval forces of the ſtate.

This deputation conſiſted of forty merchants; a number that merits attention no leſs than the ſpeech they read to me, of which a great number of copies, printed before-hand, were immediately diſtributed in all parts. I ſhall make no remarks upon that ſpeech; only that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negotiations begun with England, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention, to a rupture, with that crown. I ſhall enter no farther into this ſubject, chooſing rather to refer the whole to the ſound and penetrating judgment of your high mightineſſes, who may alſo ſee by that ſpeech, that it is more than time to finiſh the deliberations on the motion for augmenting our forces both by ſea and land, on which I have always inſiſted with the greateſt earneſtneſs; as without it, I am convinced in my conſcience, the ſtate is, and will always remain, expoſed to all ſorts of misfortunes and dangers, both now and hereafter."

In conſequence of this ſpeech, the States General ſent, the ſame day, the following letter to the States of Holland and Weſt Friſeland.

"Noble and Mighty Lords,

"The princeſs gouvernante having come to our aſſembly this morning, in conſequence of a deputation of the merchants, who had waited on her a few days before, to inſiſt on a conſiderable augmentation of our naval forces, her royal highneſs again repreſented to us the urgent neceſſity of coming to a determination both with regard to the augmentation propoſed by land, and with regard to an equipment by ſea; two points, upon which her royal highneſs has always moſt earneſtly inſiſted, and without which the ſtate is, and will remain, expoſed to all ſorts of misfortunes and dangers, both at preſent and for the future.

We thought proper to ſend a copy of the ſaid propoſition to your noble mightineſſes, and alſo to the ſtates of the provinces of Zealand and Friſeland; and at the ſame time, to repreſent to you, that it is now time, if ever, to conſider ſeriouſly of thoſe two points as ſoon as poſſible, and carry

carry them into effect by a ſalutary and unanimous reſolution. It would be both ſuperfluous and tireſome again to point out to your noble mightineſſes the dangerous ſituation of the republic from the war which hath been kindled and rages all over Europe, and which hath ſpread to the very frontiers of this ſtate: nor is there the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſeeing it extinguiſhed next year, as we are informed from all ſides, that the principal powers concerned are taking all the neceſſary meaſures for making it rage next campaign with greater fury, if poſſible, than ever.

Every one, who conſiders how uncertain the conſequences of a war between powerful neighbours may be to a ſtate ſurrounded on all ſides by foreign troops, muſt allow, that it were greatly to be wiſhed the republic were in a proper poſture of defence whilſt the war is on its frontiers. All who know that the happineſs of our country depends upon the ſafety of trade, muſt be equally convinced, that an armament by ſea is abſolutely neceſſary in this critical conjuncture, when our navigation is diſturbed in a manner unheard of; and that the neglect of our naval forces at this time, would be wholly unjuſtifiable. We have always conſidered the zealous efforts of your noble mightineſſes, from time to time, to induce your confederates to conſent to this armament, as highly reaſonable; and as far as in us lay, we always endeavoured to ſecond them.

Nor can we diſapprove of the ſtep taken by the merchants in carrying their complaints on this head where they ought to be carried, when it is done in a proper and decent manner: but as it is the duty of wiſe and faithful rulers to extend their care not only to a part of the ſubjects, but alſo to all in general; and as the principal aim of a ſovereign ought to be, on one ſide, to watch over the happineſs of his ſubjects, and on the other to protect them againſt all violence from without, we think that in ſuch a ſituation as that of the republic at preſent, an augmentation of the troops of the ſtate, for the defence of the frontiers, is unavoidable, as well as an equipment by ſea for the ſecurity of trade; and that they ought to go hand in hand. The ſtates of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Groningen, join with her royal highneſs and us in the ſame opinion, and accordingly have always inſiſted, by divers letters and propoſitions, on thoſe two points ſo eſſential to the public intereſt.

We doubt not but the ſaid ſtates will explain themſelves to your noble mightineſſes on this head, and at the ſame time ſignify their readineſs to intereſt themſelves in the welfare of the trading inhabitants, in caſe your noble mightineſſes will alſo effectually provide for the ſafety of their inhabitants.

When we reflect, that not only the intereſt of the republic in general requires that it be put in a proper ſtate of defence both by ſea and land, but that we can ſee no way of determining this matter, unleſs, by a reciprocal indulgence, one of the confederates comply with the ſentiments of the other, we leave your noble mightineſſes to judge, whether by a longer delay in coming to a concluſion both with regard to the augmentation of the land forces and

and the equipment of a fleet, room will not be given for a ſchiſm and dangerous diviſion among the confederates, the conſequences of which would be very deplorable, while the republic in the mean time will remain in a defenceleſs ſtate, both by ſea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours.

We therefore moſt earneſtly intreat your noble mightineſſes, as you value the ſafety of the country, and all that is dear to you, as you regard the protection of the good inhabitants, and as you value the concord and good harmony, which at all times, but eſpecially in the preſent danger, is of the laſt neceſſity, that you will ſeriouſly reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highneſs, and on the inſtances of the majority of the confederates, and take a wiſe and ſalutary reſolution with regard to the propoſed augmentation of the land forces; ſo that this augmentation, together with an equipment by ſea, may, the ſooner the better, be unanimouſly brought to a concluſion.

Thus concluding, noble and mighty lords, we pray God Almighty to keep your mightineſſes in his holy protection, &c. &c."

Hague, Nov. 7.

A deputation of the moſt eminent merchants of Amſterdam arrived here; and after viſiting the penſionary and the preſident of the week, waited on her royal highneſs the princeſs regent, to whom they delivered the following memorial.

"The merchants of this province who have the honour to obtain an audience of your royal highneſs for the third time, find themſelves obliged to renew their complaint of the great damage which their veſſels and cargoes continue to ſuffer by the Engliſh. The deputies therefore take the liberties to put your royal highneſs in mind, that the firſt time that their confidence in your highneſs's equity, led them to have recourſe to you, their principals, who had the juſteſt ground of complaint, foreſaw at that time the total ruin of our navigation and commerce: That, on that account, your royal highneſs graciouſly promiſed powerfully to ſupport their juſt complaints in the aſſembly of the States General, and even to make remonſtrances in your own name to the Britiſh court, provided the loſſes were properly atteſted: That the merchants of the province immediately drew up a liſt of the veſſels that had been carried either into the ports of Great Britain, or thoſe of her colonies, with an eſtimate of the value of the cargoes, and a detail of the enormous robberies committed by Engliſh privateers on board thoſe veſſels; the whole accompanied with original and credible atteſtations: That, not content with having reſpectfully delivered thoſe inconteſtible proofs to their high mightineſſes, and to your royal highneſs in private, the body of merchants took the liberty to preſent in writing, and verbally, how much it imported the welfare of the provinces to take proper meaſures for putting an end to ſuch unjuſt depredations, and for obtaining reparation for ſo great loſſes. That in the ſecond audience which your royal highneſs was pleaſed to give them, upon freſh complaints, your royal highneſs declared, that the ſubſequent damag

damage exceeded what you could have believed: That your royal highneſs, in your aſtoniſhment, added, in terms full of cordial affection, that if things ſhould continue as they were, your dear country, in whoſe welfare you took ſo much concern, having adopted it alone for *your* country, would be ruined: That you would employ your utmoſt endeavours to obtain reparation of paſt loſſes, and would immediately take ſuch means for that end, as ſhould be conſiſtent with the honour of the republic, and the advantage of commerce, which ſhould always have your protection; and that you would juſtify the ſincerity of your promiſes by facts.

That the deputies on their return home, made a report of the ſucceſs of their commiſſion to their principals, who were equally pleaſed, and certain of ſeeing the face of affairs ſoon changed; but their joy and expectation is turned into bitterneſs, which is the more ſenſibly felt, as they now again find themſelves under a neceſſity of importuning your royal highneſs for the third time by exhibiting a liſt of ſeventy of their ſhips taken by the Engliſh ſince that time, amounting to near thirteen millions of florins: That theſe veſſels have been condemned, ſome in the three kingdoms, others in the Britiſh colonies, and elſewhere, under the moſt frivolous pretences, in contempt of all law, contrary to juſtice and reaſon, as well as the treaties in force between the two nations: That being informed an accommodation was negotiating with the Britiſh miniſtry, the body of merchants flattered themſelves they ſhould obtain by this treaty, an indemnification of their great loſſes: but that not one merchant had as yet reaped the ſmalleſt fruit from this negotiation.

That with grief they behold their hopes of protection diminiſh daily, rather than increaſe: That it is to be feared the evil will grow worſe and worſe, and riſe to the utmoſt height: That ſeveral ſhips of war, which have returned to the ports of the republic from their voyages, have been diſarmed and laid up without being replaced by others: That it is evident to a demonſtration, that the aforeſaid illicit practices muſt give a mortal blow to commerce in general, and to our country in particular: That thouſands of perſons, who were poſſeſſed of great wealth, or in eaſy circumſtances, are thereby fallen to decay; and if a ſpeedy remedy be not applied, not only eminent merchants, but ſwarms of retail traders, will infallibly be ruined: That by this decay of trade many hundred mechanics are deprived of work, particularly thoſe employed in the ſilk way, in ſugar-houſes, dying, &c. who conſequently languiſh in idleneſs.

That at preſent (and what will it be in the middle of winter?) a great number of creditable tradeſmen are forced to ſubſiſt on the charity of their reſpective companies, and of the hoſpitals: That the number of theſe neceſſitous people increaſes daily, whilſt the revenues of the charitable foundations decreaſe, becauſe they are obliged to give alms to ſuch numbers, and becauſe they are deprived of the contributions they uſed to receive in better times: That it is natural for every one, who foreſees a threatening loſs, to attend rather

rather to his own preſervation, than to the aſſiſtance of thoſe whoſe unhappy lot has rendered them objects of compaſſion: That frugality, thus prevailing over liberality, people continue to feel the misfortunes of others, but are little diſpoſed to give them any relief: That, conſidering on one hand all theſe diſaſters, and on the other the welfare of commerce and of their country, the body of merchants have thought it their duty again to repreſent to your royal highneſs, that if redreſs doth not ſoon ſucceed to their complaints, it is to be feared, that in caſe the ſhips expected home ſhould be taken like the others, want of means will force the merchants to give up trade.

For theſe reaſons, being perſuaded of your royal highneſs's clemency, they preſume to claim the performance of the promiſes you were pleaſed to make them at their ſecond audience; promiſes ſo agreeable, ſo full of tenderneſs and regard, and ſo much confided in by them, that they ſtill expect to feel the effects of them. Accordingly, they moſt humbly ſupplicate your royal highneſs to be graciouſly pleaſed to concur in the neceſſary meaſures for ſaving the commercial ſubjects of the republic from a calamity that is arrived at its utmoſt period; and to conſider, that, if the reſtitution of the ſhips and cargoes be delayed, the one will go to decay, and the other be ſpoilt. They moreover conjure your royal highneſs to interpoſe your good offices in ſuch a manner, that the Engliſh nation may make good the immenſe loſſes they have ſuffered, and abſtain from doing them farther damage, to the hazard of totally ruining the republic.

The merchants cannot forbear laying before your royal highneſs the firm reſolution taken by his highneſs the late Prince of Orange, your illuſtrious huſband, of moſt laudable memory, to employ, had Heaven been pleaſed to prolong his days, every method to reſtore the trade which theſe provinces carry on by Hamburg, to its former flouriſhing ſtate. They moſt humbly recommend to your royal highneſs this branch of trade which hath coſt them ſuch heavy impoſitions during ſo many years, and of which they will be able to continue the payment, when by the interpoſition of your royal highneſs, they ſhall be ſo happy as to enjoy her protection in this reſpect, which is not more neceſſary than ardently deſired. If that ſhould fail, the merchants muſt declare upon their honour, that the commerce of theſe provinces in general will be at an end; and that, notwithſtanding their zeal for the welfare of the commonwealth, they will be unable to pay taxes much leſs neceſſary.

To theſe humble ſupplications, the merchants add the moſt ſincere prayers for the proſperity of your royal highneſs's family, whom moreover they requeſt to preſerve their common rights and liberties, purchaſed at ſo dear a rate, and to maintain them againſt thoſe who ſeek to make the republic ſuffer."

They write from Holland, that the princeſs gouvernante, when ſhe went to the aſſembly of the States General, and delivered the famous me-

memorial of the merchants, expreſſed herſelf to the following purport.

"That ſhe came not to the aſſembly to ſtir up the zeal of their high mightineſſes for the preſervation of their country, of which they had given evident proofs on every occaſion; but to intreat them to take into their ſerious conſideration, the augmentation of the land forces, which was ſo neceſſary in the preſent critical circumſtances of the ſtate, in order to guard its frontiers from inſult. That with regard to the fourth deputation of the merchants, and the ſpeech, of which ſhe had delivered to them a copy, ſhe had as yet made no remarks on it, only that it was not expreſſed in proper terms to bring things to an amicable concluſion, notwithſtanding the aſſurances ſhe had given the merchants. That ſhe hoped, by her repeated ſollicitations, to bring matters to an happy iſſue in England; that ſhe therefore laid it before their high mightineſſes, and left it to them to do in that affair as they ſhould think proper: That the time became more and more urgent, for thinking of the ſafety of the republic: That if the equipment propoſed by the merchants ſhould be judged neceſſary, it ought immediately to be carried into execution jointly with the augmentation of the land forces, that the ſtate might be put on a reſpectable footing by ſea and land: That ſhe therefore hoped that on her ſollicitation, and that of the provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Groningen, their mightineſſes would exhort the province of Holland to deſiſt from its oppoſition to the ſaid augmentation; and that all the confederates would unanimouſly conſent to theſe two points ſo eſſential at all times, but eſpecially in the preſent circumſtances."

Tranſlation of a reſcript ſent by Count Kaunitz, prime miniſter to the empreſs queen, to the imperial miniſters at the ſeveral courts of the empire.

"The unfortunate iſſue of the laſt campaign, gave the enemy a fine game to play. He had it in his power, from the beginning of ſpring, to form his plan of offenſive operations as he thought beſt. We, for our part, could only have one principal object, namely, the putting our army on a proper footing, and endeavouring to make in time every other diſpoſition for defence. This was accompliſhed, no labour or money being ſpared, to the great ſurpriſe of the enemy himſelf: in a few months our army was put on ſuch a footing, that it did not heſitate to preſent itſelf before the enemy. At the ſame time, a negotiation was commenced with Ruſſia, to induce that court to march, even in the winter, a body of 30,000 men ſtraight into Moravia. That court was ſo complaiſant as to declare, that they would march a body of 30,000 freſh troops, either to be employed in Moravia, or to reinforce the imperial army of Ruſſia, and ſo puſh the operations of the war with vigour. Their march was left to the option of the court of Vienna. Though at that time our own defenſive operations were not brought to maturity, their imperial majeſties, in conſideration of the common cauſe, generouſly receded from their firſt demand, and ſignified that the reinforcement in queſtion ought rather to join the imperial army of Ruſſia, that it might continue to act vigorouſly.

The

The crown of France was at the ſame time required to ſend, purſuant to treaty, an auxiliary body of 24,000 men at leaſt. It is unneceſſary to mention the intereſting circumſtances of things at that preciſe period when this corps ought to have marched; and though, ſome time after this, it was very uncertain what turn the ſiege of Olmutz would take, the court of Vienna itſelf inſiſted upon poſtponing the march of thoſe ſuccours till another time; and laboured to concert new meaſures to divert the unforeſeen ſtorm, that threatened to burſt over the eſtates of the patriotic and well-intentioned members of the empire: a point which hath been effectually accompliſhed.

What was done on our ſide, during the ſiege of Olmutz, is generally known. The enemy retired through Bohemia: and ſcarce had we enjoyed the ſmiling proſpect of our hereditary ſtates being entirely delivered from them, when after mature deliberation, a reſolution was taken at Vienna, by no means to march the imperial and royal army into Sileſia, but to carry it directly into Luſatia, as ſoon as the enemy in abandoning Bohemia, ſhould direct his march that way. The principal motives which determined us to take this reſolution, were, among others, that by ſuch a motion our army drew nearer to thoſe of Ruſſia and Sweden; that it opened a communication with thoſe armies, and the enemy would be moleſted in the center of his poſition. Advice was immediately given to the Ruſſian generals of this reſolution, and they were left to draw up what plan of operations they ſhould think proper.

In the mean time the imperial army of Ruſſia, and the body of reſerve, had drawn near the eſtates of the enemy. In a council of war it was debated whether they ought to advance ſtraight to Francfort on the Oder, or towards Lower Sileſia, or penetrate by the Wartha into the New Marche. Several difficulties were ſtarted with regard to the two former projects, both with regard to the ſubſiſtence, and the neceſſity of preſerving a communication with the kingdom of Pruſſia. The third project was therefore made choice of, and executed; which the court of Vienna learnt with the greater ſatisfaction, as it had conceived ſome uneaſineſs concerning the march of the Ruſſian army towards Francfort on the Oder, or towards Sileſia; ſeeing that with regard to the firſt caſe, the corps of general Dohna was already aſſembled in that part; and on the other hand, the King of Pruſſia in retiring from Bohemia, was marching to Sileſia, ſo that he would have it in his power at once to employ his whole force joined to Dohna's corps, againſt the Ruſſian army; and this army, by marching towards Landſberg, would be removed from the Pruſſians, and would moreover have the Oder and the Wartha before it.

The firſt news of the part taken by the Ruſſian generals was received at Vienna, at the time that Marſhal Daun was already advanced with his army towards Gorlitz, and almoſt at the ſame time that undoubted intelligence was received from ſeveral quarters, that the King of Pruſſia in perſon was in full march with a body of 15 or 16,000 men to join General Dohna, and on the 12th of Auguſt, arrived near Lignitz.

It

It was the leſs poſſible to prevent or hinder this march, as the enemy had, through his own country, a much ſhorter road, than we had, and could ſcarce be at any loſs for ſubſiſtence; that, beſides the Ruſſian army, by its march to Landſberg, was removed farther from our army, which had on its flank, on the ſide of Sileſia, an army of 30,000 of the enemy's troops.

In theſe circumſtances, the following points were taken into conſideration. Whether, for the good of the common cauſe, the marſhal ought not to march forward with his whole army, either towards Berlin, or towards Francfort on the Oder, or whether he ought to direct his operations towards Sileſia, or towards Saxony. It was conſidered that the firſt of theſe projects could be regarded as a *coup de main* only, and by no means as a deciſive blow; and there were the fewer motives to follow it, as it was eaſy to imagine that the King of Pruſſia would give battle to the Ruſſians before we could, for want of ſubſiſtence, get into the Lower Luſatia with our whole force.

It ſeemed at the ſame time highly improper to transfer the theatre of war into Sileſia, becauſe nothing eſſential would thereby be gained, and it would give to the troops of the enemy that were left in Sileſia, an opportunity of taking an advantageous camp near ſome fortreſs in that dutchy, and ſo protract our operations. The court, therefore, as well as Marſhal Daun, thought it would be beſt to march towards Saxony. It was thought that by taking this ſtep eſſential advantages would be gained, or that at leaſt the enemy would be forced by the apprehenſion of ſuffering a very ſenſible loſs, to bring all his forces into Saxony, againſt the imperial and royal army, and the combined army; and by that means the Ruſſians and Swedes, as well as the bodies of forces left on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia, under the generals Harſch and De Ville, would have their hands much more free, to act efficaciouſly.

The real advantage that muſt reſult from all this, doubtleſs conſiſted in diſlodging the army under Prince Henry, and delivering Dreſden and the greateſt part of Saxony.

To attain this important end, M. Daun's firſt project was to advance with his whole army ſtraight to Meiſſen, there croſs the Elbe, and at once march up to the enemy, at the ſame time that he ſhould be attacked by the combined army, and thus deprived of an opportunity of throwing himſelf into Dreſden. But at that time, that is to ſay, on the 3d of September, Sonneſtein was not yet in our poſſeſſion, and the enemy had taken ſuch an advantageous poſition, oppoſite to the combined army, that it was thought ſcarce feaſible, and highly dangerous, for this to make the firſt attack; and yet, unleſs it did ſo, Prince Henry would ſtill have it in his power to throw himſelf into Dreſden, whilſt the imperial and royal army paſſed the Elbe near Meiſſen, and to maintain himſelf on this ſide of the river, and open a communication with the king.

Marſhal Daun did not think it conſiſtent with the dignity of arms, or the intereſt of the ſervice, to make uſeleſs marches, and to take inſignificant poſitions. Nor did he think it prudent to remove to a greater

greater diſtance, either from the Ruſſians or the Swedes, or even from Luſatia or Sileſia; he therefore ſuddenly took a reſolution to draw near to the combined army, and to direct his march towards Stolpen; and this the rather, as the city of Dreſden could not be attacked in form, and as the news of an entire defeat (as it was falſely called) of the Ruſſian army, was received at the ſame time. It was therefore very natural to imagine, that the King of Pruſſia would haſten back with a conſiderable army, and render the ſiege of Dreſden of no effect.

As ſoon as the imperial and royal army had fixed its camp at Stolpen, the field marſhal employed himſelf in reconnoitring the poſition of the enemy, and in forming new plans to give him an effectual blow. On the 9th he held a conference with the Prince of Deux-Ponts, at which he propoſed a deſign a little too bold perhaps; namely, that this prince ſhould attack the enemy next day; that for this end he (the marſhal) would approach that very night to the Elbe, paſs it between the enemy's camp and Dreſden, laying bridges between two fires at a ſmall diſtance from each other; and carry over his whole army; attack the enemy, and cut him off from Dreſden. The Prince of Deux-Ponts entered wholly into this plan; only he found it impoſſible to make the attack next day, becauſe the time was too ſhort to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions, call in the detached poſts, and employ them where neceſſary.

Though the marſhal inſiſted with the more vehemence on the neceſſity of making haſte, as we had received ſure accounts, that the king was on his march with a conſiderable body, and there was not a moment to loſe, he ſaw himſelf forced, however, by the obſtacles juſt mentioned, to defer the attack till the 11th. It was agreed therefore, that in the night between the 10th and 11th, the imperial and royal army ſhould approach to the Elbe, and lay bridges over it, that the combined army ſhould advance in order of battle, and make thoſe movements on the flanks which ſhould be deemed proper; and that at day-break it ſhould venture to make the attack. This plan of operations was executed, excepting the attack; for Marſhal Daun received the ſame day, the 10th, certain intelligence that the king was arrived near Dreſden with a conſiderable body, and that the reſt of the enemy's troops were not far off. On this account, it was, after mature deliberation, judged to be an enterpriſe too raſh to attempt to paſs ſuch a river as the Elbe, between the army of Prince Henry, and the city of Dreſden, and that at a time when there was another army behind them; that in caſe of any misfortune the imperial and royal army would be expoſed to total ruin. The marſhal, agreeably to his uſual foreſight and experience in war, came over to this opinion, and ſaw himſelf obliged to ſignify to the prince of Deux-Ponts, even the very night in which the attack was to have been made, that difficulties had occurred in relation to the attack which had been concerted, and even in ſome meaſure begun.

Thus one principal project, namely, the ſpeedy expulſion of Prince Henry, failed. We could not, however, have hindered him from joining the king a little further down the river, and from oppoſing the

the ſiege of Dreſden. But, on the other hand, we obtained the whole of the ſecond principal object, that is to ſay, the drawing the enemy's forces into Saxony, and accordingly he brought into Saxony the greateſt part of thoſe troops he had in Sileſia, as well as a numerous body from General Dohna's army; and thereby he has left himſelf more and more expoſed in other parts.

Such is the true plan of the preſent campaign: and though the iſſue of it be not as yet intirely ſatisfactory, and ſuch as might be deſired, the imperial court enjoys, at leaſt, the ſincere ſatisfaction of reflecting, that according to the change of circumſtances, it inſtantly took the moſt vigorous reſolutions, and that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cauſe, and that it is ſtill making at preſent preparations from which it may hope for the moſt happy conſequences. I expect to be ſoon able to give you an account of them, being, &c."

Declaration delivered the 12th of June to all the foreign miniſters at Peterſburgh.

"The Empreſs having engaged in the preſent war, in order to ſuccour her allies, has their intereſts as much at heart as her own: her majeſty therefore could not, without ſome concern, hear of the convention concluded the 11th of April laſt in London, between the King of Great Britain and the King of Pruſſia, as the Britiſh court thereby pretends not only to make the war kindled up by that prince her own quarrel, but, in all appearance, a firm reſolution is alſo taken to give no ſatisfaction to the powers ſo unjuſtly attacked and ſo grievouſly wronged, and to carry on the war to the laſt extremity. 'Tis doubtleſs on this principle, that the continual devaſtations exerciſed by the King of Pruſſia, even in ſome neutral ſtates, are varniſhed over with the name of defence or ſupport of the liberties of the Germanic body; that the oppoſition made by the empreſs queen againſt a total invaſion of her hereditary dominions, is termed a dangerous deſign upon the proteſtant religion; and, in fine, that the aſſiſtance given to that princeſs by her allies, is repreſented as an aggreſſion againſt the empire.

It is true, that in the ſaid convention her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias is not mentioned by name. But the King of Pruſſia having already publiſhed laſt year, as ſoon as the Ruſſian troops entered Pruſſia, a particular declaration againſt her majeſty (a ſtep which he did not take againſt France when her army entered his territories, though it was notorious that ſhe, as well as Ruſſia, had no other deſign but to ſuccour their allies) he has thereby plainly ſhewn that he endeavours if poſſible to make the war waged in his German dominions common to the whole empire; and that, on the contrary, by entirely excluding Pruſſia, he ſtrives to perſuade neutral princes that he is actuated by nothing but the intereſt of the empire, and that it is only in this object he deſires their concurrence. As to the conſervation of Pruſſia perhaps he thinks himſelf ſingly ſtrong enough to make ſure of it; or that, in ſacrificing it, he ſeeks

to repreſent the part the empreſs takes in this war as a matter quite foreign to the common cauſe, and no way connected with it, to the end that the allies may leſs mind it, and in return, that his party may appear the ſtronger for it. But beſides that this artifice cannot impoſe upon any body; the empreſs hopes that, with the help of God, her troops will ſoon enter the provinces of the king of Pruſſia that make part of the German empire.

And as on this occaſion one muſt expect to meet with all the falſe imputations, which the empreſs's allies are obliged to bear, as if the empire was invaded, its liberties infringed, and the proteſtant religion menaced; her majeſty declares in the moſt ſolemn manner, that having taken part in the preſent war only by virtue of her anterior engagements, and after her reiterated declarations, that ſhe would not look with indifference on any invaſion that ſhould be made by the King of Pruſſia, in the dominions of her allies, but would aſſiſt, with all her power, the party attacked, did not produce the effect that was hoped from them; and conſidering the firm reſolution taken by the enemies of her allies to continue an unjuſt war, ſhe alſo becomes more and more ſteady in her deſign, as well as in her ſincere deſire to act unanimouſly with them, and to aſſiſt them efficaciouſly and vigorouſly, in order to procure juſt ſatisfaction to the parties aggrieved, and to ſettle the general peace on terms that may be productive of a ſolid and laſting tranquillity. That, towards attaining ſo ſalutary an end, the troops of her imperial majeſty will endeavour to penetrate into the King of Pruſſia's German dominions as far as poſſible: That every one may perſuade themſelves beforehand, that on this occaſion there will be no violation of the laws and liberties of Germany; but, on the contrary, that even the inhabitants of the enemy's countries ſhall experience, each in their ſtation, as far as circumſtances may permit, the effects of her imperial majeſty's benignity, as appears already by the permiſſion ſhe has given for carrying on a free trade even in the places that may become the ſeat of war: That as on the occaſion of the new motions the Ruſſian troops are going to make in favour of the empreſs's allies, they will be indiſpenſably obliged to paſs through the territories of the republic of Poland, her imperial majeſty renews the aſſurances ſhe has more than once given, that neither in this occaſional paſſage, nor in any other circumſtance, will they ever dream of violating the rights and liberties of the republic, whoſe tranquillity will ever be dear to the empreſs: in fine, that whatever may be the always uncertain events of war, her imperial majeſty can beforehand affirm, that her fortitude ſhall not be ſhaken by them; that ſhe never will recede from the engagements ſhe has entered into with her allies, not to treat ſeparately about a truce of peace; but that her majeſty will faithfully and punctually perform whatever ſhe has once promiſed and declared."

Tranſlation of the brief, which the pope addreſſed to the empreſs queen, when he conferred upon her

her the title of Apoſtolical Queen of Hungary.

"The Roman pontifs, whom we have ſucceeded notwithſtanding our want of merit, wiſely neglected not, greatly to their honour, amidſt different regulations, paternally to diſtinguiſh, and load with favours, as occaſion offered, the countries ſituated on the frontiers of the perpetual enemies of the Chriſtian name, and always regarded thoſe countries as the bulwarks, which alone could ſecure Chriſtianity from hoſtile invaſions. We have regarded in the ſame light, the moſt flouriſhing kingdom of Hungary, poſſeſſed by our dearly beloved daughter in Chriſt; which, both by its ſituation and the bravery of the people, is the moſt proper for the propagation of the Chriſtian luſtre and name. All the world knows how the noble Hungarians have contributed, by their valour, to the extending and defending the Chriſtian religion; and how often, and with what ſucceſs they have fought againſt its hereditary enemy. Who knows not the ſignal and almoſt incredible victories which they have gained, when Chriſtendom was in danger of being totally ruined and overwhelmed?

Theſe actions are generally known. They are recorded in the moſt authentic annals, and will be tranſmitted down to the moſt diſtant poſterity. Mean while we ought to call to mind St. Stephen, that valiant ſovereign of Hungary, whoſe memory is precious to the church; which has been inſcribed in the catalogue of the ſaints, and whom we particularly reverence. We talk, even in theſe parts (to the honour of the Hungarian nation) of his virtues, his piety, and his magnanimity. The princes who have ſucceeded him, have exerted themſelves at all times to imitate his virtuous example.

No wonder, then, that the ſovereign pontifs, having regard to the ſincere and unſhaken attachment of the princes and kings of Hungary to the catholic faith, and calling to mind the ſervice they have done the holy ſee, have, from time to time, heightened their merit, and granted them particular privileges. Among other privileges, their kings enjoyed that of having a croſs carried before them by a biſhop, when they appeared in public on ſolemn occaſions, as the moſt eminent ſign of their apoſtleſhip; a particular conceſſion of the holy ſee, which would thereby ſhew that the Hungarian nation, and its kings, gloried only in the croſs of our Saviour Chriſt, and have always been wont to fight and overcome for the catholic faith, under this holy banner.

The kings of Hungary have alſo at diverſe times, acquired the privilege of being decorated and honoured with the glorious and magnificent title of Apoſtolic kings, though the true origin of this cuſtom, and the authenticity of ſuch a high prerogative cannot be preciſely diſcovered.

We, for our part, though we cannot manifeſt the true ſpirit of our predeceſſors, have, nevertheleſs, made it our conſtant endeavours to follow their ſentiments. We cannot, we imagine, more advantageouſly diſtinguiſh the beginning of our pontificate, than by conferring all poſſible honours, and the

utmoſt ſplendor on thoſe princes and kings whom we know to be attached to the holy ſee; and therefore we have thought proper to contribute particularly to the exaltation of your Apoſtolic majeſty, and of your kingdom of Hungary. We cannot do this more effectually, than by confirming, as far as in us lies, by our papal authority and power, this apoſtolical denomination. We therefore, of our own proper motion, certain knowledge, and plenitude of apoſtolic authority, inveſt, honour, and decorate your majeſty, as Queen of Hungary, and your ſucceſſors in that kingdom, with the title and denomination of Apoſtolic Queen; willing that all, and every one, ſhall name and acknowledge you, and your ſucceſſors, for Apoſtolic Queen.

Receive then, dearly beloved daughter in Chriſt, this title joyfully; not, however, as a mark of that power which the vanity of the age, and a deceitful ambition may invent, but as a ſymbol of a chriſtian ſubmiſſion to Jeſus Chriſt, by whom alone the true glory of your kingdom can ſubſiſt for ever. This title you receive as a teſtimony or recompence of your zeal for the propagation of the catholic religion; a zeal, which hath been tranſmitted to you by a long ſeries of anceſtors, which you have kept up, and which increaſes in you more and more. Tranſmit this title of honour and ſplendor to the beſt and beſt-beloved of ſons, that ſon who ſhall poſſeſs the whole glory of his mother's inheritance. Receive this brief as the pledge and the firſt-fruits of the paternal love and affection, which we bear towards your Apoſtolic majeſty; and we give you, dearly beloved daughter in Chriſt Jeſus, moſt tenderly our apoſtolic benediction.

Rome, Auguſt 25."

Tranſlation of the inſtructions given by the States of Courland and Semigallia to Mr. Schopping, whom they ſent as their deputy to Warſaw, about the election of a new duke.

"1. He ſhall, with the moſt profound reſpect, aſſure his majeſty, our moſt gracious king and lord paramount, of the inviolable obedience and fidelity of theſe duchies, and moſt humbly recommend them to his majeſty's paternal benevolence and protection.

2. He ſhall moſt reſpectfully beſeech his majeſty, and the moſt illuſtrious republic, to procure the releaſe of the unfortunate duke and his family.

3. His excellency Count Malachowſki, high chancellor of the crown, having written to the ſtates, that it was in vain to hope any longer for the releaſe of that duke and his male iſſue; and M. Simolin, miniſter-reſident from her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias in theſe duchies, having declared and confirmed the ſame thing, by order of his court, adding, that her imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, would be glad to ſee his royal highneſs Prince Charles of Poland elected Duke of Courland; and her imperial Czariſh majeſty having given the like inſtructions to her miniſter at Warſaw; the deputy muſt alſo repreſent to the high chancellor of the crown, that, according to the

the preciſe terms of the conſtitutions of our government, the aſſembly of the ſtates cannot attempt any thing againſt the inveſtiture of the duchies; and that ſo long as the king and republic do not declare the ſeat to be vacant, we muſt, according to our laws, continue to pray for our unfortunate lord and his family.

4. But, whereas his royal highneſs prince Charles has gained the veneration of all hearts by his great qualities, and his gracious deportment, both in going to and returning from Peterſburgh, the deputy is to make known the inclination of the ſtates for this prince in caſe the ſeat of the duchies be declared vacant, and intimate that they ſhould deem themſelves very happy if his royal highneſs would make profeſſion of the confeſſion of Augſburgh, and thereby impower them humbly to beſeech his majeſty to grant him the ſovereignty of theſe duchies.

5. This being ſuppoſed, then, if his royal highneſs will be pleaſed, according to cuſtom, previouſly to ſecure to the country, all its civil and religious rights, the deputy ſhall declare that the ſtates will not heſitate a moment to take advantage of the diſpoſitions of the empreſs of all the Ruſſias in favour of this prince, and will entreat her to grant him the ſovereignty of theſe duchies.

6. But ſince, according to the compacts of ſubjection, the guaranties of religion, and other documents, theſe duchies muſt have as heretofore a Teutonic magiſtracy of the confeſſion of Augſburgh; as no change can be made in this reſpect, without failing in the aſſurances given and confirmed upon oath; and as Gothard, firſt Duke of Courland, did keep to himſelf, in quality of grand maſter, the whole adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtic affairs, which the proteſtant princes have alſo done, in conſequence of the compacts of ſubjection, whoſe authority ought to be immutable, according to the conſtitutions of the government; the deputy ſhall conſtantly and moſt ſtrenuouſly inſiſt on this object, moſt humbly repreſenting the firm perſuaſion of the ſtates that his majeſty and the illuſtrious republic will take into conſideration the ſaid aſſurances given to this country by his majeſty's predeceſſors, and will preſerve the Teutonic magiſtracy which it has had ever ſince its ſubjection to the republic, viz. a prince of the confeſſion of Augſburgh.

7. As for the reſt, the ſtates will always continue with the moſt inviolable loyalty to live under the gracious ſupremacy of his majeſty and the illuſtrious republic of Poland, and never will they wiſh for a duke that is not agreeable to their gracious lord paramount. This is what the deputy ſhall declare; and he is deſired to conform exactly to his inſtructions, without deviating therefrom in any one point. Whereupon we wiſh him a good journey, and a happy iſſue to his negotiation."

[Theſe inſtructions are ſigned by Chriſtopher Frederick Sacken, governor; Otho Chriſtopher von der Hoon, chancellor; Henry Chriſtian Oſſenberg, burgrave; Francis George Frank, marſhal; all members of the great council; and alſo by twenty-five deputies of the pariſhes of Courland.

The dyet of Poland breaking up without ſettling any one national affair, the Courlanders are juſt where they were before; for though the Empreſs of Ruſſia and King of Poland may declare the ſeat of their duke to be vacant, the republic muſt concur in this verdict before it can be filled up; and ſhould theſe two ſovereigns attempt by force to carry an election in Courland in favour of Prince Charles, it might poſſibly occaſion an inſurrection in Poland. Beſides, the change of religion required for qualifying him to be a candidate, is another bar to his preferment: But this might, perhaps, be got over with help of a diſpenſation from Rome, allowing him to keep covenants with his ſubjects only till he ſhould be able to break them.]

Tranſlation of the Univerſalia iſſued by the king of Poland, for the aſſembling of a general dyet of the ſtates at Warſaw.

"Auguſtus III. by the grace of God, King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, &c.

In the horrid calamities which have ſo long afflicted our hereditary dominions, the happineſs and proſperity of the republic is the greateſt alleviation we can find to the grief with which we are penetrated.

In 1756, about the time that was fixed for the ordinary dyet, the whole force of the enemy came and fell upon our hereditary dominions, and at one inſtant preſented us with a proſpect of all the misfortunes that were afterwards to enſue to that unhappy country.

This idea, painful as it was, would not ſo deeply have wounded our paternal breaſt, if the army of an enterprizing neighbour, which ſurrounded us on all ſides, had not prevented us from coming to you at the time appointed for the aſſembling of the ſtates of the republic; for the ſight of that aſſembly, and of a people that have been ever dear to us, would have aſſuaged our other ſorrows.

The tenor of the laws empowers us to convoke the general dyet this year at Warſaw, in order to treat there of the ſeveral neceſſities of the republic; therefore waving the conſideration of the toil attached to this obligation, and animated only with the pleaſing hopes of the public good, which, through your unanimity, may perhaps reſult from thence to the country, we fix the ſaid ordinary dyet at Warſaw on the 2d of October, 1758; the anti-comitial dyet at the uſual place on the 21ſt of Auguſt; and that of the generality for the 18th of the ſame month.

As in former dyets we never propoſed any thing relating to our own private intereſts, or thoſe of our royal family, ſo we now ſolemnly proteſt, that we have no ſuch views in this, and that we are very far from ſeeking our own advantage to the prejudice of Poland, by wanting to involve it in the preſent fatal troubles of the reſt of Europe.

It is by ſo upright a conduct that we hope to ſilence all thoſe, who, by ſecret and artful inſinuations, endeavour to deſtroy the confidence that ſubſiſts between ourſelves and the ſtates of the republic, and render ſuſpicious our moſt ſalutary meaſures for your welfare, that they may perpetuate diſorder in the country, over-

overturn the baſis of public deliberations, and on the ruins of Poland erect trophies of glory to foreign nations, whoſe intereſt it may be to foment and keep up theſe diviſions.

Zeal for the public good alone, the motive that has always influenced our actions hitherto, will direct and animate all our deliberations at the approaching dyet. And without inſiſting now upon any particular propoſitions, we are ready even to go contrary to natural ſubordination, in conforming ourſelves, though we are the father of the country, to the deſires of its dear children, provided that, laying aſide every other ſentiment, the three eſtates of the republic will unanimouſly concur in every thing that ſhall be found for the good of the country."

Memorial concerning the deſtroying of the ſuburb of Dreſden.

"Marſhal Daun having taken advantage of the king's abſence, who was gone to fight the Ruſſians, to fall upon Saxony with all his forces, in the month of July laſt, the army of the empire having entered it on another ſide by Peterſwalde, Count Schmettau governor of Dreſden, thought that place in ſuch imminent danger, that he found himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to take every poſſible meaſure to guard againſt a ſurpriſe, and to hinder the Auſtrians from carrying the place by a *coup de main*. An enterprize of this nature would have been the more eaſy, as moſt of the houſes of the ſuburbs, from the gate of Pirna, to that of Wilſdorff, abſolutely command the body of the town, both by their prodigious height, being ſix or ſeven ſtories high, and by their proximity to the rampart. From this conſideration Count Schmettau cauſed it to be declared to the court by M. de Boſe, chief cup-bearer, that as ſoon as the enemy ſhould make a ſhew of attacking Dreſden, he ſhould find himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of burning the ſuburbs, and that for that end he had juſt put combuſtible matters in the higheſt houſes, and thoſe next to the rampart, that his orders for that purpoſe might be ſpeedily executed, whenever the reaſons of war obliged him to iſſue them in his own defence. The ſame declaration was made to the magiſtrates, the governor having ſent for the burgo-maſter to come to him. The court and the city earneſtly implored, that this misfortune might be averted from the inhabitants; but the governor inſiſted that it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary to come to that extremity, if the enemy themſelves would pay no reſpect to the royal reſidence; and cauſed every thing to be got ready for the execution of his threats.

Meanwhile, the city, as well as the ſtates of Saxony, who were then aſſembled at Dreſden, ſent a deputation to M. de Borcke, the king's miniſter, to intreat him to intercede with the governor in their behalf. M. de Borcke, after conferring with Count Schmettau, anſwered them, that it depended on the court and the city themſelves, to prevent the attacking of Dreſden; but that if the Auſtrians ſhould attack it, it would be impoſſible to ſpare the ſuburbs, the houſes of which commanded the

rampart, the governor having expreſs orders to defend himſelf till the laſt extremity. The miniſter at the ſame time pointed out to them the imminent danger to which the city and the caſtle, and even the royal family, would be expoſed, if he ſhould be forced to come to that extremity, as the fire of the ſuburbs could not fail, without a miracle, to reach the town, and make terrible havock: He at the ſame time conjured the deputies of the ſtates, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to divert the ſtorm, and not to conſider the governor's declaration as a vain threat, for he could aſſure them upon his honour, that upon the firing of the firſt cannon againſt the town, they would ſee the ſuburbs on fire.

Marſhal Daun happily changed his reſolution upon the king's approach, who was returning victorious from Zorndorff; and the governor of Dreſden, yielding to the intreaties of the inhabitants, ordered the combuſtible matters with which he had filled the houſes to be removed. But marſhal Daun returning a ſecond time into Saxony, appeared again, namely on the 6th of November, within ſight of Dreſden, with a formidable army. This army having made a motion on the 7th, and taken a camp on this ſide Lockowitz, the governor who could no longer doubt that his views were againſt the capital, cauſed the combuſtible matters to be quickly replaced in the houſes of the ſuburbs which ſurrounded the town ditch, and commanded the rampart. The court was immediately informed of it by M. de Boſe, the chief cupbearer, whom Count Schmettau charged to repreſent again to his court, that if the enemy's army ſhould approach the ſuburbs, he would that inſtant ſet fire to them. It was anſwered, that as the court, its hands being tied, was obliged to acquieſce in all, and wait the laſt extremities, the governor was free to do whatever he thought he could anſwer.

The ſame day (Nov. 8.) at noon the enemy's advanced troops attacked the huſſars and independent battalions which were poſted at Streiſſen and Gruene-Wieſe. This ſkirmiſh continued till night came on, and made the governor judge that it might have conſequences, as the enemy might eaſily repulſe thoſe advanced poſts, and enter pell-mell with them into the ſuburb. He therefore detached next day (the 9th) in the morning Colonel Itzenplitz with 700 men, and ſome pieces of cannon, and poſted them himſelf in the redoubts that ſurrounded the ſuburb, that, in caſe of need, they might ſupport the huſſars and the independent battalions. About noon he ſent for the magiſtrates of the town; put them in mind of what he had ſaid to them in the month of July laſt; and told them, that the enemy having evidently a real deſign againſt Dreſden, he gave them notice for the laſt time, that on the firſt appearance of an Auſtrian in the ſuburbs, they would be ſet on fire. The magiſtrates anſwered by only ſhrugging their ſhoulders, and deploring the misfortune of their fellow citizens. The governor told them, that they had nothing to do but to apply to the court, who alone could avert the calamity.

About noon the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſts, re-

repelled the huſſars, whoſe number was too ſmall to make reſiſtance, and even forced them, as well as Monjou's independent battalion, to quit the great garden and gain the ſuburbs. The enemy immediately attacked the ſmall redoubts where 700 men of the garriſon had been poſted, forced three of them, and penetrated to Zinzendorf-houſe, and even made ſuch progreſs, that an Auſtrian ſoldier was killed on the draw-bridge of Pirna-gate, and ſome cannon were obliged to be fired on Zinzendorf-houſe to drive out the Auſtrians. During this attack, the enemy's cannon played into the town, and ſeveral ſix-pounders fell in the arſenal, in the Prince's hotel, and in the houſes of Loos, Mniſceck, and Counſellor Fritſch. One ball even fell before the houſe of Marſhal Count Rutowſky.

Notwithſtanding this declared attack againſt the town and ſuburbs, no houſe was yet on fire; a plain proof that there was little inclination to proceed to that extremity. The cannon of the rampart forced the enemy to retire; and before night even all the redoubts of which they had got poſſeſſion were retaken.

Mean while the army of General Itzenplitz marched through the town, paſſed the Elbe, and encamped under the cannon of the new town; and General Meyer was ordered to defend the ſuburbs with his independent battalions, and four others, and to ſet fire to them after giving notice to the inhabitants. One of this general's officers told the governor, about midnight, that he heard men at work, and that the enemy ſeemed to be erecting batteries and planting cannon; accordingly, all who were ſent out beyond the barriers to reconnoitre, had a ſmart fire to ſuſtain. Theſe preparations, added to the preceding affair, giving room to think that at day-break the enemy would make a vigorous attack, and make themſelves maſters of the ſuburbs, into which the cannon of the town could not diſpute their entrance, by reaſon of the height of the houſes, the governor had no other meaſures to take but thoſe which the intereſt of his maſter, reaſons of war, and his own honour, dictated. The ſignal was given by General Meyer, and immediately, at three in the morning of the 10th, the greateſt part of the ſuburbs of Pirna, the houſes adjoining to the ditch, and two in the ſuburb of Wilſdorff, were in flames. The ſix battalions with the 700 men, entered the town by the three gates, which were immediately barricaded; and after ſix in the morning there was not a Pruſſian in the ſuburbs, as the inhabitants of the town can teſtify. The ſtory of the frequent ſallies of the Pruſſians to light up what was not yet conſumed, is void of all foundation. It is likewiſe abſolutely falſe that the inhabitants had not timely notice given them. Theſe atrocious calumnies are ſufficiently confuted by the annexed certificates of the chief cupbearer De Boſe, and of the magiſtrates. As to the red hot bullets fired upon the inhabitants, the lighted waggon, the children thrown into the fire, theſe are ſo many horrible lies, which will fall of themſelves, when the aforeſaid certificates of the court, the magiſtrates, and the judges of the ſuburbs are ſeen. The order given to the burghers to remain quiet in their houſes was intimated only to the magiſtrates of the city, in the month

of

of July; and not to those of the ſuburbs; and there was nothing in this but what is uſual. What hath been ſaid to the contrary, is, in ſhort, ſo falſe, that the court of Dreſden was pleaſed to thank the governor for the good order he cauſed to be obſerved during thoſe troubles; as will appear by the annexed letter of De Boſe the chief cup-bearer.

It only remains that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the meſſages that paſſed between Marſhal Daun and Count Schmettau, by the intervention of Colonel Sawoiſky. After the firſt compliments, M. de Sawoiſky told the governor, that Marſhal Daun was extremely ſurpriſed at the burning of the ſuburbs; that he (Sawoiſky) was deſired to enquire whether it was by order that this was done in a royal reſidence, which was a thing unheard of among chriſtians; and that he hoped the city of Dreſden would not be treated in the ſame manner. The marſhal then made his compliments to the court; and added, that the governor ſhould be reſponſible in his perſon for what had been done, or for what might be done, againſt this royal reſidence.

The colonel received for anſwer, in preſence of Lieutenant-general Itzenplitz, that the governor had the honour to be known to the marſhal; that he had orders to defend the town to the laſt man; that his excellency was too well acquainted with war, to be ignorant that the deſtruction of the ſuburbs, which the marſhal had attacked, was according to rule: that as to what concerned the town, it depended upon his excellency, ſince if he attacked it, the governor would defend himſelf from houſe to houſe, and from ſtreet to ſtreet; and that the whole infantry of the army was ready to defend the city.

On the 11th, the governor having learnt from ſeveral burghers of the ſuburbs, who, at their own requeſt, had been brought into the town with their effects by water, that the enemy had thrown into the flames, or maſſacred without pity, ſome defenceleſs people belonging to the Pruſſian army, who had remained behind, particularly a ſurgeon; ſent at noon Captain Collas with a trumpet to the marſhal, with orders to tell him, that his excellency's well-known character did not permit it to be believed that ſuch cruelties were committed by his order; and therefore to demand to whom they were to be aſcribed; that as to the deſtruction of the ſuburbs, Colonel Sawoiſky had already carried an anſwer on that head to the marſhal, but that this opportunity was taken to declare to his excellency, that if he deſired to ſave the reſt of the ſuburbs, he muſt hinder his troops from appearing in them; that no body had the preſervation of the town and ſuburbs more at heart than the governor, as far as was conſiſtent with his duty, and his honour; that the houſes would not have been ſet on fire, had not the troops of his army forced their way into the ſuburbs, and even fired ſeveral cannon into the town (which M. Daun pretended not to know; ſaying, that it had been done without his orders;) and that the combuſtible matters were ready to conſume what was left of the ſuburb, in caſe his troops ſhould again enter it. The court took advantage of

of this meſſage to aſk a paſſport from M. Daun for bringing ſome ſheep and fire-wood into the town.

His excellency anſwered to theſe three heads, That he had no irregular troops with him; and that he had forbid any perſon of his army to approach the ſuburbs; that he did not apprehend any exceſſes had been committed; but in caſe there had, he deſired to know the number of the perſons maſſacred; that he was the more aſtoniſhed at thoſe complaints, as he never ſuffered ſuch diſorders; that he abhorred them, and that perhaps the burghers had no foundation for what they had ſaid. As to the ſuburbs, M. Daun anſwered, that he would not ſuffer rules to be preſcribed to him; that it depended upon him to ſend troops into the ſuburbs, as he ſhould judge proper, and the governor might do as he pleaſed; but that he hoped that in the mean while no more families would be made wretched; and that he had forbid his troops, on ſevere penalties, to enter the ſuburbs to pillage. As to the demand made by the court, he anſwered, that he would particularly attend to it; and aſſured them of his profound reſpects.

On the 12th his excellency ſent an officer with a permit to deliver the ſheep and fire-wood for the court, which were to be brought into the town by Pruſſians; and Captain Collas was ſent to regulate this affair. The captain, in paſſing through the ſuburbs, ſhewed the lieutenant ſent by M. Daun the maroders of his troops, both foot and huſſars, who exceeded 200; and the officer promiſed to make a report of it to the marſhal. The reſt of the time, to the 26th, that the enemy's army retired, paſſed in amazing tranquillity.

C. Count de Schmettau.

Dreſden, Dec. 5, 1758.

No. I. Letter from M. De Boſe, chief cup-bearer, to Count Schmettau.

I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, in anſwer to what you wrote me this day, I muſt own that ever ſince you had the government of Dreſden, I informed you of all that his royal highneſs charged me to tell you in his name, and I have likewiſe reported to his highneſs your excellency's anſwers.

As to the firſt point, I alſo remember very well that your excellency charged me, in the month of July, to repreſent in your name to his royal highneſs, that if Marſhal Daun ſhould attack the city, you muſt ſet fire to the ſuburbs, particularly the houſes that adjoined to the ditch; into which houſes your excellency immediately ordered combuſtibles to be put. I alſo remember, that upon the ſollicitations which his royal highneſs made, by me, to your excellency, you ordered them to be removed when Marſhal Daun retired; and of this alſo I made an humble report.

It is alſo true, that when Marſhal Daun was at Lockowitz, on the 8th of November laſt, your excellency charged me to acquaint his royal highneſs in your name, that if the marſhal ſhould approach nearer the town and attack it, you ſhould be obliged to burn the ſuburbs, and the houſes adjoining to the town ditch. Although I made ſeveral remonſtrances to your excellency from the court, you declared,

clared, that you was ordered by the king your master to defend yourself to the last extremity, and that you could not change your measures, unless Marshal Daun should be prevailed with not to attack the town. To which I answered, in his royal highness's name, That he knew nothing of Marshal Daun's designs; that he could not intermeddle in the operations of war, and would consequently be obliged to endure what he could not hinder.

Lastly, it is well known that your excellency, during the fire, took every possible measure in the town to prevent those excesses and disorders, which might have been apprehended; and his royal highness charged me to return you his thanks for it. I have the honour to be, &c.

Joachim Frederick De Bose.

Dec. 4, 1758.

No. II. Certificate of the Magistrates of Dresden.

In consequence of orders received from his excellency Count Schmettau, lieutenant-general and governor, we certify what we know concerning the burning of the suburbs, viz.

That it was about the end of July when combustibles were put into the new built houses on the counterscarp; that upon the representation made thereupon to his excellency, by the court and the magistrates, he answered, that our court itself had given its consent to it; and that if the enemy did not approach he would not cause the houses to be burnt. Though we have since heard that those combustibles were taken away, no person ever told us, nor have we ever heard that any one suffered the least damage thereby.

On the 2d of November, at noon, his excellency ordered the burgomasters and magistrates to come to him, and told us, that he was commanded by the king, his master, to defend the place to the last extremity; that though the new works were sufficiently provided with men, he should be obliged, if the enemy should force them, to set fire to the houses, and had already given orders accordingly. Though we made the most pressing intreaties that he would spare the town, representing that it did not belong to the magistrates, but to his majesty the king of Poland, and that it was the residence of an elector; his excellency answered, that he would not alter his measures, were it the residence of the emperor himself; that it was not our fault; and that we might apply to our court, who had drawn thither the enemy. Upon which he sent us away, and would not hear our remonstrances.

Being returned to the town-house, we apprized the judges of the Fishmongers and Ram quarters, of the danger with which the suburbs were threatened; we enjoined them to give notice to the judges of the other quarters to repair to the town-house; and we told those who attended there, that their suburbs were in the greatest danger of being set on fire; that they must warn their burghers to be on their guard; to provide themselves with instruments against the fire, and mutually to assist each other in case of any misfortune, since no assistance could be expected from the town. We have heard, since the

the misfortune happened, that this order was executed.

This fire burnt 252 houſes of the juriſdiction of the magiſtrates, which have been entirely conſumed, and two more were much damaged. Thirty-one houſes of the juriſdiction of the Bailiwic were likewiſe entirely burnt down.

Two perſons were burnt to death, two killed, three hurt by the fire, and two wounded by the ſoldiers.

We never heard in any ſhape, of a waggon full of goods which they were endeavouring to ſave, and which it was pretended was covered with combuſtibles, and ſo ſet on fire; nor of ninety perſons ſaid to have periſhed at the Hart, nor of the Auſtrian troops, who, it is pretended, aſſiſted in extinguiſhing the flames.

Dreſden, Dec. 4, 1758.

(L.S.) The Magiſtrates of Dreſden.

No. III. Certificate of the Judges of the ſuburb of Dreſden.

We the judges of the ſuburb of Dreſden, certify and atteſt, that at the time of the calamity that hath juſt happened, things paſſed in this manner.

1. In the month of July combuſtibles were placed on the counterſcarp, and removed in the month of Auguſt following, without doing the leaſt damage.

2. They were replaced there a ſecond time on the 7th of November, about ſix in the evening. On the 7th, about three in the afternoon, the magiſtrates ordered all the judges to attend them. Accordingly Simon Steltzner, judge; John Chriſtian Dittritch, alderman; John Michael Faber, and John Chriſtian Kretſchmar, judges; attended, and were told (being enjoined at the ſame time to acquaint the other judges with it) to provide the houſes with water, to give notice to the landlords, and keep the pumps ready, and endeavour to aſſiſt one another, becauſe, if any misfortune ſhould happen, the people of the town could not come to our aſſiſtance, nor could we go to theirs; and of this we informed all the burghers.

3. On the 8th and 9th the Auſtrian army approached the town; and on the 9th the Auſtrian huſſars forced their way to the ſuburb of Pirna and to Zinzindorf-houſe.

4. On the 10th, at two in the morning, fire was ſet to the quarters of Pirna, Ram, and Wilſdorff, which conſumed

7 houſes in the Fiſhmongers quarter.
141 —— in Ram quarter.
82 —— in Pirna quarter.
1 —— in Halbe Gaſſe quarter.
2 —— in Seethor quarter.
9 —— in Poppitz quarter.
23 —— in the Bailiwic quarter.
1 The exciſe-houſe, as alſo the exciſe-houſe and guard-houſe at Pirna gate, and the exciſe and guard-houſes at Seethor.

266 houſes in all.

Perſons who loſt their lives, or were hurt.

In Ram quarter. Two perſons burnt.

In Pirna quarter.

A burgher, named Kammerling, killed by a cannon-ball fired from the town, and buried at Pirna.

A girl of fourteen wounded, who was removed to Pirna.

A widow

A widow wounded, carried into the town.

In Poppitz quarter.

One woman killed by the independent battalion.

There have been therefore in all, two perſons burnt, a man and a woman greatly advanced in years, and whom it was impoſſible to ſave; two killed, and two wounded.

What has been ſaid of a waggon is falſe; and it is equally falſe that 90 perſons periſhed at the Hart; only four perſons in all having loſt their lives, as we have juſt mentioned.

The 10th, in the morning, there were found before Wilſdorff gate, among ſome ſtraw, which had been unloaded there and laid before the houſes, ſome parcels of gunpowder, which a burgher threw into the water. Two rooms in the houſe called Jungfer Palais were ſet on fire; but it was ſoon extinguiſhed.

Laſtly, it is falſe that the Auſtrian carpenters aſſiſted us in extinguiſhing the fire. We never ſaw one of them.

We certify that all the above is ſtrictly conformable to truth.

Simon Steltzner, judge;
John Chriſtopher Groll,
Godefroi Schneider,
C. Benjamin Stamm,
John Daniel Karichs,
John Michael Faber,
John Chriſt. Grohmann,
John George Seyffert,
John Gottfried Peter,
John Chriſt. Kretſchmar.

Dreſden, Dec. 4, 1758.

The Saxon account of the damage done by the burning of the ſuburbs of Dreſden, referred to in the ſeveral paſſages of the foregoing memorial, is contained in the following.

Tranſlation of a memorial preſented on the 24th Nov. to the dyet of the empire, by the Saxon miniſter.

It was reſerved for the hiſtory of the war, which the king of Pruſſia hath kindled in Germany, to tranſmit to future ages an action of ſuch a nature as is that, which, according to the authentic advices that have been received by the underſigned miniſter of his majeſty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, Lieutenant General Schmettau, the Pruſſian governor of Dreſden, hath juſt now ordered and executed in that royal reſidence and in the ſuburbs. The proceeding is ſo atrocious, that he thought it his duty, without waiting for his maſter's orders, moſt humbly to give notice of it to the laudable dyet of the empire. Thoſe advices are dated the 14th ult. and are to the following effect:

"The Auſtrian army having on the 9th inſtant forced the Pruſſian corps under General Itzenplitz to decamp from Gorlitz, and driven Meyer's independent battalion out of the Great Garden, General Schmettau, governor of Dreſden, ordered the burghers to carry a vaſt quantity of ſtraw into the ſuburbs, which was put into the houſes in truſſes. He made the inhabitants perfectly eaſy by making the ſtrongeſt proteſtations to them, That they had nothing to fear; and ordered them to remain quiet within doors; and that no perſon ſhould be ſeen in the ſtreets in the night, for fear of danger in caſe the enemy ſhould make an attack.

At two in the morning a cannon was fired. On this ſignal the gunners and the ſoldiers of the independent

pendent battalion diſperſed themſelves in the ſtreets of the Pirna and Wilſchen ſuburbs, broke open the doors of the houſes and ſhops, ſet fire to the ſtraw, added freſh quantities of it, and increaſed the flames by torches of pitch, and afterwards ſhut the houſes.

By the violence of the flames, which was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houſes and along the ſtreets, the whole was inſtantly on fire. Thoſe who wanted to run out of their houſes were in danger of being killed by the fire of cannon and ſmall arms. There were even ſoldiers in the ſtreets, who puſhed down with their bayonets ſuch as were endeavouring to ſave their perſons or effects. By this means a multitude of people of all ages, who inhabited thoſe populous ſuburbs, periſhed amidſt the flames, and under the ruins of houſes. The number of thoſe who were killed in the ſingle inn the ſign of the Golden Hart, amounted to ninety; and upwards of two hundred of the principal houſes have been reduced to aſhes. Humanity is ſhocked at the thought of the cruelties committed this night and the two following days. A ſhoemaker, who was running away with his infant on a pillow, to ſave it from being burnt to death, was met by a volunteer, who ſnatched the pillow from him, and threw the babe into the flames. Many perſons, and even ſome of diſtinction, after loſing all their effects, were forced to make their eſcape in their ſhirts, through gardens, to the neighbouring villages. Others, who had ſaved a part of their beds and bedding in a garden, ſaw it ſet on fire, before their eyes, with torches. Some poor people ſaved their cloaths and a few other things in the church-yard; but even there did the red-hot balls follow them, and ſet on fire their little furniture, and even the coffins of the dead. One man had got his things into a waggon; the Pruſſians ſtopt it, covered it over with pitch, and ſet it on fire.

On the following days, ſuch as ventured to return to the ſuburbs to ſave a part of what they had loſt, were fired at. Pruſſian ſoldiers ſallied out of the city, from time to time, to ſet one houſe on fire after another; many of theſe men were ſeized by the Auſtrian huſſars and Croats, who diſcovered ſo much humanity and tenderneſs on this occaſion, that they were ſeen, with tears in their eyes, readily parting with their own allowance of bread to give to the ſtarving ſufferers; they even gave them money; and ventured through the flames with them, honeſtly to aſſiſt them in ſaving their effects.

The Auſtrian army beheld theſe horrible acts, and was filled with indignation and rage. Its generals melting with compaſſion, tried every method to remedy them. They ſent 300 carpenters into the ſuburbs to endeavour to extinguiſh the flames. The Auſtrians brought away all the inhabitants that had taken refuge in the Great Garden, and very generouſly ſet open to them their magazines. The general officers even made a conſiderable collection for them. Field-Marſhal Count Daun, with a view to ſtop the horrid ravages of the enemy, ſent M. Sawoiſky, a colonel in the Poliſh ſervice, with a trumpet, to General Schmettau, the Pruſſian governor of that capital, to repreſent to him, that theſe proceedings were quite unheard of in civilized nations, among Chriſtians,

ans, and even among Barbarians; and to declare to him, that he ſhould be reſponſible for them in his perſon, as well as for all that might happen to the royal family, the rather as he had no reaſon given him for them; as he had not been ſummoned, nor had one inch of ground in the ſuburbs been taken, nor one muſket fired into the town. To which the Pruſſian governor anſwered, That he was a ſoldier; that he acted according to the articles of war, without troubling himſelf about the royal family, or the fate of the town; and that what he did was by expreſs order of his maſter.

There remains to be added to theſe afflicting advices, that the enormities committed even in the royal reſidence were equal to thoſe in the ſuburbs. We have been already informed that perſons perfectly innocent have been expoſed to the moſt rigorous treatment, and that ſeveral houſes have been pillaged.

What moderation ſoever ſhall be uſed in judging of theſe horrible exceſſes committed by the Pruſſian troops in a royal and electoral reſidence, ſtill it muſt be acknowledged that this conduct is very ſtrange, and altogether ſingular. For there was neither reaſon nor neceſſity for committing a devaſtation ſo horrible, and accompanied with the ſhedding ſo much innocent blood. It ſhould ſeem that pains were taken to ſtifle the voice of humanity, to fill the numerous royal family, reſiding in that unfortunate city, with the greateſt terror, and to put their lives in danger.

It is unneceſſary for me to enlarge farther by obſerving to the laudable dyet of the empire, that beſides the cruelties committed on this occaſion, the regard due to the perſons of ſovereigns, their families, and reſidences, a regard which men have ever held ſacred and inviolable, was trampled on.

John George Ponickau.

Tranſlation of the memorial preſented on the 27th of November, to the dyet of the empire, by M. de Plotho, the Brandenbourg miniſter, in anſwer to that of the Saxon miniſter.

There is not perhaps an inſtance of ſuch a denunciation to the dyet of the empire, as that which was made in relation to what preceded the burning of the ſuburbs of Dreſden, by the Saxon miniſter, in a memorial dated November 24, in which all the facts ſet forth are founded on advices pretended to be moſt authentic: yet it hath not been judged proper to venture to tell whence, or from whom, thoſe advices were received, that the aſſembly of the empire, and the impartial world, might judge with certainty, what degree of credit they deſerved.

The Saxon electoral miniſtry ought not therefore to be ſurpriſed, if on this occaſion, their miniſterial credit ſhould receive ſome check; and if blind zeal ſhould not meet with as blind credulity.

We are therefore obliged, on our part, to give, as the Saxon miniſter hath done, but ſtrictly adhering to truth, the authentic preliminary advices received from our court.

[Here Baron Plotho inſerts, word for word, the relation of what paſſed at Dreſden, and before that city, from the 8th of November, till the ſending of M. Sawoiſky. See page 168, &c.

M. Plotho proceeds thus:

From

From this genuine relation of what preceded the affair, every one will eaſily judge, that nothing was done but what neceſſity and the exigency of war required. It is certainly moſt natural, that when ſiege is laid to a town which is a royal reſidence, he that defends it ſhould employ the ſame precautions in its defence that are uſed in ordinary fortreſſes: and we cannot conceive on what foundation the beſieged can be required to uſe tenderneſs when none is ſhewn by the beſiegers; this would be to carry complaiſance too far.

Mean while, all this, alas! is the deplorable effect of the war; and thoſe who will not agree to gentle methods, but demand fire and ſword, and inſiſt on it, ſee their wiſhes and their deſires fully, and more than fully, accompliſhed.

The underſigned can, nevertheleſs, moſt ſolemnly aſſure, with the greateſt truth, that the King of Pruſſia, from his great love to mankind, always feels the greateſt emotion of ſoul, and the moſt exquiſite concern at the ſight of the profuſe effuſion of blood, the devaſtation of cities and countries, and the inconveniencies of war, by which ſo many thouſands are overwhelmed: and if his ſincere and honeſt inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, could have prevailed, or been liſtened to, in any ſhape, the preſent war, attended with ſo much bloodſhed, and ruinous to ſo many countries, would have been prevented and avoided.

Thoſe therefore, who ſtirred up the preſent war, and who inſtead of extinguiſhing it without ſhedding of blood, took meaſures by which oil was thrown on the flames, and the fire rendered fiercer, have to anſwer to God for ſuch a profuſe effuſion of blood, for the ruin and devaſtation of ſo many countries, and for the loſs of the lives and effects of ſo many innocent perſons.

Ehrich Chriſtopher,
Baron PLOTHO.

On the 26th of July, M. Le Chevalier Drucour, Governor of Louiſbourg, ſurrendered that place by capitulation, on the following articles, viz.

I. The garriſon of Louiſbourg ſhall be priſoners of war, and ſhall be carried to England in the ſhips of his Britannic majeſty.

II. All the artillery, ammunition, proviſions, as well as the arms of any kind whatſoever, which are at preſent in the town of Louiſbourg, the iſlands of Cape-Breton and St. John, and their appurtenances, ſhall be delivered without the leaſt damage, to ſuch commiſſaries as ſhall be appointed to receive them, for the uſe of his Britannic majeſty.

III. The governor ſhall give his orders that the troops which are in the iſland of St. John, and its appurtenances, ſhall go on board ſuch ſhips of war as the admiral ſhall ſend to receive them.

IV. The gate called Port Dauphine, ſhall be given up to the troops of his Britannic majeſty, tomorrow at eight o'clock in the morning, and the garriſon, including all thoſe that carried arms, drawn up at noon, on the Eſplanade, where they ſhall lay down their arms, colours, implements and ornaments of war. And the garriſon ſhall go on board, in order to be carried to England in a convenient time.

V. The ſame care ſhall be taken of the ſick and wounded that are in the

the hoſpitals, as of thoſe belonging to his Britannic majeſty.

VI. The merchants and their clerks that have not carried arms, ſhall be ſent to France, in ſuch manner as the admiral ſhall think proper.

Louiſbourg, 26th July, 1758.
(Signed) Le Chevalier de Drucour.

Two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, eighteen mortars, with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and ſtores, had been found in the place, and it was expected that more would be found. The following is the return of the ſtate of the garriſon when it capitulated.

State of the garriſon of Louiſbourg the 26th of July 1758, when it capitulated.

Names of the Regiments.	Officers.	Soldiers fit for duty.	Sick and wounded.	Total.
Twenty-four companies of marines of the uſual garriſon and two of the artillery —	76	746	195	1017
Second battalion of Volontaires Etrangers	48	402	86	526
Second battalion of Cambiſe — —	38	466	104	608
Second battalion of Artois — —	32	407	27	466
Second battalion of Bourgogne —	30	353	31	414
Total of the garriſon —	214	2374	453	3031
Sea officers, private men, and marines fit for duty, with the ſick and wounded, belonging to the ſhips — — — —	135	1124	1347	2606
Total priſoners —				5637

All the French men of war that were in the harbour have been taken and deſtroyed, viz.

Prudent, 74 guns, burnt by the boats of the fleet, under the Captains Leforey and Balfour.

Entreprenant, 74 guns, blown up and burnt, by a ſhot from the marine battery.

Capricieux and Celebre, both 64 guns, burnt by the Entreprenant.

Bienfaiſant, 64 guns, taken by the boats of the fleet, and towed from under the walls of the town into the eaſt harbour, by Captain Balfour.

Apollo, 50 guns, Chevre, Biche, and Fidelle frigates, ſunk by the enemy acroſs the harbour's mouth, to prevent the fleet's going in.

Diana, 36 guns, taken by his majeſty's ſhip Boreas.

Echo, 26 guns, taken by his majeſty's ſhip Juno.

Of his majeſty's forces were killed and wounded as follows.

KILLED.

Royal. Lieut. Fenton, Lieutenant Howe.
Gen. Amherſt's. Lieut. Nicholſon, Lieut. Campbell.
Gen. Forbes's. Capt. Earl of Dundonald.
Gen. Webb's. Enſign Godfrey Rowe.

Col.

Col. Monckton's. Lieut. Hart.
Col. Fraſer's. Capt. Bailey, Lieut. Cuthbert, Lieut. Fraſer, Lieut. Murray.
Capt. Rogers's Rangers. Enſign Francis Caruthers.
10 Non-commiſſion officers.
146 Private men.
Artillery. 1 gunner, and 3 matroſſes.

WOUNDED.

Col. Baſtide, engineer in chief.
Royal. Lieut. Fitz-Simmons, Lieut. Bailey, Lieut. Aſhe, Enſign Waterſon.
Gen. Amherſt's. Lieut. Hamilton, Lieut. and Adjutant Mukins, Enſign Moneypenny.
Gen. Forbes's. Capt. Rycaut, Lieut. Francis Tew.
Gen. Whitmore's. Lieut. Pierce Butler, Lieut. John Jermyn, Lieut. William Hamilton.
Gen. Bragg's. Captain Browne.
Gen. Otway's. Lieutenant Allan, Lieut. Brown, Lieut. and Adjutant Cockburn, Enſign Armſtrong.
Gen. Hodgſon's. Lieut. Lilly.
Gen. Webb's. Lieut. Hopkins.
Col. Anſtruther's. Capt. Smith.
Col. Fraſer's. Captain Donald M'Donald, Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, Lieutenant John M'Donald.
7 Non-commiſſion officers.
2 Drummers.
315 Private men.
Artillery. 1 corporal, 1 gunner, 3 matroſſes.

Tranſlation of a letter from the Chevalier Drucour, late governor of Louiſbourg, to a friend at Paris, dated Andover, October 1, 1758.

Infandum, regina, jubes—I wiſh, Sir, I could eraſe from my memory the four years I paſſed at Louiſbourg. The bad ſtate of the place, the impoſſibility of making it better, the ſubſiſtence of a garriſon and inhabitants ſupported there at the king's expence, and threatened with famine once a month, gave no little uneaſineſs and anxiety to all who were charged therewith. This ſituation —— *manet alta mente repoſtum.* Many old officers, from all the provinces of the kingdom, have been witneſſes of my conduct; and I dare aſſert that it was never impeached. But he who views objects at a diſtance only, may judge differently. I hope, Sir, this was not your caſe; but that you ſaid 'It muſt 'have been impoſſible for Dru-'cour to act otherwiſe.' Of this I cannot ſo eaſily convince you till I have the pleaſure of ſeeing you. Mean while, know that twenty-three ſhips of war, eighteen frigates, ſixteen thouſand land forces, with a proportionable train of cannon and mortars, came in ſight on the firſt of June, and landed on the 8th. To oppoſe them, we had at moſt but 2500 men of the garriſon, and 300 militia of the burghers of the town and St John's iſland; a fortification (if it could deſerve the name) crumbling down in every flank, face, and courtine, except the right flank of the king's baſtion, which was remounted the firſt year after my arrival. The covered-way was covered as much as it could be, and yet was commanded and enfiladed throughout, as well as the dauphin and king's baſtions. In the harbour were five men of war. This was our force. The ſuccours I expected from Canada did not arrive till the end of the

ſiege; and conſiſted of about 350 Canadians only, including 60 Indians.

The enemy was at firſt very ſlow in making his approaches; for on the 15th of July, he was three hundred toiſes from the place. He was employed in ſecuring his camp by redoubts and epaulements, thinking we had many Canadians and Indians behind him. We, on our parts, uſed every method to deſtroy and retard his work, both by the fire of the place and that of the ſhips in the harbour. The commodore of thoſe ſhips warmly ſollicited leave to quit the place; but knowing the importance of their ſtay to its ſafety, I refuſed it. It was our buſineſs to defer the determination of our fate as long as poſſible. My accounts from Canada aſſured me, that M. de Montcalm was marching to the enemy, and would come up with them between the 15th and 20th of July. I ſaid, then, 'If the ſhips leave the harbour 'on the 10th of June (as they 'deſire) the Engliſh admiral will 'enter it immediately after;' and we ſhould have been loſt before the end of the month; which would have put it in the power of the generals of the beſiegers to have employed the months of July and Auguſt, in ſending ſuccours to the troops marching againſt Canada, and to have entered the river St. Laurence at the proper ſeaſon. This object alone ſeemed to me of ſufficient importance to require a council of war, whoſe opinion was the ſame with mine, and conformable to the king's intentions. The ſituation of the ſhips was no leſs critical than ours. Four of them were burnt, with two corps of caſerns, by the enemy's bombs. At laſt, on the 29th of July, no ſhips being left, and the place being open in different parts of the king, the dauphin, and the queen's baſtions, a council of war determined to aſk to capitulate.

I propoſed much the ſame articles as were granted at Portmahon: But the generals would liſten to no propoſals, but our being priſoners of war. I annex their letter, and my anſwer, by which you will ſee that I was reſolved to wait the general aſſault, when Mr. Prevot, commiſſary-general and intendant of the colony, brought me a petition from the traders and inhabitants, which determined me to ſend back the officer who carried my former letter, to make our ſubmiſſion to the law of force; a ſubmiſſion which, in our condition, was inevitable. This condition was ſuch, that, for eight days, the officers had not, any more than the private men, one moment's reſt, nor indeed any place in which to take reſt. In all beſieged towns there are entrenchments where thoſe who are not on duty may retire, and be covered from the enemy's fire; but at Louiſbourg we had not a ſafe place even for the wounded; ſo that they were almoſt as much expoſed every minute of the four and twenty hours, as if they had been on the covered-way. Nevertheleſs the men did not murmur in the leaſt, nor diſcover the ſmalleſt diſcontent; which was owing to the good example and exact diſcipline of their officers. None deſerted but foreigners, Germans; one of whom prevented an intended ſally. As he had gone over to the

the enemy two hours before, it was not thought prudent to make it. The burning of the ſhips and of the caſerns of the king's and queen's baſtions, hindered our making another. A third had not better ſucceſs; we proceeded no farther than the glacis of the covered-way, having miſſed the quay of a ſmall paſſage which it behoved us to turn, in order to take the enemy in flank: ſo that of four ſallies, which were intended, one only ſucceeded, in which we made 30 grenadiers, and two officers priſoners, beſides thoſe that were killed, among whom was a captain. We had about 350 killed and wounded during the courſe of the ſiege, including officers. The crews of the king's ſhips are not comprehended in that number.

As to the landing, it muſt have been effected, by ſacrificing lives in one part or another; it being impoſſible to guard ſuch an extent of coaſt with a garriſon of 3000 men, and leave men in the place for the daily duty. We occupied above two leagues and a half of ground in the moſt acceſſible parts: but there were ſome intermediate places we could not guard; and it was preciſely in one of theſe that the enemy took poſt.

The captain of a ſhip ſtrikes when his veſſel is diſmaſted, his rigging cut to pieces, and ſeveral ſhot received between wind and water. A governor of a town ſurrenders the place when the breaches are practicable, and when he has no reſource by entrenching himſelf in the gorges of baſtions, or within the place. Such was the caſe of Louiſbourg. Add to this, that it wanted every neceſſary for ſuch operations: General Wolfe himſelf was obliged to place centinels on the ramparts; for the private men and the ſutlers entered through the breaches and gaps, with as much eaſe, as if there had been only an old ditch. Of 52 pieces of cannon, which were oppoſed to the batteries of the beſiegers, 40 were diſmounted, broke, or rendered unſerviceable. It is eaſy to judge what condition thoſe of the place were in. Was it poſſible, in ſuch circumſtances, to avoid being made priſoners of war? I have the honour to be, &c.

Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.

General Amherſt's letter to the Governor of Louiſbourg referred to above.

'In anſwer to the propoſal I have juſt now had the honour to receive from your excellency, by the Sieur Loppinot, I have only to tell your excellency, that it hath been determined by his excellency Admiral Boſcawen and me, that his ſhips ſhall go in to-morrow to make a general attack upon the town. Your excellency knows very well the ſituation of the army and the fleet; and as his excellency the admiral, as well as I, is very deſirous to prevent the effuſion of blood, we give your excellency one hour after receiving this, to determine either to capitulate as priſoners of war, or to take upon you all the bad conſequences of a defence againſt this fleet and army.

BOSCAWEN.
JEFF. AMHERST.'

The Governor's anſwer to General Amherſt.

'To anſwer your excellencies in as few words as poſſible, I ſhall

have the honour to repeat to you that my reſolution is ſtill the ſame; and that I will ſuffer the conſequences, and ſuſtain the attack you ſpeak of.

Le Chevalier de DRUCOUR.'

A piece extracted from authentic documents of the French adminiſtration in Hanover.

One Guatier, a farmer of Paris, arriving at Hanover ſome days before Chriſtmas, and there fixing his office, there appeared a decree of council of the King of France, dated the 18th of October, 1757, the tenor of which is as follows.

Extract from the regiſters of the council of ſtate.

The king having, by a reſult of council of the 11th of this inſtant, charged John Faidy, citizen of Paris, to take upon him, on his majeſty's account, the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of the duties and revenues, of what nature ſoever they may be, without any exception, and under what denomination ſoever they may be levied and collected, belonging to his majeſty in the electorate of Hanover, the countries, ſtates, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, that have been ſubjected to his majeſty ſince the beginning of this year's campaign, or may hereafter be ſubjected, to receive and bring to account all ſuch perſons as have had the direction, receipt and adminiſtration of all the ſaid revenues, of what kind ſoever they may be, ſince the conqueſt of the electorate of Hanover, the countries, ſtates, towns, diſtricts, commonalties and adminiſtrations, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, for all the ſums which they ſhall have received; to bring, in like manner, to account all perſons, who, before the electorate of Hanover, and the other conquered countries paſſed under his majeſty's dominion, were employed in the direction and receipt of the revenues of the country, whether they farmed them on a leaſe for a certain term, or had the receipt and direction thereof, for the account of the preceding ſovereign: In ſhort, to receive of the ſaid perſons the ſums due from them for the value of their farms, as well as from thoſe who have had the direction and receipt of the revenues previous to the poſſeſſion taken for, and in the name of his majeſty, of the ſaid electorate of Hanover, the countries, ſtates, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations: And it being his majeſty's will, that the ſaid John Faidy be put into immediate poſſeſſion of the ſaid direction and general adminiſtration, the report having been heard of the Sieur Boulogne, counſellor in ordinary to the royal council, comptroller general of the finances, the king in council has ordered, and does hereby order, that in the interim, till letters patent, ſealed and regiſtered, where neceſſary, ſhall be iſſued forth, in conſequence of the reſult of the council of the 11th inſtant, the ſaid John Faidy be put into poſſeſſion of the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of all the revenues and duties, of what nature ſoever they be, without any exception, and under what denomination ſoever

ever they have been received, levied, and collected, or may hereafter be ſo, in the electorate of Hanover, countries, ſtates, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, from the time they have been ſubjected to his majeſty: It is his majeſty's will, that the receipt, direction, and adminiſtration of all the revenues whatſoever, be in the hands of the ſaid John Faidy, his receivers, directors, attornies, clerks, and others appointed by him; and for that purpoſe, that all the regiſters, accounts, papers, eſtimates, and documents, relating to the receipt, direction, and maintenance of the ſaid duties and revenues, be delivered to him by thoſe in whoſe cuſtody they ſhall be found, or who ſhall have been employed in the receipt and direction of the ſaid revenues, whether they have enjoyed the ſame as farmers upon a leaſe for a certain term, or have been employed in the receipt and direction thereof on account of the preceding ſovereign, before the electorate or other countries, conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, paſſed under the dominion of his majeſty, and by thoſe, who, ſince the poſſeſſion taken of the ſaid country, have directed, adminiſtered, and received the revenues of the ſaid electorate, countries, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations: It is his majeſty's will and order, that all thoſe, who have been employed in the receipt and directions of the ſaid revenues, under what title ſoever, be obliged to account to the ſaid John Faidy, or to the directors, receivers, and caſhiers, appointed by him, for all receipts by them made, and to pay the ſums due from them, whether as farmers, directors, or receivers, whereto they ſhall be obliged by the ordinary methods uſed in the king's revenues and affairs, upon complaints exhibited againſt them by the ſaid John Faidy, or his attornies: His majeſty orders, that the receivers, of whatſoever kind they may be, be likewiſe obliged to produce and deliver to the ſaid John Faidy, or his attornies, upon their giving receipts, the accounts they have given in, their regiſters, land-rolls, and other deeds, by virtue whereof they have received and collected the duties and revenues of the preceding ſovereign, and that the ſaid receivers ſhall account for what they have received, and ſhall pay the ſums ſtill remaining due from them, under pain of being obliged thereto by the aforeſaid methods: His majeſty empowers the ſaid John Faidy to remove the receivers, and all other perſons who ſhall have been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of the duties and revenues, of what nature, and under what denomination ſoever they may be, of the electorate of Hanover, ſtates, countries, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations, and to place others in their room, his majeſty reſerving to himſelf the power of ordering the vouchers of thoſe in employment, who may be removed, to be produced, and to provide for the reimburſing them the money they ſhall prove to have paid, in the manner he ſhall judge proper: His majeſty orders, that all perſons, of what rank and condition

dition ſoever, who have been entruſted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, regiſters, eſtimates, and in general, any thing relative to the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of the revenues of the electorate of Hanover, the countries, ſtates, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations, already conquered from the King of England, Elector of Hanover, or thoſe that may hereafter be ſo, to communicate the ſame to the ſaid John Faidy, his attornies, directors, and officers, and to deliver them authentic copies of all the papers they ſhall deſire to have, without any exception for ſo doing, under pain of diſobedience: His majeſty in like manner orders, under the ſame penalties, that the magiſtrates of the towns, thoſe of the diſtricts and commonalties, the perſons who are at the head of the particular adminiſtrations of the ſtates and provinces, ſhall deliver, upon the firſt requiſition of the ſaid John Faidy, his attornies, directors, and officers, eſtimates, certified by them, of the produce of ſix years, reckoning from the firſt of January 1751, to the laſt of December 1756, of the duties and revenues which the ſaid towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and ſtates of the provinces, are in poſſeſſion of; that they likewiſe deliver to the ſaid John Faidy, his attornies, directors, and officers, ſtates, certified by them, of the ſums they ſhall have paid to the preceding ſovereign during the ſaid ſix years, and ſtates of the charges neceſſarily incurred during the ſaid term, independent of the ſums they have paid: It is his majeſty's intention and will, that the ſaid John Faidy be put into poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the houſes, offices, and utenſils hitherto made uſe of in the direction and general management of the duties and revenues of all kinds, with the direction and adminiſtration whereof he is charged, payment being made by him to the proprietors of the houſes for the rent thereof, upon the footing they ſhall agree: His majeſty likewiſe orders, that the receivers, clerks, and in general all thoſe who are actually employed in the direction and general management of the duties and revenues of all kinds, of the electorate of Hanover, countries, ſtates, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations, may, after having been authorized thereto by the ſaid John Faidy, his directors and attornies, continue to act in their employments, without being obliged to take any new oaths, and that thoſe, who ſhall replace them, or come in upon a freſh eſtabliſhment, ſhall be admitted without any charges to take the oath and diſcharge the duty of the employments to which they ſhall be named, upon the ſimple preſentation of the ſaid John Faidy, or of his directors and attornies, or upon the commiſſions which ſhall be delivered to them: His majeſty orders, that the ſtates, towns, and adminiſtrations, commonalties, farmers upon leaſe, the directors of the duties and revenues, treaſurers, receivers general, and particular caſhiers, and in general all thoſe who ſhall be accountable and indebted to the duties and revenues, of what nature ſoever they be, comprehended in the direction and adminiſtration with which the ſaid John Faidy is charged, ſhall be well and truly acquitted and diſcharged towards

towards his majeſty and all others, of whatſoever they ſhall be found to owe, by producing receipts from the ſaid John Faidy, his attornies, receivers, and general caſhiers, of the accounts they ſhall have given in at the time they ſhall be ballanced and acquitted: It is his majeſty's will, that any diſputes that ſhall ariſe with regard to the direction, receipt, and general adminiſtration of the duties and revenues, of what nature ſoever they be, of the electorate of Hanover, countries, ſtates, provinces, towns, diſtricts, commonalties, and adminiſtrations, wherewith the ſaid John Faidy is charged, appurtenances and dependencies thereof, be brought before the intendant and commiſſary, who has the department of the conquered country, and adjudged by him, ſaving an appeal to the council, his majeſty reſerving to it the determination thereof, and forbidding the ſame to all courts and judges: His majeſty enjoins the ſaid intendant and commiſſary of the ſaid department, to ſupport the execution of the preſent decree, which ſhall be executed, notwithſtanding all oppoſition and hindrances, of which, if any ſhould happen, his majeſty reſerves to himſelf and his council the cognizance, and forbids the ſame to all courts and judges.

Done at the King's council of ſtate, held at Verſailles the 18th of the month of October, 1757.

(Signed) EYNARD.

and compared with the paraphe.

It appears from the date of this decree, and by what is ſaid therein, that, in the weeks immediately ſubſequent to the convention of Bremervorde, the council of Verſailles was already employed in framing it; and the ſaid decree implies in clear and preciſe terms, that it was determined in the council of Verſailles, to change the government and ſyſtem of the electorate of Hanover, notwithſtanding what was expreſly promiſed by the capitulation made the 9th of Auguſt, 1757, upon the ſurrender of the capital, and that the adminiſtration herein mentioned, with which the ſaid John Faidy is charged, was to extend itſelf to the countries which might hereafter be conquered.

If this confeſſion, made by the crown of France itſelf, cannot but be conſidered as an undeniable proof, that the ſame crown had a premeditated deſign of making an ill uſe of the ceſſation of arms, in order to proceed in taking poſſeſſion of the provinces they had not yet ſeized upon, when the ceſſation of arms was concluded, and bring to utter deſtruction the electorate of Hanover, without leaving the ſovereign thereof any method of preſerving it; neither can any one diſpute, but that great weight is hereby added to the motives, which have induced the king, our ſovereign, to take up arms afreſh, and which have already been laid open to the eyes of the public.

Lewis Fra. Armand du Pleſſis, Duke de Richelieu, General of the French army in Germany.

The breaking of the capitulation of Cloſter-ſeven, in ſpite of the moſt ſolemn treaty, and the word of honour given by the generals, renders void the treaty made with the country of Hanover, when the

the king's army entered it; and this infraction of good faith requires the greateſt rigour toward the Hanoverian army, now actually in hoſtilities.

Wherefore we order, that all the goods, and all other effects of what nature ſoever, belonging to all the officers or others actually with the ſaid Hanoverian army, be confiſcated to the king's uſe, and that the adminiſtrator general of the conquered countries, take poſſeſſion thereof, in order to collect the revenues ariſing therefrom, which are to be added to the contributions, and to make uſe of them in the moſt advantageous manner for his majeſty, in whatever places of the conquered countries they may be ſituated.

We ſtrictly require monſieur le Duc de Randan, commander in the country of Hanover, and all other commanders, to enforce the execution of theſe preſents, and to ſupport the ſame as far as it may concern them.

Done at Zell, Dec. 22, 1757.

(Signed) The Marſhal Duc de Richelieu.

And underneath, Le Lurez.

Conditions of a ſubſidy treaty, delivered on the 18th of October, in the name of the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, to his excellency the Abbe Count de Bernis, miniſter for foreign affairs, by M. Packbelle, the duke de Deux-Ponts' miniſter.

His moſt ſerene highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, deſires nothing more ardently, than to attach himſelf wholly to France, and to make a treaty with the king for that end. It ſhould ſeem that it might be concluded on the following conditions:

I. The baſis and foundation of it ſhall be the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, and the treaties of Weſtphalia, of which his majeſty is a guarantee.

II. The landgrave ſhall enter into no engagement againſt the king and his allies, and ſhall never give any troops to ſerve againſt France or her allies, nor give any aſſiſtance directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majeſty and of his allies.

III. He ſhall never give his vote in the general or particular aſſemblies of the empire contrary to his majeſty's intereſt. On the contrary he ſhall employ his influence jointly with France, to put an end to the troubles of the empire.

IV. For this end his moſt ſerene highneſs ſhall put his troops which have ſerved in the Hanoverian army, into the pay of France, on conditions that ſhall be agreed on, this condition particularly, that they ſhall not ſerve in the preſent war againſt his Britannic Majeſty.

V. His majeſty ſhall, in return, as ſoon as the treaty is ſigned, reſtore to the landgrave his eſtates; and all things ſhall be put in the condition they were in before the French troops entered them.

VI. Thoſe eſtates ſhall not only be evacuated by the French as ſoon as the treaty is ſigned, but they ſhall in conſequence thereof be exempted from winter quarters, and from all further contributions, either in money, grain, forage, wood, cattle, or any thing elſe, though already impoſed on the ſubjects of Heſſe: but his majeſty ſhall likewiſe cauſe ready money to be paid for proviſions, and every kind of ſubſiſtence, of which his troops may ſtand in need in Heſſe; upon condition, however, that in conſideration

tion of all this, the landgrave ſhall take no toll for warlike ſtores and proviſions, and other effects of that nature, which may paſs through his country.

VII. The king ſhall guaranty all the eſtates which his moſt ſerene highneſs poſſeſſed before the French ſeized them, and all the rights of the houſe of Heſſe Caſſel.

VIII. His majeſty ſhall guaranty to that prince the act of aſſurance given him by his ſon the hereditary prince with regard to religion; and ſhall not ſuffer it to be violated by any perſon, or under any pretext.

IX. The moſt chriſtian king ſhall uſe his intereſt with the emperor and the empreſs queen, that, in conſideration of the immenſe loſſes and damages his moſt ſerene highneſs hath ſuffered ſince the French entered his country, and of the great ſums he loſes with England, in arrears and ſubſidies, by this accommodation with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, he may be excuſed from furniſhing his contingent to the army of the empire, and from paying the Roman months granted by the dyet of the empire.

X. If, in reſentment of this convention, the eſtates of his moſt ſerene highneſs ſhall be attacked, the king ſhall give the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious ſuccours.

Tranſlation of a memorial preſented in November to the dyet of the empire, by Baron Gimmengen, electoral miniſter of Brunſwick Lunenbourg.

His imperial majeſty hath been pleaſed to communicate to the dyet of the empire, by a pretended moſt gracious decree of the Aulic council, dated the 28th of Auguſt laſt, mandates iſſued the 21ſt of the ſame month, on pain of the ban of the empire, and with avocatory letters thereto annexed, againſt his majeſty the King of Great Britain, my moſt gracious maſter, and alſo againſt ſome others of the moſt reſpectable princes of the Germanic empire.

There is not an example of this kind in the hiſtory of the empire. His Britannic majeſty, during the one and thirty years of his glorious reign, hath obſerved ſo unimpeachable a conduct towards all his coeſtates of the empire, without diſtinction of religion, that no prince of the empire hath received greater proofs of eſteem and confidence than he can produce. His majeſty hath, as much as the weakeſt ſtates, always obſerved right and juſtice.

On the death of the emperor Charles VI. he beheld the time, which will be a famous æra in the hiſtory of the houſe of Auſtria, when the crown of France poured numerous armies into the empire to exterminate that houſe, and make itſelf maſter of Germany. His majeſty, in his double capacity of king and elector, put himſelf in the breach; he led in perſon the auxiliary army of her majeſty the empreſs queen, the greateſt part of which was compoſed of his own troops; at the battle of Dettingen he expoſed his ſacred perſon for that princeſs, and his royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland his ſon, ſtill bears the ſcars of wounds there received.

The year 1745, when his preſent imperial majeſty was choſen Emperor, is ſtill recent in the memory of all the ſtates of the empire, as well as the pains which his Britannic majeſty took upon that occaſion. He purchaſed the preſerva-

tion

tion of the houſe of Auſtria, which was effected by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the blood of his ſubjects, and by means of the moſt important conqueſts of his crown. He hath endeavoured to maintain the imperial crown in that houſe, by negotiations for the election of a king of the Romans. The treaty of ſucceſſion concluded with the Duke of Modena, and the aggrandiſement reſulting from it to the houſe of Auſtria, was owing to his majeſty's friendſhip for it.

Inſtead of a recompence, inſtead of performing the tender proteſtations of regard and gratitude, which his majeſty then received from her majeſty the empreſs queen, and which his magnanimity hinders him from making public; inſtead of the obſervation due to the moſt ſolemn treaties, her majeſty the empreſs queen refuſes him the aſſiſtance which ſhe ought to give him againſt an invaſion, proceeding wholly from the hatred of France, which his Britannic majeſty has drawn upon himſelf by his friendſhip to that princeſs; and his imperial majeſty even denies him the dehortatorial letters he ſollicited. The court of Vienna ſigns a treaty with the crown of France, in March 1757, at a time when his majeſty's troops were quiet in his own dominions, by which the French troops were to paſs the Weſer the 10th of July, and enter the electorate of Hanover. She joins her troops to thoſe of that crown, and ravages the king's dominions worſe than the French troops had done. The ſame Duke of Cumberland who was wounded at Dettingen in defending her imperial majeſty, is obliged to fight at Haſtenbeck, againſt the troops of that princeſs which attacked the king's dominions.

The empreſs queen ſends commiſſaries to Hanover, who are to ſhare, and actually did ſhare, with the crown of France in the contributions. She rejects all propoſals of peace; ſhe diſmiſſes the king's miniſters from her court; and after the divine Providence, according to its righteous ways, had, by a victory granted to the king's army, delivered the electorate from its enemies, when we were endeavouring to hinder the French troops from entering it a ſecond time, as they threatened, and as all the world knows, his imperial majeſty, who, by virtue of the capitulation which he has ſworn, ought 'to protect the empire, and 'at all times conſider the electors 'as its internal members and main 'pillars, and oppoſe the entrance 'of foreign troops deſtined to op-'preſs the ſtates of the empire,' finds it his duty without making the leaſt mention of this invaſion by the French troops, to require his majeſty to withdraw his troops from the countries where they then were, to put a ſtop to all his warlike preparations, and by that means again open a paſſage for the French army to enter his German dominions. His imperial majeſty thinks proper to recall the king's troops, to reduce them from their allegiance and duty to his majeſty; to enjoin them never more to obey his orders, but to abandon their colours, their ſervice, and their poſt; threatening the ſaid troops with puniſhment, in body, honours, and eſtates; and the king himſelf with being put under the ban of the empire, which is not in the power of the emperor; and em-

employing in the proceedings on this occaſion, a ſtyle proper only to be uſed to a Tuſcan or an Auſtrian ſubject.

The public has already judged of theſe proceedings, and hiſtory will tranſmit them to poſterity, without diſguiſe, but with indelible colours.

His Britannic majeſty ſtill retains the ſame veneration for the Germanic body: that reſpect peculiar to the houſe of Brunſwick Lunenbourg, which will always hold it inviolable, is become habitual to his majeſty in particular: accordingly he again hath recourſe, in quality of elector, to the dyet of the empire by means of this memorial, though previouſly reſerving to himſelf a power to do it hereafter in a more ample manner. The records of the empire ſhew what he has done for Germany in ſuch a manner, that at leaſt it cannot yet be forgotten in that country. He hopes that upon this occaſion it will have ſome weight, the rather as his high co-eſtates will eaſily conſider, that what is now endeavoured to be done to his majeſty, may one day, and perhaps ſooner than they think, be done to themſelves.

His majeſty, as elector, is charged, 1ſt, With not conforming to the reſolutions taken the 17th of January, and the 9th of May, laſt year; but on the contrary, refuſing his concurrence, and declaring for a neutrality. 2dly, With giving ſuccours, aid, and aſſiſtance, to his majeſty the King of Pruſſia, entering into an alliance with that prince, joining his troops to thoſe of Pruſſia, under the command of a general in the ſervice of his Pruſſian majeſty, of ſending Engliſh troops into Germany, and making them take poſſeſſion of the city of Embden, and employing the auxiliary troops of ſome other ſtates of the empire: And, 3dly, It is complained that contributions had been exacted in his majeſty's name of divers ſtates of the empire.

With regard to the firſt charge, it is very true, in the deliberations held at the dyet of the empire the beginning of laſt year, it was given as his majeſty's opinion, as well as that of moſt of his Proteſtant co-eſtates, that the preſent troubles ſhould be amicably terminated. His majeſty in giving this opinion, had, as uſual, no other view than what equity and the good of the Germanic empire ſeemed to him to require. Whatever judgment ſhall be formed of the unhappy war that hath broke out, the public will always remember, that by a bare declaration of her majeſty the empreſs queen, 'That ſhe would not attack his Pruſſian majeſty,' the rupture would have been avoided, and the effuſion of much blood, as well as the deſolation of Germany, prevented. The ſtates that have ſuffered by the calamities of the war, may judge whether the way that was taken was the ſhorteſt for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, ſo much to be deſired; and whether it were not to be wiſhed that laying aſide all private views, his Britannic majeſty's propoſal had been followed.

It is true, his majeſty took no part in the reſolutions, which were contrary to his ſentiments. But the laws of the empire have not thereby received the leaſt infringement. The queſtion, whether *in mate-*

materia collectarum, the majority be ſufficient, has been referred *ad comitia imperii*, by the *inſtrumentum, P. W. Art.* §. v. 52. and is yet undecided. It is not by the plurality of voices that it can be there determined, but only by means of an amicable accommodation; ſince otherwiſe that reference would have been a very uſeleſs courſe; and it is well known, at the negotiations for the peace of Weſtphalia, what was the tendency of the opinion of the catholic ſtates, which formed the majority; thoſe very ſtates, and all other members of the empire, ought however to conſider well, whether it be their eſſential intereſt to acknowledge, in the preſent caſe, that every ſtate in the empire is obliged to ſubmit to the majority of votes, in matters of conſent, as in the preſent caſe; which the principal catholic electors have in other caſes denied; and which will certainly be retorted upon them in proper time.

But whatever principles ſhall be aſſumed, with regard to this queſtion, nothing is more evident, than that, conſidering circumſtances and the ſituation of the affair then and now in queſtion, his majeſty could never be required to give his troops to comply with thoſe reſolutions of the empire. All Germany knows, though the decree of the Aulic imperial council ſays not a word about it, that at the very time when thoſe reſolutions were taken, his majeſty's electoral dominions were moſt unjuſtly threatened with an invaſion by France. In the month of March that year, the court of Vienna ſigned a convention with France, by virtue of which the enemy was to paſs the Weſer in the month of July, and enter the king's territories. This invaſion was made accordingly. The empreſs queen joined her own troops to thoſe of France; and in return ſtipulated by ſolemn treaties, ſigned beforehand, to have half of the contributions that ſhould be exacted. The damage which the king's ſubjects ſuffered by the firſt invaſion, excluſive of the ſums which the provinces were to furniſh (and which have been paid out of the royal demeſnes) amounted to ſeveral millions. And ſtill the unjuſt rage of his majeſty's enemies was not exhauſted. The French army, which entered on the other ſide under the command of the Prince de Soubiſe, in company with the troops of Wirtemberg, which the reigning duke, a thing of which there is no example, led himſelf, under a French general, againſt a co-eſtate, hath again invaded, for the ſecond time, his majeſty's dominions and thoſe of his allies; exacted inſupportable contributions; carried off the king's officers, entirely foraged the country, and plundered ſeveral places, and committed the greateſt diſorders, whilſt the court of Vienna boaſts of having ordered this invaſion (the ſole end of which was to ravage the king's dominions and thoſe of Heſſe) as an effect of its magnanimity, and as a merit with the Germanic body.

If in ſuch circumſtances his majeſty ſhould be required to ſuſpend the preparations he has begun, and join the troops that he wants for his own defence to thoſe, which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, are led againſt his

his Pruſſian majeſty by a prince who doth not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command hath been conferred without a previous concluſum of the Germanic body; the right of the ſtates of the empire to defend themſelves when ſuch defence ſquares not with the views of the imperial court, ought, at the ſame time, to be ſettled. It is hoped that things are not yet come to this paſs in Germany. Self-defence is the moſt urgent duty. The reſolutions of the empire cannot deprive the meaneſt man, much leſs a free ſtate, and an elector of the empire, of his right; nor require him to join the troops he wants for that end, to thoſe which, jointly with the troops of France, have invaded his country, and ſhared in the contributions there extorted.

In the ſecond place, his majeſty doth not deny that he hath entered into an alliance with the king of Pruſſia, which is entirely conformable to the rules of right: but as he is accountable to God alone for what he doth as king, on the other hand, in the report made of what he has done as elector, the times which preceded have been confounded with thoſe that followed the French invaſion. From the beginning of the laſt year his majeſty took every method to ſhew, that the only thing he aimed at, without taking part, otherwiſe, in the war, was to oppoſe the French foreign troops, knowing they were ſent only to invade his electorate, as indeed they have employed themſelves almoſt wholly in ruining eſtates comprehended under the guaranty of the empire, as well thoſe of the Duke of Saxony of the Erneſtine line, of the Duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the count of Lippe Schaumbourg, as thoſe of his majeſty. This juſt intention, founded on the laws, from which his majeſty hath been ſo far from derogating in the ſmalleſt matter, that no inſtance thereof hath been, or can be brought, did not, nevertheleſs, hinder the French troops, who were furniſhed with the emperor's letters requiſitorial, from entering Germany in the avowed quality of auxiliary troops to the empreſs queen, in company with thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria and the elector Palatine. The empire hath already been informed, on the third of December laſt year, of the firſt propoſals made, both to the imperial court, and the court of France, for an amicable determination of differences; propoſals, which could not have been rejected, had not an hoſtile attack been reſolved on. Theſe offers, which from the manner in which they were received, his majeſty hath reaſon to regret that he ever made, leave no ſhadow of plauſibility to the reproaches that may be made on account of the engagement that enſued, in whatever light the king of Pruſſia's cauſe may be conſidered. His majeſty is, indeed, fully perſuaded, that he might, at any time, have entered into an alliance with that prince for their common defence; but no one can doubt, that in this urgent neceſſity, when he was left alone, he had a right to ſeek aſſiſtance where it could be got. No fault can poſſibly be found with that which the King of Pruſſia gave him to deliver the electoral ſtates of Brunſwick, and thoſe of Wolfenbuttel, Heſſe, and

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Buckebourg. The very nature of this deliverence, and the prudence and bravery with which it hath been effected, have acquired immortal glory to his moſt ſerene highneſs Duke Ferdinand of Brunſwick Lunenbourg (who doth not command the King's army as a Pruſſian general) a glory, which is the greater, as it is more laudable for that prince to have delivered from ſuch heavy and unjuſt oppreſſion the dominions of a king from whoſe family he is deſcended, and principalities in which he drew his firſt breath, where his anceſtors have reigned, and where the duke his brother ſtill reigns. It is with an equally juſt right that this duke, with the Duke of Saxe Gotha, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Count of Schaumbourg Lippe, put their troops into his majeſty's pay. Poſterity will hardly believe, that at a time when Auſtrian, Palatine, and Wirtemberg auxiliaries were employed to invade the countries belonging to the ſtates of the empire, other members of the Germanic body who employed auxiliaries in their defence, were threatened with the ban. His majeſty ordered the Engliſh troops to be ſent over, and poſſeſſion to be taken of Embden, in his quality of king; and hath no occaſion to give account thereof to any. Mean while the laws of the empire permit the ſtates thereof to make uſe of foreign troops in their own defence; they forbid only the introduction of them into the empire to invade the dominions of another, as the empreſs queen hath done.

In the third and laſt place, his majeſty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunſwick Lunenbourg, ſent miniſters, particularly to the Palatine court and that of Cologne, to divert them from joining in the deſigns of France againſt his dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted, that it would have been highly agreeable to him, if thoſe courts had taken meaſures that would have freed him from the burthen of the war. But none can expect that his majeſty ſhould with indifference ſee himſelf treated as an enemy by his co-eſtates. The Elector of Cologne and the Biſhop of Liege had no troops that were wanted in the French army: but, in conſideration of ſubſidies, opened to it the gates of their towns, and gave it all the aſſiſtance in their power; without which that army could not at that time have proceeded ſo far as the electoral eſtates, where the Auſtrian and Palatine troops behaved much worſe than the French themſelves. How can it be expected that his majeſty, after God hath bleſſed his arms with ſucceſs, ſhould not reſent this treatment? The laws of the empire forbid the attacking of the ſtates of the empire; but they permit defence againſt, and the purſuit of thoſe who by their invaſion have violated the public peace.

If the crown of France be free to ravage the dominions of the Duke of Brunſwick and the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, becauſe they have given the king auxiliary troops: if the empreſs queen may, for the aſſiſtance ſhe hath lent the French king to attack the king's dominions, appropriate to herſelf half of the contributions raiſed there; his majeſty ought to be equally permitted to make thoſe ſtates, who have favoured the unjuſt enter-

enterprizes of his enemies, feel the burden of the war.

These are facts notorious to the whole empire: his majesty hath too good an opinion of the penetration of his high co-estates, to doubt of their perceiving the importance of them, and laying to heart what the merit he has acquired with the empire might have required, and still requires; and therefore his majesty expects that the dyet will, by way of advice, propose to his imperial majesty, to annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take the most effectual measures to protect the electorate and the countries of his majesty, and those of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, Hesse Cassel, and Lippe Schaumbourg, and procure them a proper indemnification; but also give orders for those proceedings against the empress queen, as archdutchess of Austria, the elector palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, which her majesty, without being required to do it, puts in force against his Britannic majesty, Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg. For which end the undersigned most humbly requests your excellencies to ask immediately necessary instructions from your principals.

Can it be said, that this was approving of a convention, and demanding an explanation so important, and so contrary to its true meaning? His majesty the King of Denmark had too great regard for the king, to think it just to engage him to subscribe to that, as a consequence of the treaty signed at Closter-seven. If Marshal Richelieu did not mean by his pretended words of honour, the assurance not to begin hostilities before the rupture of the negotiation, we own we know not what he meant, at least that is the sense in which we have ever understood those expressions, and in which we have executed the convention. The French ministry know very well, that the chief point is to determine how long the obligation of the treaty ought to subsist, according to the views of the contracting parties. 'Hence, say they, it is evident, 'that the expression of final reconciliation is made use of in 'Article III. only to denote that 'Bremen and Verden were to 'remain in the hands of the 'French till that final reconciliation should happen. This is 'the same thing as if it had been 'stipulated, that the French should 'remain in possession of that 'country till a peace. That the 'Duke of Cumberland knew very 'well that his most christian majesty had formerly refused to 'treat with him about a neutrality for Hanover; that he had 'therefore left out the condition 'of a separate reconciliation, fearing that his proposal might have 'caused the convention to be rejected, which he had so much 'interest and honour to obtain. 'That it is plain, from the preamble to the convention, that 'the intention of it was to hinder 'the countries of Bremen and Verden from being any longer the 'theatre of the war.'

His royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, so far from being convinced of the impossibility of obtaining a separate accommodation for the king, knew that the court of Vienna had promised her utmost efforts to bring it about, and had even, for that purpose,

poſe, ſent a courier to Verſailles to haſten its concluſion. Theſe promiſes were the more to be depended on, as France had all along pretended in her writings, that her ſole motive in not acceding to theſe propoſals, was becauſe ſhe was not willing to do it *without the concurrence of her allies*. The final reconciliation of the two ſovereigns, namely, the king as elector, and the king of France, had certainly no relation to a general peace. The propoſals made to France of an accommodation, and known both to Marſhal Richelieu and Count Lynar, could leave no difficulty as to the true ſenſe of the term of a final reconciliation. She may exaggerate, as much as ſhe will, the dangerous ſituation, and the extremity to which the king's army was reduced, when the ſuſpenſion of arms was concluded; but the event could not have been more fatal than that which France wanted to bring about, as the intention of the two contracting parties; for by her principles the ſtates of the king would have remained in the hands of the enemy, as long as the court of Verſailles ſhould have thought proper to keep them; the auxiliary troops would have been diſarmed, and thoſe of the king expoſed to total deſtruction. It is plain that the preamble to the convention ſpeaks only of the reaſons, which induced his Daniſh majeſty to interpoſe in that affair. The king gives them that juſtice which they deſerve, and looks upon the care of the King of Denmark as a proof of his ineſtimable friendſhip, and at the ſame time, as an effect of his humanity, and of the generous concern which his Daniſh majeſty took to prevent the effuſion of blood, and to ſtop the ſcourge of war; but by this alſo the king is perſuaded, that the court of Copenhagen never intended to become an inſtrument to France, to make the king ſubmit to the ſevere terms which the latter wanted to impoſe upon him, under pretence of the convention, and by means of pretended neceſſary explanations.

The diſarming of the Heſſians is properly the rock on which the convention ſplit, ſo the French ſpare no pains to give a colour to this pretence. 'The duke of 'Brunſwick, ſay they, ratified, 'without any alteration, the con-'vention ſigned at Vienna, relating 'to the diſarming of his troops. 'The landgrave had formerly 'demanded to be treated as that 'prince. It was not natural to 'truſt to a conſiderable body of 'troops, which ſubmitted only 'through fear, and it was a ſilly 'precaution to take away the 'means of offence, without be-'ing ſure of taking away the in-'clination. It follows evidently 'from the terms of the conven-'tion, that theſe troops being 'diſbanded, they were diſengaged 'from all connections with the 'King of England, Elector of 'Hanover, who conſequently had 'no right to retain them, and to 'ſteal away the ſon of the Duke 'of Brunſwick. The only condi-'tion which the Hanoverian ge-'neral had a right to demand 'for the auxiliary troops, was 'that they ſhould not be re-'garded as priſoners of war; and 'he could not pretend but the

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'they had been disarmed. The 'condition of disarmed troops is 'by no means equal to that of 'troops prisoners of war.'

It is not our purpose here to examine the negotiations which, it is pretended, the Landgrave, and the Duke of Brunswick entered upon with the court of France; but every one knows that these princes thought themselves in no wise bound by what passed. The design of sowing diffidence among the allies, which France had certainly in view by alledging these pretended negotiations, will not have its desired effect. Nor will we trouble ourselves to examine, whether the prudence and interest of the court of Versailles required the disarming of the auxiliary troops: Though that court has long adopted it as a maxim to consult only her own interest, and to give no other reason but her own convenience, without considering whether it would be possible to reconcile these motives with the laws of justice and equity. These are not, however, sufficient means to justify, to the eyes of the public, the pretensions formed with regard to the auxiliary troops.

Nor need we enter into explanations with France about the manner in which the Brunswick troops were retained, nor of that which concerns his royal highness the hereditary Prince of Wolfenbuttel. It would be very easy to free ourselves from all reproach on that head. It is sufficient that these two articles were amicably terminated with his royal highness the Duke of Brunswick. The question between the king and France is, whether the king had reason to oppose the disarming of the auxiliary troops, and whether he had a right to keep them in his pay. We need only see the convention to decide in favour of the affirmative. It does not contain one word which can naturally mean a disarming; nor does it contain any tacit consent to this pretence. It is indeed stipulated, that the troops should not be considered as prisoners; but if it could be concluded from hence that the disarming had been granted, it must at the same time be owned, that the convention delivered up these troops to the mercy and discretion of France. The French ministry themselves would not go upon so strange a supposition.

These troops, in quality of troops, and consequently armed, were to return home, and there to find quarters. It was in consequence of this regulation that advice was given of the convention to the sovereigns of the auxiliary troops. It is absurd to say, that by this means they had been disbanded. The landgrave's troops remained, notwithstanding, in the pay of Great Britain, and the troops of the Dukes of Brunswick and Gotha, and also those of the Count de la Lippe, never lost their quality of subsidiary troops of the king, as elector. To maintain the contrary, would be to say, that his majesty, in quality of king and elector, had the power of revoking the treaties of subsidy concluded between them, without consulting these princes, a power which his majesty does not pretend to, and which the Duke of Cumberland neither had, nor could have, a design to make use of. The true sense of the convention certainly

was, that during the continuance of the ſuſpenſion of arms, theſe troops ſhould remain quiet in their reſpective countries, and at the expiration of the ſuſpenſion they ſhould be at liberty to renew their ſervices by virtue of treaties, and in conſequence of their quality of ſubſidiaries, which was by no means deſtroyed. This having happened, it would be uſeleſs to examine the extent of the articles of the convention, with regard to the deſtination of the Heſſian troops in the pay of England.

The French miniſtry make but a very ſhort anſwer to the accuſations of their having broke the convention, ſet forth in the *Motives* and General Zaſtrow's letter of Nov. 14. They ſay, 'That none of the 'reaſons alledged could occaſion 'the breaking of the convention; 'that no ſtipulation had been made 'for the caſtle of Schartzfeld, nor 'the reſtitution of priſoners; that 'no mention had been made of 'the treatment of the conquered 'countries; and laſtly, that the 'things ſet forth in M. Zaſtrow's 'letter did not happen till after the 'convention had been firſt broken 'by the Hanoverians.'

When one of the contracting parties thinks itſelf authoriſed to break a treaty, and no recourſe can be had to a ſuperior judgment, it is moſt natural for the other to think itſelf equally diſengaged from all obligation. It is true, that in the treaty of Cloſter-ſeven no mention had been made of priſoners of war; but this point was adjuſted ſix days after, by the act of accommodation concluded at Bremeworde, the 16th of September, 1757, between General Sporcken and General Villemur.

The ſuſpenſion of arms had put an end to the hoſtilities of all ſorts which the French army could commit againſt the king, in quality of elector; but was it not an hoſtility to take by aſſault the caſtle of Schartzfeld, to plunder it, and carry off the garriſon priſoners of war? Was it not an hoſtility to redouble, after ſigning the convention, the exactions and violences towards the king's ſubjects, inſtead of granting them the relief which they expected? When a people ſubmits and ceaſes to make reſiſtance, they have a natural right to a milder treatment from the conqueror, than another which is ſtill in fear of hoſtilities. The ſubjects of the electorate tried, though impoſſible, to ſatisfy the exactions that were impoſed upon them; their reſignation only multiplied the moſt exorbitant demands, accompanied with threatenings, which but too plainly ſhewed, that the total ruin and deſtruction of the country would be the conſequences of a convention concluded to prevent this misfortune. Laſtly, if the other breaches by the French had not exiſted before the open breaking of the convention, General Zaſtrow would have no reaſon to complain of them in his letter of the 14th of November.

They pretend to juſtify themſelves by ſaying, 'That the pre-'tence of diſarming the Heſſians 'had been taken away by the 'king's complaiſance, in deſiſting 'from that condition; that what 'was ſaid in the *Motives* was 'falſe; that France had but very 'lately ſoftened her language on 'that head; that as early as the '2d of November, Marſhal Ri-'chelieu had declared his having

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'desisted from them by virtue of 'his full powers, and in that case 'the Hanoverian general had no 'pretence left for executing the 'convention of Closter-seven.'

On the 17th of October, 1757, Count Lynar wrote to his majesty's electoral minister, that Marshal Richelieu's courier was returned from Versailles with instructions, which expressly said, the court would hear of no terms of peace; that it was resolved to hold to the scheme of explanation; and lastly, that it would less than ever desist from the condition of disarming the Hessians, and that it had rejected the offer of his Danish majesty, to receive these troops into his territories.

It was therefore necessary to come to a determination on this head, or to wait to see the war kindled up afresh. The battle of Rosbach happened on the 5th of November, soon after the arrival of that letter. The king could not foresee that France would then change her tone; he saw himself obliged to take measures, in consequence of the declarations which he had been informed of, by the letter of October 17, nor could he afterwards change them, when it at length pleased the court of Versailles to come down, though very little, from her unjust pretensions. On one hand, he had already addressed himself to his Prussian majesty, and on the other, the proceedings of France shewed but too plainly, that he had reason to be diffident of her fidelity. Besides, it is not true, that she desisted from the disarming of all the auxiliary troops. In Marshal Richelieu's letter of November 9, he makes only mention of the Hessians, and is silent with regard to the fate of the troops of Brunswick; lastly, she never pronounced her pretensions to keep the states of the king till a general peace.

It is plain, that during the continuance of a negotiation, and before every thing be regulated and concluded, the two parties have a power to renounce their engagements. If all difficulties had been removed by the convention of Closter-seven, what need was there of a new negotiation? France persisting to want further clauses, and explications to be added to it, gave the king an incontestible right to declare himself according to the nature of the subject and circumstances.

Not content with having combated the motives, which engaged the king to take up arms, they criticise violently upon the manner in which that was executed. 'Had 'there been, say they, any honour-'able way of withdrawing from 'the execution of that solemn act, 'it would have been to declare it 'void, by putting themselves in 'the same position they were be-'fore it was concluded; but in-'stead of that the most odious 'means were made use of to vio-'late that capitulation successively 'and with impunity. The time 'was spun out for three months, 'to find an opportunity to break 'the convention. The French 'army was suffered to go to Hal-'berstadt, and they waited till it 'was separated by the bad season. 'They seized the opportunity of a 'repulse to come out of the limits 'prescribed them, under pretence 'of extending their quarters. They 'afterwards took advantageous 'posts, under pretences equally 'contrary to the convention. They 'made all the dispositions for the

'siege of Harbourg, without any 'previous declaration of war; and 'having made all these preparations, and when they thought 'the enemy sufficiently weakened 'and deceived, to fight them with 'advantage, they declared that hostilities were to be commenced, 'and that they considered the convention as broken, while they 'were marching against them, and 'attacking their posts.'

The more the author of the Parallel exhausts his rhetoric in this sort of declamation, so much the less regard doth he pay to truth. It is certain and incontestible, that the Hanoverians conformed on their part, in every respect, to the convention, as it was signed. It was neither the king's generals, nor Marshal Richelieu, who caused it to be broken by their declarations; but the court of Versailles, which would not look upon the convention as obligatory, unless it should be extended to the disarming of the auxiliary troops, and unless the king would leave his country to the discretion of his enemies, till a general peace. The king, therefore, had the same right to look upon this affair as depending upon the resolution of the respective courts, and to take his measures accordingly. He made use of that right. It was natural not to commit hostilities as long as Count Lynar's negotiation lasted; but that minister, as the court of Versailles well knows, could never bring about negotiations of peace, which was, however, the true intention of the suspension of arms. Could it be thought strange, if the king, by virtue of the right which the inflexible severity of his enemies gave him, determined himself, according to the events that happened, and the victory gained over the French army at Rosbach? This event, however, did not influence his majesty's resolutions. If any one will but calculate the date of these events, he will be convinced of the contrary. The battle of Rosbach happened on the 5th of November, and the motions of the Hanoverian army were renewed on the 26th of the same month. The king could not have been informed at London, in so short a time, of that success, to give orders to his minister to sollicit the consent of his Prussian majesty, with regard to Prince Ferdinand, to whom the king offered the command of the army, so as to receive the King of Prussia's answer, to hear of the prince's arrival, and cause hostilities to be renewed. If the rules of good faith had not been scrupulously observed, the French army might have been reduced to a more dangerous situation than it really was. In what a critical situation would it have found itself, if the king's troops, as they were fully authorized to do, had marched, on the first discovery of the design to disarm the auxiliary troops, and, at the same time that the battle of Rosbach happened, and when Marshal Richelieu was at Halberstadt with his army, had attacked him in the rear? The operations of the army did not begin till after the King of Prussia was gone into Silesia, and when the French were not only upon their guard, but the first columns of their army had even advanced beyond Lunenbourg, with design to obtain, by open force, the unjust condition proposed by the court of Versailles. As to the pretended preparations for the siege of Harbourg, we know nothing at all of them. We do not

not deny but the quarters of the troops were extended; but that we were obliged to do it through unavoidable neceſſity, the quarters deſtined to receive only the Hanoverian troops, not being, at the ſame time, ſufficient for thoſe of Heſſe and Brunſwick alſo, which by a natural conſequence of the proceedings of France, could not be ſeparated from the body of the army. Neither of the two French detachments were ſurpriſed; the two armies were aſſembled when the ſcene of operations was again opened, and in this reſpect they were in the ſame ſituation as at Cloſter-ſeven. Nor was it in the year 1757, but the year following, that the French army was driven out of his majeſty's German dominions. The victory gained at Roſbach, the bad ſeaſon, the diſeaſes, and decreaſe of the French army, events which never followed from the king's reſolutions, could not oblige his majeſty to maintain a convention, which in itſelf was not binding, and which France would not acknowledge as ſuch, when it was a proper time.

We flatter ourſelves we have fully anſwered the reproaches of the court of Verſailles; at leaſt none of the objections that relate to the deciſion of the ſubject, have been wilfully forgot. We do not pretend to anticipate the judgment of the public; we leave it to pronounce, after having ſeen a true repreſentation of his Britannic majeſty's conduct, whether the miniſtry of Verſailles are in the right, when they ſay, 'That ſuch odious 'principles and proceedings can 'only be owing to the artifices and 'evil counſels of ſome corrupt mi-'niſters.' We will not trouble ourſelves to anſwer this abuſive language: nor will we retort it, but paſs over the above, as well as many other reproaches equally odious and trifling. The French miniſtry cannot be ſo ignorant of the judgment, which their own nation forms of their principles, to doubt that we might, if we had a mind, reproach them with their evil counſels and meaſures, equally ruinous to France and Germany, in a manner which, even in France itſelf, would not fail to make an impreſſion. It is, however, neceſſary to add two remarks on what has been ſaid. Our days have produced a phænomenon, of which hiſtory does not furniſh us with an example; we have ſeen the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, uniting their forces to give chains to Europe, and eſpecially to Germany. Providence does not want means to prevent this misfortune. This dominion ſo eagerly ſought for could not be exerciſed in concert, if they ſhould make themſelves maſters of it. That alliance, the firſt years of which have flowed with rivers of blood, will occaſion no leſs bloodſhed, when it comes one day to be broken; but the violent tumults, and the imminent dangers, with which the politic ſyſtem of Europe, and ſo many kingdoms and ſtates are threatened during this criſis, merit the moſt ſerious attention of thoſe who are at the helm of government. Eſpecially it is manifeſt that the Proteſtant religion is in inevitable danger, notwithſtanding the falſe proteſtations given to the profeſſors of it. The pretended ſchemes of ſecularization aſcribed to his Britannic majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, are ſo ill-founded, that they are taken upon the authority of an obſcure work, every page of which ſhews the

author to have no right to be a negotiator of peace. Never had the Catholic religion leſs to fear than at a time when its arms are united, and diſſenſion reigns among the Proteſtants. It is not the ſame with regard to what the latter have to fear from their enemies. The deſigns of the court of Vienna to render the Catholic religion predominant in Germany, have been plainly exhibited by the reflections, and the advices of a very able miniſter, who certainly would not have impoſed upon his court, and who had his information from the fountain head. The juſtice of his diſcoveries has been proved by the event, for we ſee not one Catholic ſtate of the empire, but what have bowed the neck to this new ſyſtem, out of a zeal for religion, notwithſtanding the real diſadvantages that muſt naturally follow. It is only anſwered to theſe arguments, that the treaty of Verſailles has been founded upon the treaty of Weſtphalia. But are not the courts which have contracted theſe new engagements free to change them at pleaſure, and according to circumſtances? Beſides, if the Proteſtant ſtates, as they pretend, are bound to adopt the treaty of the peace of Weſtphalia, in what ſenſe the Catholics pleaſe to give it, it is but too clear, that the Proteſtants are already diveſted of the moſt important privileges, granted to them by that treaty.

All the king's meaſures will ever tend to the general ſafety of Europe, to the liberty and independence of the empire, and the maintenance of the Proteſtant religion. Neither the misfortune which his eſtates of Germany have ſuffered, nor the baſe treatment which he hath received from the court of Vienna, nor the conduct of ſeveral of his co-eſtates, which favour the unjuſt deſigns of that court, will ever be able to divert him from an end ſo worthy of himſelf. He hopes that the Divine Providence will continue to bleſs the arms which he has taken up in his own defence, and that it will make this the means of procuring peace to the empire, and alſo of blaſting the wicked deſigns of thoſe who have brought into it the flame of war, and have opened a ſcene of calamities, of which we have not ſeen an inſtance ſince the peace of Weſtphalia.

Extract from the manifeſto of the court of France, lately publiſhed by authority at Paris.

THIS ſophiſtical and ſcurrilous piece conſiſts of three parts; the firſt contains what they call preliminary eclairciſſements: the ſecond is called, Parallel of the king's conduct with that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover: and the third contains the vouchers of the facts mentioned in the two former.

The firſt labours to prove the juſtice of the king's ſending his armies into Germany, and attacking the Elector of Hanover and Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel; and the reaſoning in it would have ſome foundation, if they had proved, that the King of Pruſſia was the firſt aggreſſor, and conſequently the firſt infractor of the peace of the empire. But this they take for granted, ſo that the whole is founded upon a *petitio principii*, or what we call a begging the queſtion, therefore deſerves no notice.

As to the ſecond part, after ſome ſcurrilous ſtrictures upon the conduct

duct of Hanover, with relation to the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, they proceed as follows.

"As it is chiefly from the king's alliance with the Empreſs Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, that the King of England, Elector of Hanover, has ſought to take advantage for ſtirring up the ſtates of Germany againſt their moſt Chriſtian and Imperial Majeſties, and cover with a ſpecious pretext his pernicious attempts againſt the quiet and ſafety of the empire; the firſt thing muſt be to deface the falſe impreſſions intended by him to be made on the public.

To this end it will be demonſtrated, that this alliance which his Britannic majeſty has pretended to be ſo very unnatural and ſo dangerous for the Germanic liberty, has, on the contrary, been quite natural; that the kings of England and Pruſſia have themſelves rendered it neceſſary, and that if the liberty of the Empire is threatened with the greateſt dangers, it is from thoſe who have attacked it, and who in contempt of the Germanic conſtitutions, and of whatever among ſovereigns is moſt ſacred, labour to oppreſs it, and not from thoſe who defend it, purſuant to their engagements, in conformity to the reſolutions of the empire, and at the hazard of their own ſafety.

It is manifeſt that on the firſt hoſtilities in North America of the King of England againſt the French, the King formed the deſign of confining himſelf to his own defence againſt the Engliſh, in order, were it poſſible, to preſerve to Europe in general, and the empire in particular, the advantages of peace, of which he found himſelf deprived by the injuſtice and ambition of his enemies.

But very different were the thoughts of other powers; the King of Pruſſia, dazzled, as he himſelf owns, by the King of England's glittering promiſes, quitted the alliance of France; and ſuddenly came to light a particular treaty betwixt the courts of London and Berlin, containing the moſt dangerous views, and which, among other objects, impoſed laws on the princes of Germany, interdicting them the liberty of foreign ſuccours, which is reſerved to them by the Germanic conſtitutions, in caſe of their being attacked.

Theſe two courts indeed gave out that this treaty tended only to the ſupport of the tranquillity of Germany, and that it was the motive for the clauſe expreſſing, that they would ſuffer no foreign troops to enter it under any pretence whatever; but as the empire had in no wiſe commiſſioned them with this care, and the King of Pruſſia, in concert with the King of England, was making immenſe preparations of war, at a time when he had no enemies to fight, it was eaſy to judge, that the real ſcope of a clauſe ſo contrary to the Germanic conſtitutions, was to hinder any oppoſition coming from without Germany to the war which thoſe two princes had determined to kindle within, if they ſhould not find the court of Vienna favourable to the project of exciting a general war, in which France might be implicated.

If the expreſſion of this clauſe drew a ſuſpicion on their views, they were entirely laid open by

the omiſſion of another; that is, by their affectation of not inſerting into the treaty of Weſtminſter, the neutrality of the Low Countries, in favour of the empreſs queen, at the ſame time as that of Germany. The public ſoon ſaw into this artifice. The King of England having, to no purpoſe, uſed all his endeavours with that princeſs, for drawing her into the ſcheme of the general war which he was concerned and reſolved to bring on the continent; their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties contrived the expedient of leaving expoſed the Low Countries, then very thin of troops, and by this bait to incline France to attack them. The drift of theſe two princes in the ſuppoſition of ſuch an event was to reap a double advantage from it, to alienate the Dutch from the neutrality, and to join the empreſs queen to their meaſures by the neceſſity of defending herſelf.

The good faith of the king and the empreſs queen fruſtrated this deceptive project; the king did not think it juſt to fall on the Low Countries, becauſe the Engliſh made war on him; the empire held it unworthy of her to join in the deſign of kindling a general war to ſerve the exceſſive ambition of England, at the expence of France, againſt whom ſhe had no cauſe of complaint, and to the prejudice of the quiet and ſafety of the empire.

In theſe circumſtances, the king and the empreſs, abandoned at the ſame time by their principal allies, could no longer remain under an incertainty of their reſpective deſigns: the empreſs's territory lay open towards France, as likewiſe towards the king of Pruſſia, and the King of England, Elector of Hanover; his majeſty, on his ſide, might fear that this critical conjuncture would at length oblige the empreſs to yield to the ſollicitations and menaces of the King of England. The ſimilarity of their moſt Chriſtian and Imperial majeſties ſituation, that of their zeal for the general tranquillity, the mutual ſentiments of eſteem with which they had long before inſpired each other, made them open their eyes. They at length perceived, that the private ambition of princes continually inſtigating one againſt the other, was the main cauſe of their variances, and of the wars which had ſo long deſolated Europe; and eſpecially Germany: and in order to deſtroy the very root of the evil, their majeſties united together in a treaty of friendſhip, purely defenſive, and in a convention of neutrality for the Low Countries, and their reſpective dominions.

Thus had the kings of England and Pruſſia the art of bringing about by their conduct what, for ſeveral centuries paſt, all the efforts of policy had in vain been labouring at, and what, for the tranquillity of the empire, the beſt inclined part of Germany had always deſired. Thus their ambition and infidelity proved both the natural and neceſſary cauſe of the union of the courts of France and Vienna; there, and there only, it is to be ſought for.

All the illuſory ſuſpicions, all the imaginary fears, which the kings of Pruſſia and England have endeavoured to infuſe into the public againſt the union of thoſe two powers, as comprehend-

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ing the design of injuring the rights of the princes of the empire, and of exalting the Roman Catholic religion on the ruin of the Protestant, are mere chimeras, forged by the vexation of not having been able to arm the courts of France and Vienna against each other as formerly, and by a strong impatience to remedy that disappointment, by stirring up the Protestant princes against those courts, under the mask of religion.

The difference of the conduct of the king from that of the kings of England and Prussia, need but be considered, to know the difference of their intentions, and to be convinced of the truth of what is here alledged. His majesty, as it is before noticed, and as all the world has perceived, has omitted nothing, that the American disturbances might not reach the continent of Europe; and whilst their Britannic and Prussian majesties left no stone unturned for drawing the war into the empire, and subverting its laws, his majesty was intent on keeping off the conflagration, and preserving those laws from utter destruction.

It is with this motive, that by means of the convention of neutrality which the king has concluded with the empress queen for the Low Countries, and of the declaration given him by the States General of the United Provinces, he has secured peace in that part of Europe, which had hitherto been most exposed to the flame of war; which had generally, if not always, communicated it to Germany, and which by their Britannic and Prussian majesties had been left to the discretion of France.

It is likewise with the same motive, that the king and the empress have made known to all Europe, that the principal object of their union was the maintenance of the laws and constitution of Germany; that in consequence thereof the two courts have taken for the basis of the treaty of Versailles the peace of Westphalia, which is the surest barrier of the Germanic liberty: and that his majesty, together with Sweden, joint guarantee of this peace, has declared to all the empire, that he would use his utmost efforts for maintaining the rights of the states, and particularly of the three religions established in Germany.

Had the kings of England and Prussia been possessed with the same zeal for the peace of Europe as his majesty, the treaty of Versailles, the neutrality of the Low Countries, and that of Holland, could not have raised in them that passionate resentment which they have shewn at it, and the empire would still enjoy the most profound calm, secured from the storms which have broke out in America; but the projects of those princes were not compatible either with the quiet of Europe, or that of the empire; they could not do without a continental war.

The ill success of the unjust and violent enterprizes of the King of England against France, both in America and Europe, having changed the brilliant expectations with which that prince's ministers had flattered the British nation into real losses; for the present,

ſent, and apprehenſions for the future, they have been forced to have recourſe to freſh expedients for allaying the reſentment of that nation, and eſpecially for getting from it ſuch an augmentation of ſubſidies, of which the Elector of Hanover ſhould come in for a part; the way which has ſeemed to them the fitteſt for ſettling their affairs, has been to throw thoſe of others in confuſion, and at any rate to kindle a war in Germany.

The King of England and his miniſters have done ſo much juſtice to the king, as to conclude, that in caſe of any attack made on the principal ſtates of the empire to which he was united, or of any violation of the Germanic laws and conſtitutions, his majeſty's fidelity towards his allies, his quality of guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, his conſtant zeal for the quiet and ſafety of Germany, would induce him to take part in this war, and that by this diverſion they ſhould weaken the efforts which France was obliged to make by ſea, for defending itſelf againſt the Engliſh.

The court of Hanover has not forgot its advantages in the plan which it has formed for itſelf. As the intereſts of the Britiſh nation have for a long time been ſubordinate to the elector's conveniency, it had two views relative to the latter; the firſt of procuring to his electoral highneſs large ſubſidies, by arming the Hanoverians for ſupporting the King of Pruſſia's enterprizes, and thus weaken the king's operations for the defence of the liberty of the empire, and that of the ſtates of the allies.

The ſecond view has been to convert the war in Germany into a religious war, in order to gain to themſelves the ſupport of the Proteſtant princes; hence a double advantage was to reſult; if theſe princes by their ſuccours facilitated the execution of the deſigns of their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, an increaſe of authority and power was thus procured to the Elector of Hanover, to the detriment of his neighbours, both Catholic and Proteſtant; and this is known to have long been the favourite object of his ambition; if, on the other hand, the ſucceſſes ſhould fail, a great part of the damages to be ſuſtained was to be thrown on the allied princes.

A project of ſuch danger to the empire could not be executed but with the concurrence of the King of Pruſſia, and this the King of England has obtained by ſoothing the ambition of that prince with the hopes of a new acquiſition at the expence of the empreſs queen, who was to be chaſtiſed for having dared to refuſe aſſiſting in the execution of the unjuſt projects of the King of England, Elector of Hanover. His Pruſſian majeſty the more readily came into thoſe views, as from the ideas which he had formed on the conjunctures of Europe at that time, and particularly on the ſituation of Saxony and Bohemia, as defenceleſs, he imagined that he ſhould penetrate to Vienna itſelf, without meeting with any obſtacles of ſtrength to ſtop him; that there he ſhould dictate the conditions of peace; that, in fine, he ſhould give laws on the continent, whilſt his Britiſh majeſty did the like on the ocean; and that to the public

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the ſucceſs would ſufficiently juſtify the enormity of the attempt, and all the odious practices made uſe of for its accompliſhment.

Such have been the projects of the two kings; ſuch is the whole myſtery of this unjuſt war, ſet on foot by thoſe princes, in contempt of the faith of treaties, and of the laws of the empire. It would be in vain for the King of England, Elector of Hanover, to alledge, as he before has, that he had no hand in this war, and that he even diſapproved of it; the contrary is not only demonſtrated by facts, but there are ſtill other proofs, which atteſt that he was the firſt promoter of it, and they are ſuch as cannot be diſputed, proceeding directly from the Kings of England and Pruſſia; theſe two princes have laid each other open in the declarations which paſſed betwixt them in the month of September laſt.

In that of the King of Pruſſia, on the intelligence he had received of a neutrality propoſed by the Duke of Cumberland to the Marſhal de Richelieu, he expreſſes himſelf thus:

"I juſt now hear that the buſineſs of a neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet dropped; can your majeſty have ſo little conſtancy and firmneſs, as to be diſcouraged by a few croſs events? Are affairs ſo far gone that they cannot be retrieved? Conſider the ſtep which your majeſty propoſes to take, and that which you made me take. You are the cauſe of all the misfortunes now impending over me. I ſhould never have departed from the alliance with France but for your many magnificent promiſes. I do not repent of the treaty which I have made with your majeſty; but after having drawn on me moſt of the forces of Europe, do not meanly leave me to the mercy of my enemies. I make account that your majeſty will call to mind your engagements, which have been renewed no longer ago than the 26th of the laſt month, and that you will not hearken to any accommodation in which I am not included."*

The King of England's anſwer to this declaration confirms the truth of its contents, as this prince does not contradict the charge brought againſt him of being the cauſe of the war in Germany; and after clearing himſelf but very indifferently of the reproach made him for entering on a negotiation for the electorate of Hanover, he concludes with theſe words:

"In ſuch a critical ſituation whatever might have been the ſucceſs of arms, his majeſty is determined ſteadily to concur with the King of Pruſſia in the moſt efficacious meaſures for diſappointing the iniquitous and oppreſſive deſigns of their common enemies; and the King of Pruſſia may aſſure himſelf, that the crown of Great Britain will continue religiouſly to fulfil its engagements with his Pruſſian majeſty, and ſupport him with vigour and conſtancy."

The King of Pruſſia's declaration, and the King of England's anſwer, having been inſerted in the public papers without any contradiction from them, their authenticity is not to

* N. B. This letter was diſowned and declared to be ſuppoſititious, by an article in the Berlin Gazette, after the Hanoverians had reſolved to renew hoſtilities.

to be queſtioned, nor conſequently the credit of what they contain.

To theſe proofs it cannot but be pertinent to add ſome obſervations on the endeavours put in practice for inſtigating the Proteſtants of Germany againſt France, under the falſe pretence that it has deſigns pernicious to their religion.

To carry this point, the moſt odious devices are daily employed. Licentiouſneſs has, very lately, been carried ſo far as to inſert in the public news-papers fictitious facts, and no leſs ridiculous than injurious, in order to impoſe on the good faith of the Proteſtant ſtates, and arm them againſt the French troops; but the motives of thoſe who have invented ſuch fables, and the means they make uſe of for gaining them credit, have evidenced to the whole empire, that the intent of making a religious war of that which has been ſtirred up merely by ambition, is only to aſſociate the Proteſtants in Germany in the bad cauſe taken in hand, and by their ſuccours and at their expence, procure a facility of carrying it through.

The ſtates of Saxony are particularly a proof and inſtance of this truth; the Pruſſians have by the moſt flagitious injuſtice forcibly made themſelves maſters of Saxony, which has been the nurſery of the Proteſtant religion, and where it ſubſiſts in the greateſt vigour; yet have they there, againſt the ſovereign of the country, againſt his family and his ſubjects, committed ſuch violences as are ſhocking to human nature.

The territories of the Duke of Mecklenburgh have had the ſame fate. The Pruſſians entered it ſword in hand without any reaſon, and in contempt of the public peace. The duke they have obliged to ſeek refuge at Lubeck; the fortreſſes they have taken poſſeſſion of; and by deſpotic orders, without any payment, have made themſelves be ſupplied with the corn and forage; the young men have been forced away from their parents, to inliſt them and make them ſerve againſt their own ſovereign; in a word, without the ſlighteſt complaint againſt the Duke of Mecklenburgh, his duchy is treated by the Pruſſians like a conquered country. In fine, to perſuade the Proteſtants of Germany that their religion is threatened, martyrs of it have been made; and the authors of all theſe violences would have them be eſteemed as preparatory acts of the zeal with which they are animated for the defence of that religion.

One muſt be void of common ſenſe to be caught by ſuch coarſe-ſpun artifices! The three religions of the empire, and particularly the Proteſtant, cannot have any more ſure guarantees of their rights than thoſe of the peace of Weſtphalia; as in theſe are united both the intereſt and will to provide for the conſervation of them.

This peace the king has taken for the baſis of his treaty with the empreſs queen. He has, jointly with Sweden, declared, that he would maintain the Germanic liberty, and particularly the rights of the three religions rendered ſacred by the treaties of Weſtphalia; and his majeſty here renews the authentic declaration, that he never entertained a deſign of doing the leaſt hurt to either of thoſe three religions; and that he will, with the greateſt punctuality, fulfil the engagements which, on that head, he has entered into with the crown of Sweden; what greater ſecurity would

would the Proteſtant ſtates have, ſhould they after this ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into real calamities by an imaginary fear; a fear ſuggeſted to them merely as a veil to ſuch ambitious views as are highly detrimental to the whole empire?

After this diſcuſſion, let us reaſſume the thread of the events. When the war, which had been meditated by the King of England, Elector of Hanover, in concert with the King of Pruſſia, had broke out in Germany; the ideas which theſe two princes had formed from the king's fidelity to his engagements, were not miſtaken. The ſtates of the empire attacked by the King of Pruſſia, together with the princes, who had moſt at heart the Germanic ſyſtem, applied for aſſiſtance to his majeſty, both as an ally of the empire and guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, as in virtue of his alliances merely defenſive with ſeveral courts of Germany; and tho' the king was engaged in a perſonal and onerous war with England, he did not heſitate to form the generous reſolution of employing the greateſt part of his forces in the defence of his allies, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire, and of the Germanic ſyſtem, threatened with a total ſubverſion from their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, both as kings and electors.

Sweden being joint guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia, together with the king, was required to make good its guaranty; and ſuch was its magnanimity, its regard to honour and good faith, that immediately it formed the ſame reſolution.

The king at the ſame time ſignified to the empire, that he would act up to his quality of guarantee; he expreſsly aſſured it that he would ſupport the liberty of the three religions jointly with Sweden, which has always been the moſt declared protectreſs of the Proteſtant religion; and his majeſty made all the neceſſary preparations for fulfilling his engagements, by ſending a conſiderable body of troops to the Lower and Upper Rhine.

The King of England was conſcious, that every kind of reaſon authoriſed his majeſty not to make the chimerical diſtinction he was for eſtabliſhing betwixt his quality of king and that of elector, eſpecially when one raiſes a war and pays the coſts, and the other takes upon him the execution of it. It was a critical conjuncture for that prince, as great part of the Hanoverian troops, by the allurement to the ample ſubſidies which the elector had got from the parliament, and under the colour of defending the Britiſh nation, had been drawn over to England; but this nation ſending them back, the elector was afraid that France would march a detachment of its army into the electorate of Hanover, before the Hanoverians, who were to return into Germany, ſhould get back.

It was in theſe moments of incertitude and dread, that the elector cauſed ſome inſinuations to be made for a neutrality of his German dominions.

The king and the empreſs queen, animated with an equal zeal for the good of the empire, were deſirous that the war ſhould not ſpread to the ſtates forbearing to aſſiſt the infractor of the public peace, and with this view her imperial majeſty ſollicited the king to grant a neutrality for the elector of Hanover.

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The propoſal was not without difficulty; the forced ſituation of that prince, and the inſtance of the neutrality in 1741, no ſooner concluded than violated by the Hanoverians, raiſed ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of the inſinuation made by his miniſters. It was natural to apprehend that their own drift was to diſturb the operations of the then opening campaign, to procure his electoral highneſs time for ſtirring up a part of the princes of Germany againſt the king and the empreſs, and then to join all their troops to his, in order, at the firſt favourable opportunity, ſafely to fall on the French army.

Theſe reflections, in themſelves ſo juſt, and of which the ſolidity was confirmed by paſt experience in a like circumſtance, certainly deſerved great regard; but the king's deference for an ally in all reſpects ſo faithful and reſpectable as the empreſs queen, together with the fear that his majeſty might one day be reproached with having rejected a meaſure which ſeemed to promiſe a more ſpeedy reſtoration of the peace of the empire, prevailed in his mind above every other conſideration, and he conſented that her imperial majeſty ſhould offer on his part a neutrality for the Hanoverian ſtates.

The elector anſwered it in the memorial of the 20th of February, hereto annexed, but it will be ſeen that the loftineſs with which his electoral highneſs expreſſes himſelf in it, and the invectives againſt France ſcattered throughout it, with ſo little decency, do not indicate very ſincere intentions towards a neutrality. The truth is, this prince had almoſt at the ſame time aſked and obtained from his parliament ſubſidies for the King of Pruſſia, and likewiſe for aſſembling an army compoſed of his electoral troops and thoſe of his allies, under the name of an army of obſervation, in order to ſupport the cauſe of the infractor of the public peace againſt the king's troops, which had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of his allies, and the defence of the liberty of the empire. The Duke of Cumberland had already been appointed for commanding this army, and the 8000 Hanoverians were on the point of paſſing from England into Germany, ſo that there ſeemed to remain no hope for the ſucceſs of the negotiation; yet did the empreſs, on freſh inſinuations from the elector, deſire that the king would impower her to make new trials with that prince. The courts of Ruſſia and Denmark added to them their good offices; they offered their guaranty, and the king was pleaſed again to come into this freſh negotiation, and condeſcend to the conditions which alone could render the neutrality ſolid and laſting; and of which a copy is annexed to this memorial.

The elector's freſh overtures having no more ſincerity in them than the former, this ſecond trial had no better fate than the firſt; the Elector of Hanover clamoured againſt the conditions propoſed, and eſpecially rejected that of the *free paſſage through his dominions*, and the poſſeſſion of Hamelen for a cautionary town, as unjuſt, contrary to his honour, and containing ſuſpicious views; yet that he might not ſeem totally to renounce the neutrality, his electoral highneſs propoſed to accept of it, provided that inſtead of the king's troops paſſing through his dominions, they ſhould take their way thro' the countries of Caſſel, Brunſwick, Gotha and Weimar

mar; but this rout being naturally longer and more difficult, it could not be accepted of; and from this time the elector took occasion to break off the negotiation, and throw the blame on the pretended injustice of the French conditions."

Then, after giving several reasons why the King of England, Elector of Hanover, ought to have accepted of the terms offered, and why they could not except of the terms he proposed, they proceed thus:

"From the concurrence of all these reasons it results, that the Elector of Hanover in his overtures for a neutrality, aimed only at getting time; that he never intended to accept of it, and that he has refused it unjustly and on false pretences. It results further, that the King of England, Elector of Hanover, having been the author of this war, and having, to the neutrality offered him, preferred the party of supporting the King of Prussia's cause, and to take up arms against the king's and empress queen's troops, he has declared himself the aggressor against their most christian and imperial majesties, and an accomplice of the breach of the public peace, and that he was to be treated as such by the king, by the empress, and by the empire.

This proposition, besides its adherent justice, has acquired a new degree of force by the behaviour of the Hanoverian troops, both with regard to those of the king and of his allies. The first, far from confining themselves according to the assurance given of it by the elector in public instruments, to the defence of the territories of the electorate in case of a design to attack them, entered with open force into the states of the elector of Cologne, where those of France were; they pillaged the subsistences destined for the French army, carried off the grains and forage, dispersed the troops of the empire's contingent: in a word, they have committed all kinds of violences in the states of the Elector of Cologne, the king's ally; yet would not his majesty begin hostilities against the elector of Hanover; and even, if possible, to avert them from his dominions, he caused a demand to be made by the Marshal d'Etrees to the Hanoverian general, of a *free and amicable passage* through his electoral highness's territory; but that prince had already dispersed manifestoes against the entrance of the French troops into Westphalia; and the Duke of Cumberland sent answer by General Sporken, that he was ordered to attend to the defence and conservation of the states of the King of Prussia and of his allies, and to hinder the passage of any foreign troops through the said states.

At length the Hanoverians having provoked his majesty's troops by hostilities of every kind, the moment came for repelling force by force, and to make them and their allies repent of their outrages; and victory seconded the justice of the king's arms, by the successive advantages which the French troops obtained over them."

They then come to the convention of Closter-seven, as follows:

"But the king's generous sentiments have never shone with greater lustre than in the capitulation of Closter-seven. The Hanoverian army being forced to fly before that of the Marshal de Richelieu, had been obliged, as its last shift, to betake itself to Stade. In a more dangerous condition it could not be. It was the concern

of the Duke of Cumberland, general of the Hanoverians, beſides fearing the juſt diſcontent of his allies, which was near breaking out, to ſave his troops from the total deſtruction with which they were threatened, to ſecure the treaſure of the king his father, and to hinder the duchies of Bremen and Verden from becoming the theatre of war, and to exempt all the King of England's dominions in Germany from the miſeries conſecutive to a general defeat, and which by a concurrence of circumſtances would have been but too juſtifiable.

It was no favourable conjuncture for ſoftening the victor. The King of England was ſending away a very ſtrong ſquadron, with land forces for a deſcent, with a deſign of making themſelves maſters of Rochefort, or at leaſt to burn the docks, and ſtore-houſes; in a word, to commit all poſſible hoſtilities on the coaſt of France.

Beſides many ſubjects of apprehenſions for the defeated party, there was one of greater weight than all the others; paſt experience ſeemed to have inſpired a grounded miſtruſt of any propoſal from the King of England, Elector of Hanover; of this the Duke of Cumberland had recent proofs. After he had been obliged to retreat into the duchy of Bremen, he had propoſed a neutrality, and it was refuſed him; he had acquainted the French miniſtry, that he was authoriſed by full powers from the king his father, to treat of a peace, of a neutrality, or of a preliminary accommodation; and the king, faithful to his allies, would hearken to no propoſal but in concert with them.

From all theſe reaſons, the Duke of Cumberland did not believe that he ſhould be able, by himſelf, to obtain the capitulation, which alone could ſecure him from all the ſeveral dangers he had to fear; but being informed of the king's great regard for the King of Denmark, his ally, he implored the aſſiſtance of that prince, and got a ceſſation of arms to be propoſed to the Marſhal de Richelieu by the negotiation of the Count de Lynar, the King of Denmark's miniſter, and under his Daniſh majeſty's guaranty.

On this propoſal the marſhal deliberated which was beſt for the empire, to grant or refuſe the capitulation. By the latter he anſwered the king's juſt vengeance; in the former he conſidered the advantages of keeping the Hanoverians and their allies inactive during the remainder of the war, and conſequently of reſerving his troops for marching without delay to Halberſtadt, and by the celerity of his operations to haſten the evacuation of Saxony, and the reſtoration of the peace in Germany. As the king's ſentiments were perfectly known to him, he immediately preferred that meaſure which he judged might be moſt beneficial to the empire and the allies of France, and he granted the capitulation or military convention which the Duke of Cumberland offered to him through the Count de Lynar. It was concluded at Cloſter-ſeven on the 8th of September: and the execution of it was ſecured both by the Marſhal de Richelieu's word of honour and that of the Duke of Cumberland, lodged in the Count de Lynar's hands, and by the engagement of the King of Denmark's guaranty, accepted by the two generals.

As in the first moment of the conclusion, several particulars and explanations in favour of the Hanoverians and their auxiliaries had been omitted, the Duke of Cumberland two days after, and by the mediation of the Count de Lynar, desired such omissions might be supplied by some separate articles, which Marshal Richelieu made no difficulty of granting.

After some remarks on this convention, they proceed thus:

"The king, such was his zeal for his allies and for the empire, approved of the Marshal de Richelieu's conduct, and to strengthen the capitulation, proposed the adding of some explications, which should so clearly fix its meaning, as to obviate any misinterpretations. These explications were of the following tenor.

1. That the cessation of hostilities should last during the whole time of the present war.

2. That the Hanoverian troops which were to go on the other side of the Elbe into the duchy of Lawenburg, should not come out of it, and, together with the troops remaining on this side, should not commit any hostility neither against the king, nor against his allies; and that the French troops likewise should not commit any hostilities against them.

3. That no English troops, should be admitted into the duchies of Bremen and Verden.

4. That the troops, both the Hanoverians and those of the auxiliaries, should not serve during the present war, either against the king, or against his allies, nor join those of the king of England, nor those of his allies.

Had there on the side of the court of Hanover been the same good faith as on the king's side, these explications would have met with no difficulty.

The sense they offer had been contained in the conventions of the 8th and 10th of September, either in equivalent terms, or by a natural inference; and so just were they, that the Count de Lynar, to whom they were delivered, judged them to be the true meaning in which the convention had been understood, and the court of Copenhagen was of the same opinion."

They then endeavoured to shew, that these explications were virtually contained in the convention, that, though not agreed to, the convention remained in full force, and that the Danish minister was of this opinion. After this they go into a long and tedious account of the behaviour of the Hanoverians, Hessians and Wolfenbuttlers, and the methods which the Hanoverian generals took to deceive the French general by making him believe, that they were resolved to observe punctually the convention, while at the same time they were concerting with the King of Prussia, and preparing to recommence hostilities, as soon as they should find a favourable opportunity, by the French army's being dispersed into winter quarters; and this second part they conclude as follows.

"One reflection shall put a period to this detail. If the Duke of Cumberland asked to capitulate, it was because he found himself in a critical position, and justly feared that, should the Marshal de Richelieu attack him, he would ruin the Hanoverian army irretrievably, and make himself master of the town of Stade, and of the depositum lodged there. Had not his situation been so dangerous in every respect, can

it be ſuppoſed that a prince, whoſe courage all Europe has beheld, would have aſked to capitulate at the head of an army of near 40,000 men, under the cannon of the town, and in a poſt of difficult acceſs and well intrenched? but this prince, whoſe capacity gave him to perceive, that no retreat remained for him in caſe he ſhould be beaten, preferred the glory of ſaving the king his father's troops, and thoſe of his allies, to the vain honour of fighting the king's army, without any grounded hope of ſucceſs. The more of his ſelf-love he had by this ſtep ſacrificed to the good of the king his father, the more ſacred and inviolable did the capitulation, which he had aſked and obtained, become to him. It is unqueſtionable in the rules of honour and war, that a capitulation is never to be aſked of an enemy till at an extremity; but when reduced to it, it is not lawful to employ thoſe arms againſt him, which by promiſe were to be laid down. Honour would look on ſuch a procedure with indignation; and if private perſons deteſt a treachery of this nature, is it not ſtill more unworthy of ſovereigns, who are the protectors of good faith, and who are more concerned than private perſons to preſerve their glory and reputation?

Accordingly the Duke of Cumberland, by laying down his military employments, was for ſaving himſelf the infamy of breaking ſuch ſacred engagements; he has proved by that ſtep that he is incapable of being ſo far wanting to himſelf; but in ſheltering his own honour, why has he not been afraid of expoſing that of the king his father?

If the King of England, Elector of Hanover, on his receiving advice of the capitulation, had diſowned the Duke of Cumberland his general and ſon, ſtill would the king have had cauſe of complaint, military conventions not requiring a ratification; but, at leaſt, there would have been in this proceeding an appearance of good faith; but to temporize during near three months, in ſeeking occaſion for breaking the capitulation with impunity, let the French army march away for Halberſtadt, wait till it was ſeparated in the bad ſeaſon, lay hold of the circumſtances of a check to come out of the preſcribed limits, under pretence of extending quarters, afterwards take advantageous poſts, equally contrary to the convention; make every diſpoſition for the ſiege of Harburg, without any previous declaration of war; and when all theſe preparations are made, and the enemy is thought to be ſufficiently weakened and deceived, to be fought with advantage, to declare to him, that hoſtilities are to be renewed, and that the capitulation is looked on as broken, at the very ſame moment that the troops are marching to him, and his poſts are attacked; to engage one prince, by ſeducement, to violate this capitulation, and to hinder another by open force from executing it; to impriſon the general of the latter, and detain his troops, and take away his ſon from him; to make him ſerve as an inſtrument to the treachery; this is trampling on the law of nations, on the laws of juſtice, honour, and good faith; rights of the ſovereignty of the ſtates of the empire; the ties of nature and of blood; it is to fear neither the judgment of cotemporaries, or of poſterity; it is wilfully branding one's life and memory with an indelible mark of infamy;

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in a word it is daring to ſet up and give a ſanction to the pernicious maxim, "That every means is lawful to obtain one's end."

Principles and procedures ſo heinous are to be attributed only to the artifices and evil counſels of corrupt miniſters. To ſuſpect princes themſelves of them, would be wanting to the reſpect due to them.

After the preceding faithful repreſentation of the king's conduct, and that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover, all Europe, and eſpecially Germany, may eaſily judge of the difference of the intentions of theſe two princes; and it is hoped, that they will impute the blame of the conſequences of this war to thoſe only, who, in contempt of all laws and all rules, have again taken up arms to hinder the concluſion of it.

This is the cauſe of all ſovereigns, but eſpecially that of the empire; it being the bad faith of the Hanoverians which has retarded the ſucceſs of the king's operations for reſtoring the peace of Germany; and their unjuſt and violent proceedings, both towards the king and the Duke of Brunſwick, are a freſh breach of the public peace, and of the treaties of Weſtphalia.

The king will omit nothing to acquit himſelf of what he owes to his dignity, injured by the outrage done him by the court of Hanover. As to the Germanic body, his majeſty will redouble his efforts for preſerving it from the new dangers with which it is threatened; and fulfil the engagements he has entered into both with his allies and the empire. He is perſuaded that the electors, princes, and ſtates, will do juſtice to the uprightneſs and generoſity of his ſentiments; and he with the greater confidence hopes they will ſecond his meaſures and operations, as, agreeable to the wiſh and reſolution of the dyet, they tend only to ſuccour the allies of France, to maintain the Germanic ſyſtem, and to reſtore order and peace in Germany."

Verſailles, December the 30th, 1757.

In the appendix to the Parallel of the Conduct of the two Kings is the following letter (dated Nov. 27, 1757) to Prince Ferdinand from the reigning Duke of Brunſwick his brother, who ſent a copy of it to Marſhal Richelieu. It ſhews that Prince Ferdinand contributed greatly to the juſt reſentment which had been ſhewn of the French infraction of the treaty of Cloſter-ſeven. It ſerves, too, to diſcover that duke's character, and his high eſteem of his brother Ferdinand.

SIR,

I know you too well to entertain a doubt that the ſituation we are in with reſpect to each other gives you pain; nor can you have any doubt that it gives me concern: indeed it afflicts me greatly. Meanwhile, my deareſt brother, I could never have believed, that it would be you who ſhould carry away from me my eldeſt ſon: and how great is my mortification to find myſelf under the hard neceſſity of telling you, that this ſtep is contrary to the law of nations, and the conſtitution of the empire; and that if you perſiſt in it you will diſgrace your family, and bring a ſtain upon your country, which you pretend to ſerve. The hereditary prince my ſon was at Hamburgh by my order; you have carried him to Stade. Could he diſ-

truſt his uncle, an uncle, who hath done ſo much honour to his houſe! Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty! a liberty never refuſed to the loweſt officer. I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the loweſt officer have done as much? Let us ſuppoſe for a moment, that my troops, among whom he ſerved, were to have ſtaid with the Hanoverians, would it not ſtill have been in my power to give an officer leave of abſence, or even leave to reſign his commiſſion? And would you, my dear brother, hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of ſuch a family as ours, to exerciſe this right with regard to a ſon who is the hereditary prince, of whoſe rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impoſſible that you could have conceived ſuch deſigns without the ſuggeſtion of others. Thoſe who did ſuggeſt them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add, to the infraction of all theſe, the moſt cruel inſult on a brother whom you love, and who loves you. Would you have your brother lay his juſt complaints againſt you before the whole empire, and all Europe? Is not your proceeding without example? What is Germany become! What are its princes, and what is our houſe, in particular, become! Is it the intereſt of the two kings, the cauſe of your country, and my cauſe, that you pretend to ſupport? —I repeat it, brother, that this deſign could never have been framed by you. I again command my ſon to purſue his journey, and I cannot conceive that you will give any obſtruction. If you ſhould (which I pray God avert!) I ſolemnly declare to you, that I ſhall not be conſtrained by ſuch means, and that I ſhall never forget what I owe to myſelf.

As to my troops, you may ſee what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian miniſtry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, diſmiſſed them and ſent them home: the ſaid miniſtry gave me notice of this convention as what bound me: the march of the troops was ſettled: an incident happening, they halted; the obſtacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will no longer be bound by the convention; whilſt I not only accepted it on their word; but have alſo, in conformity to their inſtructions, negotiated at Verſailles and Vienna*.

After

* It ſhould ſeem that the Hanoverian miniſtry, foreſeeing what would happen, adviſed the Duke of Brunſwick, even before the convention of Cloſter-ſeven was concluded, to make his peace with France; for that convention was ſigned Sept. 10. and the duke's miniſter ſigned at Vienna the following treaty with France, ten days after; a ſpace too ſhort to ſend from Brunſwick to Paris, and from Paris to Vienna.

1. The king ſhall keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Brunſwick and Wolfenbuttle, while the war laſts; and the general of his majeſty's forces ſhall make uſe of the artillery, arms, and military ſtores, in the arſenals of thoſe two towns.

2. The Duke of Brunſwick ſhall, when his troops return from the Duke of Cumberland's camp, diſband them in his own country. Their arms

After all this, they would have me contradict myſelf, break my word, and intirely ruin my eſtate and my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of ſuch things? It is true, that I have, as you ſay, ſacrificed my all; or rather, I have been ſacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour: and in the unhappy contraſt of our ſituations, I lament both you, and myſelf, that it ſhould be from you, my dear brother, I ſhould receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot liſten to it: I cannot recede from my promiſe; my troops, therefore muſt return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian miniſtry ſtipulated with regard to me in the ſtrongeſt manner. I am afraid that the true circumſtances of things are concealed from you.

Not to detain your expreſs too long, I ſhall ſend you by the poſt copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian miniſtry. It will grieve your honeſt heart to read it. I am, with a heart almoſt broken, yet full of tenderneſs for you, yours, &c.

Blanckenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757.

arms ſhall be depoſited in the aforeſaid arſenals; and the general and ſubaltern officers of the ſaid troops ſhall take an oath not to ſerve againſt the king, or his allies, during the preſent war.

The Duke of Brunſwick ſhall, nevertheleſs, be permitted to keep, if he pleaſes, for the guard of his perſon and caſtles, a battalion of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe.

3. The regulations made by Marſhal Richelieu, and the intendant of his army, ſhall ſubſiſt on their preſent footing.

4. The Duke of Brunſwick ſhall furniſh his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire; his troops ſhall immediately join thoſe which the Germanic body has aſſembled, and he ſhall order his miniſter at Ratiſbon to vote conformably to the reſolutions of the dyet approved and confirmed by the emperor. On theſe conditions the Duke of Brunſwick ſhall be reſtored to the king's favour; all due reſpect ſhall be paid to his moſt ſerene highneſs, and all the princes and princeſſes of his houſe; neither his revenues nor his treaſure ſhall be touched, nor ſhall the adminiſtration of juſtice, civil or eccleſiaſtical, be exacted, and winter quarters only ſhall be demanded for the general officers and regiments which ſhall winter in the Duke of Brunſwick's country.

The aforeſaid conditions of a formal convention being preſented to me in the name of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, by his excellency the Count de Stainville, his ambaſſdor at the imperial court, and in the name of the empreſs queen by his excellency Count Kaunitz, chancellor of ſtate; and notwithſtanding my preſſing remonſtrance and ſollicitations to get ſome of the articles changed or mitigated, having received for anſwer that they were the *ultimatum*, I declare, by virtue of the full powers received from his moſt ſerene highneſs, my moſt gracious maſter, that I accept the aforeſaid conditions; and acknowledge them to be binding. In witneſs whereof I have hereto ſet my name and arms.

Vienna, September 20, 1757.

L. S. BERNARD PAUL DE MOLL.

The King of England's Conduct as Elector of Hanover; in answer to the Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France, with that of the King of England, Elector of Hanover.

THE conduct of his majesty the King of Great Britain, Elector of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, with regard to the troubles of the empire, gave no reason to think that France could hope to be a gainer by a parallel of that conduct with her own. She has, however, undertaken this comparison. The public has seen the memorial published by France under the title of *A Parallel of the King's Conduct with that of the King of England, relative to the breach of the capitulation of Closter-seven by the Hanoverians.*

In the introduction to this piece we are assured, that it was merely from moderation, and to avoid the kindling of animosities, that the publication of it was so long delayed. Indeed, in several places of this piece, the style and expressions are far from being conformable to that regard which crowned heads, though at war, owe one to another. As to the things themselves, so little regard is paid to truth, that we are certain they will not have the promised effect.

His Britannic majesty has too great a value for the judgment which the public forms of the actions of the greatest monarchs, and which posterity will make with still greater freedom, not to let them know the motives upon which he has acted, and which render his conduct irreproachable. It is therefore, with the greatest readiness, that he seizes an opportunity which France furnishes him, to expose them to the view of Europe. Very different from those who have attacked him with animosity, he will use the language of moderation. The truth, set in its proper light, carries so strong conviction with it, that it loses nothing by a simple and dispassionate relation. It will be sufficient simply to relate what is past, to make appear which side justice is on, and to whom are to be imputed the torrents of blood that have been spilt, and which in all probability will yet dye the earth.

The troubles appeased by the late treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, are too recent to be yet forgot. France, which, notwithstanding the continual wars which Lewis XIII. Lewis XIV. and Lewis XV. made on the empire, notwithstanding the desolations which she has caused, and the provinces which she has taken from it, thinks, however, that she may give herself the title of *Ancient Friend and Ally of the Empire*; France, which makes no scruple to advance that the private ambition of princes, who continually excited the two houses of France and Austria against one another, was the chief cause of their divisions, and of the wars which so long desolated Europe, and especially Germany; France without being excited thereto, attempted at the death of the Emperor Charles VI. to make herself mistress of that superiority of dominion which she always had in view. She would have obtained her end, had she been able to divide the estates of the house of Austria, among the different princes who formed pretensions to them, and

and of whom none would have been in a condition to make head againſt France. To defeat this project, the king then took part with the houſe of Auſtria, when attacked on all ſides, and abandoned by every power. He took that part with a greatneſs of ſoul, which, though forgot at Vienna, and repaid with ingratitude, will never be forgot in hiſtory, that generous monarch fought in perſon for the cauſe of his ally, ſacrificed the blood of his ſubjects, the treaſures, and even the moſt important conqueſt of his crown, to prevent the ruin with which ſhe was threatened on all hands. The effects of theſe meaſures are known to the whole world. It is true, that the empreſs queen yielded up by the moſt ſolemn treaties the duchy of Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia; but the numerous armies which that princeſs keeps on foot in the preſent war, ſufficiently ſhew that the houſe of Auſtria has preſerved ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the power which was thought neceſſary to maintain the balance of Europe, in hopes that, conformable to the laudable example of Leopold I. Joſeph I. and Charles VI. ſhe would make uſe of this power in defence of the common liberty.

The concluſion of theſe troubles convinced France that ſhe could never expect to ſucceed in her deſigns, while Great Britain preſerved by her commerce, ſufficient force vigorouſly to oppoſe her. Scarce therefore was the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle concluded, when ſhe ſought out other ways to execute her projects which that peace had defeated. With this view, ſhe began to diſturb the Engliſh, to hem in her colonies in the new world on all ſides, in contempt of the cleareſt articles of the peace of Utrecht, in order to put them in the moſt critical ſituation, and take away the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the liberties of Europe.

It is not our purpoſe here to defend the rights of the king in theſe differences, they have been made ſufficiently manifeſt: but we cannot help remarking, that the cauſe of the Britiſh crown ought naturally to be that of all thoſe who muſt expect their dependency from the common liberty. We may eaſily ſee what would infallibly happen in Germany and elſewhere, ſhould France, with the forces ſhe has at land, ever get poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of the ſea.

His majeſty therefore had good grounds to expect the aſſiſtance of other powers in the differences we have juſt mentioned; but he was far from deſiring to involve them unneceſſarily in that affair; on the contrary, he did all in his power to maintain peace on the continent.

None but ſuch as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England, can believe that, without a diverſion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, ſhe is not in a condition to hope for ſucceſs, and maintain her ſuperiority at ſea. England had, therefore, no intereſt to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but for the ſame reaſon, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different ſyſtem: accordingly ſhe took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publicly, that a war upon the continent was inevitable, and that the king's dominions

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in Germany would be its principal object. France did not confine herſelf to bare declarations; in the autumn of the year 1755 we ſaw the French troops aſſemble upon the Moſelle, and the Upper Rhine. It could not be affirmed that theſe troops were deſtined to maintain peace, and with defenſive views only, as no one could think of carrying the war into France. Theſe grand preparations could therefore have no other end, but that of carrying the war elſewhere herſelf, and of entering the territories of the empire. The king, in theſe circumſtances, firſt addreſſed himſelf in quality of king and elector, to the imperial and royal court. It was certainly the empreſs queen whom this affair principally regarded. His Britannic majeſty expected of her, as king and elector, that ſhe would call to remembrance the times not long elapſed, and alſo the accompliſhment of the treaties which the king had fulfilled with the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs. He might above all have expected, in quality of elector, that his imperial majeſty would execute faithfully what he had promiſed by his capitulation.

He might perhaps have obtained the aſſiſtance of the court of Vienna, had he been willing to enter into the views which the miniſters of that court had ſufficiently made known; but the king thought them as improper for anſwering his intention to maintain peace in Europe, as contrary to juſtice. Hence the dry and unſatisfactory anſwers which he received from Vienna; anſwers which ſufficiently diſcovered the new plan that court was purſuing, and which was totally different from that to which the houſe of Auſtria had been ſo often indebted for its preſervation.

Such were the circumſtances when a favourable opportunity offered for concluding with his Pruſſian majeſty the treaty of Weſtminſter, Jan. 16, 1756. The two contracting monarchs conſidered it as a ſure means to maintain peace in Europe, and eſpecially in Germany. Then it was that France ſaw the hopes vaniſh with which ſhe had flattered herſelf, of being aſſiſted by the king of Pruſſia in her views againſt the peace of Europe. No body then thought, that the court of Vienna would, in order to obtain its ends, make an alliance with that of Verſailles, and throw itſelf into the danger which muſt inevitably follow. It ſeemed, therefore, natural to hope, that France would abandon a ſcheme which ſhe wanted allies to execute, and that the peace of the empire would continue undiſturbed. This is as evident as what the French have advanced in their memorial, in order to throw a falſe gloſs upon the treaty of Weſtminſter, is weak, and void of probability. It is there ſaid, 'That the kings of England 'and Pruſſia had no enemies to 'contend with when the treaty of 'Weſtminſter was concluded.' But is not the contrary known to all the world? Had not France already aſſembled troops in 1755, and threatened to attack the king's German dominions? This piece adds, 'That the King of Great 'Britain had reaſons to wiſh for 'a war upon the continent: That 'the operations of France by ſea 'would thereby be weakened: 'That the Hanoverian troops 'would obtain ſubſidies: That 'en-

'endeavours were uſed to turn the 'war in Germany into a religious 'war, in order to gain the aſſiſtance 'of the Proteſtant princes: That 'the concurrence of the king of 'Pruſſia was obtained by flatter-'ing his ambition with the hopes 'of a new aggrandiſement, at the 'expence of the empreſs queen: 'and that the King of Pruſſia, 'in a public news-paper, re-'proaches the King of Great Bri-'tain as being the firſt mover of 'this war,'

If the queſtion, which of the two powers is to be conſidered as the author of the war in Germany, is to be decided by the advantages to be reaped from it by ſuch party, the impartial public would be at no loſs to give its judgment. They muſt be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to reſiſt thoſe of France, unleſs the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the ſea. In caſe of a war upon the continent, the two powers muſt pay ſubſidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces and aſpire at conqueſts. Nothing can be more odious, or more groundleſs, than the reproach of the pretended deſign to procure ſubſidies to Hanoverian troops.

The king defrayed the expences of the campaign of 1757 at his own proper charge, and except the payment which the Heſſian troops received from England, that crown contributed only 200,000 l. ſterling to that campaign; a ſum which, it is eaſy to ſee, was ſufficient but for a ſmall part of the neceſſary expences. Had it been in the power of the king to ſhun this war, the Hanoverian troops would have had no need of ſubſidies. Can it be imagined, that the king would have deſired to purchaſe theſe ſubſidies at the price of the danger to which he expoſed his German dominions, in caſe the French armies ſhould penetrate to the heart of the empire? Every one may eaſily ſee what the Proteſtants had to expect from the court of Verſailles. It was not, therefore, without reaſon that this object was recommended to the conſideration of the Proteſtant powers and ſtates of the empire; but the king was ſo far from uſing this motive to excite a war on the continent, that he had nothing more at heart than to prevent it.

The King of Pruſſia has publiſhed to the world the reaſons that forced him to take arms. We leave the impartial to judge, whether theſe reaſons were not ſufficient of themſelves, without any view of aggrandiſement, to kindle up a war between that prince and the empreſs queen; at leaſt it can never be imputed to the king, who expoſed his ſacred perſon, and alſo the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects, to ſave the houſe of Auſtria, that he occaſioned the preſent troubles, that lay waſte the empire, with a view to diſtreſs that houſe.

The French miniſtry are very ſenſible of all the weakneſs of theſe pretended conjectures. Hence they have recourſe to a letter which his Pruſſian majeſty is ſaid to have written to the king. Can there be a more formal acknowledgment that they want ſolid proofs, than their having recourſe to a writing which bears the moſt evident marks of falſity and forgery, and which only have proceeded from the wicked hearts of thoſe who are not aſhamed to uſe venal pens, to forge

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pieces purpoſely to impoſe upon the abuſed and credulous public, and to anſwer the ſiniſter ends which they hoped to make of it at a proper time and place?

It is ſaid alſo, in the memorial of the court of France, 'That the 'clauſe contained in the treaty of 'Weſtminſter to oppoſe the introduction of foreign troops into 'Germany, is contrary to the right 'which the ſtates have to make 'alliances with foreign powers; 'and that it had France principally 'in view: That his Britannic 'majeſty was not ignorant, that, 'by virtue of his defenſive treaties, 'and his guaranty of thoſe of 'Weſtphalia, the King of France 'would be obliged, at the requiſition of thoſe ſtates, to ſend troops 'to their aſſiſtance, in caſe of their 'being attacked: and that the engagement made to oppoſe thoſe 'troops, was a moſt unjuſt declaration of war.'

The ſecond article of the treaty of Weſtminſter abſolutely deſtroys this objection. It ſpeaks only of troops that ſhould come *to diſturb the peace of the empire*; for what other troops could be then thought of? To ſuppoſe a deſign had been formed to attack Saxony and Bohemia, and to exclude the entrance of lawful ſuccours, is to aſſert the very thing that is called in queſtion, and, conſidering the evidence to the contrary, is intirely void of all proof. It is objected in the laſt place, 'That in the treaty 'of Weſtminſter the neutrality of 'the Low Countries, in favour of 'the empreſs queen, was not inſerted with that of Germany: 'That the public ſoon diſcovered 'the artifice; and that it was the 'intention and deſign of the 'contracting parties to excite 'France, by this fact, to attack 'thoſe countries, in order, by that 'means, to kindle up a general 'war.'

The reaſon why the Auſtrian Netherlands were not comprehended in that treaty is very clearly explained in a ſeparate article. His Pruſſian majeſty was not obliged by the peace of Dreſden, to guaranty theſe countries. Beſides, what reaſon could there be for ſuch a guaranty for the empreſs queen, who had ſignified on ſeveral occaſions, that ſhe feared nothing from France? Was it not in the power of his moſt chriſtian majeſty not to attack the countries in queſtion; or did the treaty of Weſtminſter give him a right to invade them? At leaſt, if he had taken ſo unjuſt a reſolution, it is plain that his Britannic majeſty would not have been anſwerable for the event. However, the peace of theſe provinces was no leſs ſecured by that treaty, than if they had been expreſsly included. France would naturally avoid carrying the war thither, at a time, when, by her own confeſſion, ſhe was abandoned by her ally, and engaged in a burthenſome war. She would have been afraid of drawing upon her Auſtria, Holland, and other powers, who, both by virtue of treaties, and alſo from motives of ſelf-intereſt, muſt, in that caſe, have taken part in the war.

Nothing then can be more unexceptionable than the king's conduct with regard to the treaty of Weſtminſter, which will be for ever an irreproachable witneſs of the care he took to maintain the peace of Europe.

France took quite different meaſures: her numerous land forces per-

perſuaded her that it was her intereſt to make war on the continent. Her envoys made no ſecret of her deſign, as we have already obſerved. The preparations which ſhe made, and the troops which ſhe aſſembled in 1755 upon the Upper Rhine and the Moſelle, were a convincing proof of the blow which ſhe meditated. She even induced the empreſs queen to make a treaty with her, ſigned at Verſailles the firſt of May 1756. Nothing can be leſs difficult than to diſcover the views of the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, in making that alliance, and the conſequences which they promiſed themſelves from that ſyſtem. France wanted to puniſh the King of Pruſſia for having dared to diſpute the dependence which ſhe exacts from all the courts of Europe, and for having made with England a treaty, which, though inoffenſive, was inconſiſtent with the views of the French miniſtry.

She above all flattered herſelf, that by the meaſures ſhe had purſued, by the war which ſhe was going to make on the continent, and by the invaſion of the king's German dominions, he would be brought to make a peace prejudicial to his crown, or in caſe he refuſed to come into that, deſigns might be accompliſhed, that would include the ruin of the houſe of Hanover. Theſe are not mere conjectures. They are the ſentiments of a perſon whoſe penetration, and the confidence which the allied courts juſtly put in him, enabled him to diſcover the truth, and who had the intelligence which he ſent to his court, from the fountain head.

The following is part of a letter from Count Fleming, dated July 29, 1756. 'If the court of 'London does not ſeparate itſelf 'from the King of Pruſſia, and 'make peace with France on the 'beſt terms poſſible, the latter 'will go on from ſucceſs to ſucceſs, 'and from ſcheme to ſcheme, 'which may in the end become 'fatal to the houſe of Hanover.' The court of Vienna, which the king had ſo faithfully ſuccoured, and which, in conſequence of the moſt ſolemn treaties, ought to have defended the electorate of Hanover, made ſo little oppoſition to its being invaded, that Count Fleming gave the following opinion of it in a letter, dated June 12, 1756. 'I think (ſays he) 'that it would not be ill-timed, 'if France, the more to embarraſs 'the king of Pruſſia, ſhould ſend 'an army of 60,000 men into 'the country of Hanover; which 'would greatly facilitate its de-'ſigns.' The ſame miniſter informs his court of his reaſons for thinking ſo, and of the court of Vienna's motives for refuſing to ſuccour the king in caſe of an hoſtile invaſion, in a letter dated May 10, 1756, being the very day the treaty of Verſailles was ſigned. 'It plainly appears (ſays he) 'that ſince the court of Vienna 'cannot have the King of Pruſſia 'for the object of the war, it 'will no longer run the riſque with 'England, againſt France, which 'it looks upon as a much leſs 'dangerous enemy than the King of 'Pruſſia.'

His diſpatch of June 9, 1756, gives the following account why it did not yet fear France ſo much as the King of Pruſſia: 'Never-

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'theleſs, (ſays he) it is but too re-
'markable, that it wants to get
'rid of all theſe difficulties, and is
'bent on giving a different face to
'the affairs of religion in the em-
'pire, and to conquer Sileſia.' In a diſpatch of the 16th of the ſame month, he ſays, 'I am more and 'more perſuaded, that the reflec-
'tions, which I have made in my
'former letters, and eſpecially in
'that of the 9th inſtant, are not
'without foundation, and I can
'no longer doubt that the court
'where I am has formed a ſcheme,
'the principal objects of which are,
'religion, and the recovery of
'Sileſia.'

Laſtly, he tells us the manner in which this ſcheme was to have been executed, in a letter well worthy of attention, dated July 8, 1756.

'They know very well, (ſays
'the count) that it is neceſſary
'to purſue without interruption,
'the meaſures already begun, that
'they may be able to play a double
'game, and put themſelves in ſo
'good a condition, that the King
'of Pruſſia ſhall be thereby obliged
'by ſupporting his armaments,
'and the augmentation made or to
'be made, either to waſte away
'by little and little, or, to pre-
'vent that inconvenience, ſuffer
'himſelf to run into ſome preci-
'pitate reſolution, which to me
'ſeems to be the very thing they
'expect.'

It is in conſequence of theſe deſigns, and by theſe means, that Germany is become the unhappy theatre of war. Does Europe at preſent ſay that this is to be laid to the king's account, or to whom does juſtice aſcribe it?

The conduct of the king, after the war broke out, was the ſame; always juſt and irreproachable. The harmony between him and his Poliſh majeſty ſubſiſted upon its former footing; he deſired peace, and though he neither could nor would engage the King of Pruſſia to neglect the neceſſary means of defence, he did not fail to remonſtrate to that monarch, not to uſe them but in the utmoſt neceſſity. The king was at peace with the empreſs queen; he had no hand in the war between Pruſſia, Auſtria, and Saxony, nor had he ever been ſollicited by the King of Pruſſia to take part in it. This has been declared, on different occaſions, as well to the court of Vienna and the dyet of the empire, as to the principal courts of Germany, by miniſters ſent expreſsly for that purpoſe.

At a comitial deliberation of the 10th of January, 1757, the king, as elector, gave it as his opinion, that the empire ſhould interpoſe its mediation to appeaſe, in an amicable manner, the troubles in which it was involved. All theſe things are publicly known, nor can any one have the face to alledge the leaſt ſtep, the leaſt meaſure, from which the contrary can be inferred.

The winter which followed, hindered France from ſending her troops in 1756 againſt the dominions of his Britannic majeſty; but at the ſame time it opened a new ſcene by the neutrality offered the king for theſe dominions. After ſhewing what paſſed upon this occaſion, we ſhall draw from them the conſequences which naturally follow. On the fourth of January, 1757, Count Kaunitz declared to Baron Steinberg, the Hanoverian miniſter

miniſter at Vienna, that he had a propoſal to make to him which he did not expect; that the empreſs queen had ordered him to give him a memorial (which the count at the ſame time preſented) and that ſhe deſired that his court would return an anſwer to it as ſoon as poſſible. This memorial remarks, that, in offering that neutrality, all the ſecurities and juſt and reaſonable indulgences and conditions were required for the empreſs and her allies, which ought to follow from ſuch an engagement. Nothing could be more natural than for the king to deſire an explanation of thoſe equivocal terms, which were ſuſceptible of any meaning that might be put upon them. He did ſo, in an anſwer, conformable to the ſame language which he had always uſed in quality of elector, and repeated, with that freedom and uprightneſs from which he never departed, his reſolution to ſtop the French troops, and to take no other ſhare in the war. Theſe aſſurances would have been ſufficient, if there had really been no deſign to injure the king's dominions, and thoſe of his allies, as long as, in quality of elector, he remained neuter.

The court of Vienna had previouſly anſwered, that it would treat with France concerning that affair; but it at the ſame time ſigned a convention with the Count d'Etrees, by virtue of which the French army was to paſs the Weſer the 10th of July. This circumſtance, after the teſtimony which M. d' Etrees himſelf has given of it, cannot be called in queſtion.

Inſtead of the explanation that was expected, the Count de Coloredo ſent to London in the month of April to Baron de Munchauſen his Britannic majeſty's electoral miniſter, the ſcheme of a treaty of neutrality; wherein not only a paſſage for the combined army was demanded, but it was alſo ſaid, that the king had delivered up his ſtrong places to foreign troops; that he ſhould not augment nor aſſemble his own; but ſhould diſperſe them in ſuch a manner as ſhould be agreed on. The king by ſubmitting to theſe terms, was no longer maſter of his own country, nor of his own troops, and voluntarily diſarmed himſelf. The French miniſtry, however, have not ſcrupled to annex to their Parallel the piece which contains ſuch ſtrange propoſitions. The conſequences were ſuch as the court of Vienna might naturally expect, and which after ſigning the convention with the Count d' Etrees, it might deſire. The king broke off a negotiation which only ſhewed the arrogance of the courts which had begun it.

The reader is now able to judge of that part of the memorial of the court of France, that regards this article. It firſt endeavours to render the king ſuſpected by his allies, when it ſays, 'That he had given 'inſinuations for the neutrality of 'his German dominions, and that 'afterwards he had propoſed to 'admit of it, provided that the 'French troops, inſtead of paſſing 'thro' his dominions, were made 'to paſs through the countries of 'Caſſel, Brunſwick, Gotha, and 'Weimar.'

Certainly the author of the French memorial, when he wrote this, forgot that the king's anſwer, an-

annexed to the Parallel, deſtroys both thoſe reproaches. The king there owns with what ſatisfaction he received the offer which had been made him, and ſpeaks of it as a propoſal not coming from him, but ſolely from the empreſs queen: 'His majeſty (ſays that 'paper) has heard, with as great 'pleaſure as regard for her ma-'jeſty the empreſs queen of 'Hungary and Bohemia, that her 'imperial and royal majeſty 'wanted to hinder the countries 'belonging to his Britannic ma-'jeſty in Germany, from being 'involved in the preſent troubles. 'The king alſo declares, that he 'perſiſted in the reſolution to take 'all poſſible meaſures to keep out 'foreign troops from his poſſeſſions, 'and from their neighbourhood, 'more effectually to prevent the 'danger which might threaten 'them.'

The French army would not have been far from the king's territories, had he followed the path which was marked out for him. After ſending this explanation to the court of Vienna, it was neceſſary to wait for its anſwer before paſſing to other propoſals. This anſwer was only received in the ſcheme of the convention; and the court of Vienna muſt own, that the negotiation was then abſolutely broken off.

The court of France is very ſenſible that theſe objections have nothing to do with the principal affair; but that the queſtion properly is, whether the king was obliged to accept the neutrality offered him? Whether his refuſal of it juſtifies their proceedings afterwards towards his dominions, and thoſe of his allies? And whether the conditions offered him are not the cleareſt proof of the unjuſt deſigns the French had againſt him? Thus they ſeek to excuſe themſelves; but nothing can be more weak than that pretended juſtification. 'The king, 'it is ſaid, was obliged to permit 'the French army to have a paſ-'ſage through his dominions; it 'could take no other rout: the 'conditions offered had nothing 'in them unjuſt, diſhonourable, nor 'dangerous, as it was propoſed 'to put the fortreſs of Hamelen 'into the hands of the empreſs of 'Ruſſia, or of the king of Den-'mark.'

Nothing can be worſe founded than the pretended obligation of the king, to permit the French army a paſſage thro' his dominions. According to the law of nations, and that of the ſtates of the empire with regard to foreign powers, no ſtate can be forced to grant a paſſage to the troops of another ſtate thro' its territories; much leſs ought that paſſage to be demanded, when it might give occaſion or pretence to bring the theatre of the war into the country, where it would get footing. The laws of the empire do not allow the emperor to introduce foreign troops into Germany, without the conſent of the ſtates. In the caſe wherein, by the conſtitution of the empire, the ſtates are obliged to allow ſuch paſſage, it is not to be done with prejudice or danger to the countries. For this reaſon it is ordained, that firſt of all, the perſon to whom the troops belong ſhall give ſecurity, to cauſe the troops to march in ſmall bodies, without cauſing any damage to the country,

try, and paying for every thing that ſhall be furniſhed them for their ſubſiſtence.

To apply theſe regulations to the paſſage demanded of the king. The empire had not conſented to the introduction of the French troops. France had lately ſignified to the dyet, that ſhe thought it juſt to take what revenge ſhe could of the king's ſtates in Germany, on account of the differences that had ariſen in America. It was not France that could give ſuch ſecurity; ſhe demanded the king to deliver up his fortreſſes, to diſarm himſelf, and leave it to the diſcretion of France, whether ſhe ſhould think proper, under pretence of a paſſage, to exerciſe her declared revenge, and ruin the electoral ſtates as much as ſhe could by an open war. The very demand of a paſſage ſufficiently proves, that this was the deſign of France. She needs only throw an eye upon a map to be convinced, that the ſhorteſt way to go from France to Saxony and Bohemia, which were then the theatre of the war, was nót to paſs thro' the territories of the king in Germany, nor thoſe of his neighbours. It is no wonder that France finds the conditions, which ſhe propoſed to the king, neither diſhonourable, unjuſt, or dangerous. Having imbibed ideas of deſpotiſm, ſhe thinks, that all other powers ought to conſider every thing that ſhe thinks fit to impoſe upon them, as equitable, juſt, and proper. Delicate with regard to her own honour, ſhe would have others to be indifferent about theirs; but ſuch notions will never alter the nature of things, nor hinder every one from being perſuaded, that there is nothing more hard, more unjuſt, or more incompatible with the dignity of a free ſtate of the empire, than to ſee that power, that ſtrength, and authority, for which ſhe is alone indebted to Providence, taken from her by the hand of a ſtranger. The ſtates of the empire may ſee, from this example, of what nature the paſſage is, which the court of France thinks ſhe has a right to demand as a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and with the approbation of the court of Vienna. The imperial town of Cologn has experienced it in this war, and perhaps the time is nearer at hand than they expect, when thoſe, whoſe zeal for their religion, the ſubſidies which they receive, and other views, make them look upon the ſufferings of their co-eſtates with a careleſs indifference, will themſelves ſhare the ſame fate in their turns.

We flatter ourſelves that we have ſaid enough to ſet the conduct of the king and that of France, with regard to the neutrality, in a clear light. We have ſeen that the king ſeized the offer that was made him to repeat the aſſurances that he would endeavour, on his ſide, to maintain peace in Germany. That, on the contrary, the courts of Vienna and Verſailles have been, from the beginning, very equivocal and ſuſpicious; that while they made a ſhew of procuring the neutrality of the electorate, they ſigned a convention, by which the combined armies were to enter the electorate after the 10th of July; and laſtly, that the conditions propoſed to the king, were ſo hard, ſo dangerous, and ſo inconſiſtent with his honour, that they were only intended to make him reject them, to give them

a pretence for executing the reſolution they had taken to invade his majeſty's dominions, in contempt of the laws of equity and juſtice.

This fatal deſign was ſoon put into execution. Was the public ignorant what the king's territories have ſuffered by that invaſion, we could give it a long detail on this head. The ſuburbs of Zell burnt, the town of Hoy almoſt reduced to aſhes, without any reaſon of war, ſo many villages plundered, ſo many towns ravaged, almoſt all the horſes of the country carried away, the country foraged, exactions amounting to immenſe ſums, indecencies committed with regard to the king's principal officers: all theſe horrors will tranſmit to the lateſt poſterity, the remembrance of an invaſion equally unjuſt and cruel. If France could juſtify her conduct in the eyes of the world, ſhe would not fail to give valid reaſons for the invaſion of the electorate; but no ſuch thing appears in the paper publiſhed in her defence. It is true, ſhe alledges the war of England, and hoſtilities commenced, as ſhe ſays, by the Hanoverians; but ſhe yet barely touches upon theſe two articles; ſhe ſees that this would be an open violation of the beſt eſtabliſhed maxims of the law of nations, and would involve the empire in continual wars, if it might be maintained that the ſtates of which it was compoſed, could be attacked for quarrels that regard only their ſovereigns in quality of foreign powers.

If the approach of a numerous French army ought not to be conſidered as a declaration of war, at leaſt, they cannot deny, but that before the two armies were near enough to come to blows, Marſhal d'Etrees committed the firſt acts of hoſtility in the county of Bentheim, of which the king was in poſſeſſion, and which France thought ſhe could put into the hands of the count of that name, by virtue of the authority which ſhe arrogated of ſupreme judge of the empire. To colour theſe violences, ſhe had no other pretence left but the quality of guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia. She pretends that, to perform this obligation, ſhe might ſend troops into Germany; that the King of Pruſſia had invaded Saxony and Bohemia, that the king and his allies, by ſupporting the cauſe of his Pruſſian majeſty with an army, had formally declared themſelves adherents to the breaker of the public peace, and conſequently their countries ought to be treated as thoſe of enemies.

It is true that it is againſt the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, that this pretence of guarantee is chiefly urged; but as no better reaſon is alledged to juſtify the invaſion of the different ſtates of the empire, as the king beſides conſiders the conduct of his ſerene highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel as both juſt and glorious, and as he never pretends to ſeparate the cauſe of that prince from his own; this reaſon, which France gives for her conduct, ought not to be left unanſwered.

The parallel ſuppoſes that the King of Pruſſia was the aggreſſor in the war with her majeſty the empreſs queen, and that he had not ſufficient reaſon to take up arms in his own defence. How many things might be urged in anſwer to this imputation? Count Fleming's remarkable letter of the 28th of July 1756, ſpeaks in a very different ſtrain. But as it is not our deſign at preſent to juſtify the King of Pruſſia, who has no need of a foreign

reign pen to defend him, we ſhall, for a moment, ſuppoſe the accuſation againſt him well founded. To come at the end propoſed, it will be ſufficient to make two remarks, which will wholly expoſe the emptineſs of the pretence which France has thought proper to make uſe of. Firſt, it is notoriouſly falſe, that the king as elector, or any of the other princes his allies, had taken any part in the differences between the king of Pruſſia and the houſe of Auſtria, before they were invaded by the French. The king had, on ſeveral occaſions, declared, that he had no deſign to interfere in the war, and that all his views and meaſures ſhould only be to keep out of his poſſeſſions and their neighbourhood the foreign troops with which they were threatened. Nothing can be more conformable to theſe declarations than the meaſures that have been purſued, nor can any thing be alledged to infer the contrary. At the deliberations of the dyet of the 10th of January, the king, and his allies, voted for an amicable accommodation, and did not join in the meaſures approved by the majority. But the peace of Weſtphalia ſtipulates that all mild methods ſhall be tried before the guarantees are authorized to take up arms. It ſecures to the ſtates of the empire an entire liberty of voting, and leaves the deciſion of that queſtion to the dyet, ſo that the majority of voices determines with regard to collections and contributions neceſſary for the expences of a war. If then France wanted to take advantage of her quality of guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia, ſhe ought not to have uſed any other means but thoſe preſcribed by treaty, and propoſed by his Britannic majeſty; but ſo far from that ſhe pretends to aſſume the right of executing the concluſions of the empire, and uſurps a more extenſive power than the emperor himſelf in Germany. But in the ſecond place, nothing is a ſtronger proof of the monſtrous abuſes which France has made of the guaranty of that treaty, than her conduct in the king's territories, when ſhe ſaw herſelf able to ſpeak and act as their miſtreſs. If there be any one who doubts that ſhe had a deſign to revenge herſelf upon the king's German dominions for the differences in America, by ſpoiling, ruining, and deſtroying his territories, and thoſe of his allies, and by putting it out of their power to ſuccour the Proteſtant religion, and the liberty of Germany, it is ſufficiently demonſtrated to them by this conduct. Scarce were the French troops in poſſeſſion of the country, but, not content with raiſing heavy contributions, ſhe took upon her the regulation of the revenues, and poured in a croud of placemen and commiſſioners, who followed the army, to whom the adminiſtration was entruſted. The country changed its maſter, and in all the ordinances publiſhed in the name of the intendant, or of the generals, it was ſtiled a country of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; the town of Hamelen was even ſummoned to take the oaths of allegiance to the King of France. Notice was given to his Britannic majeſty's miniſters of ſtate, that by virtue of a convention ſigned between France and the empreſs queen, the revenues and contributions ariſing from the electorate ſhould be divided between the two powers; even all the conquered countries, and thoſe that ſhould be conquered, belonging to the king, as elector of Ha-

nover, were farmed out to a citizen of Paris, which was notified by a public edict to the whole electorate, and would have been ſoon put in execution.

To maintain that theſe are privileges which a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia hath a right to; to pretend that France had no other view but to execute the laws of the empire, and to put the King of Poland again in poſſeſſion of Saxony, is contrary to the impreſſion which plain facts muſt make upon the minds of the moſt prejudiced. It would be needleſs to attempt overthrowing a pretence, of which all the world ſees the weakneſs; a pretence of which France did not avail herſelf when ſhe ſaw herſelf in poſſeſſion of Hanover; a pretence, in ſhort, which ſhe has refuſed in the plaineſt manner by her conduct, when the king, as elector, cauſed propoſals of peace to be made to her.

We come now to examine the reſt of theſe meaſures, the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, and the objections to which it has given occaſion.

On reading what the court of France ſays of that convention, one would think that this is the article on which ſhe laid the greateſt ſtreſs. It is plain, however, that the plan which it has followed in this affair is moſt unjuſtifiable, and that the king's conduct here, as in every other reſpect, is void of all juſt cenſure. To prove this we ſhall, as the moſt proper way, relate the whole matter of fact. We ſhall firſt ſhew it to the public in the moſt natural light, and then anſwer the objections made by France.

After the affair of Haſtenbeck on the 26th of July 1757, wherein the two armies, though very unequal in numbers, fought long with doubtful ſucceſs till the weakeſt was obliged to retreat, by reaſon of the too great ſuperiority of the enemy's troops over thoſe of the Duke of Cumberland; the greateſt part of the king's German territories, and alſo thoſe of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and of the Duke of Brunſwick, fell into the enemy's hands, who made them feel all the hardſhips of war. They, however, always pretended, that theſe misfortunes were a conſequence of the meaſures taken by his majeſty, who would not grant the peace intended for his ſtates, and thoſe of his allies. His majeſty then reſolved, in quality of elector, to make propoſals of peace to the empreſs queen and the court of France. He ſaw that the efforts which he had made to ſtop the French army had been ineffectual; his paternal heart was ſenſibly affected to ſee the oppreſſion and ruin of his faithful ſubjects.

The ſeverity with which they acted with regard to his allies, excited in his ſoul ſentiments of the moſt ſincere compaſſion; he then repeated his former declarations, that he would obſerve the moſt ſtrict neutrality as elector, during the troubles of Germany, and promiſed to ſeparate his army, on condition that his ſtates, and thoſe of his allies, were delivered from the yoke under which they groaned. Theſe offers were abſolutely all that the courts of Vienna and Verſailles had demanded, and the latter eſpecially could not reject them, without taking off the maſk, diſcovering her deſign to make conqueſts in Germany, and of deſtroying, contrary to all the laws of nations, the electorate of Hanover, incorporated with the empire, and taking no part in theſe quarrels on account of the war in America. The two courts had as yet given no definitive

anſwer,

anſwer, when his royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland, by the mediation of Count de Lynar, concluded the truce of Sept. 8, 1757. We only know, that the court of Vienna had aſſured Baron de Steinberg, envoy from the king, as elector, to that court, that when the firſt overtures were made of a peace, it had given orders to Count de Stahremberg to ſupport them at Verſailles. That convention bore, that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe on both ſides; and that the auxiliary troops ſhould return into their own countries: that the Hanoverians ſhould be placed in the part of his majeſty's dominions which ſhould be aſſigned them, and that the French ſhould poſſeſs the reſt till a final reconciliation. The moſt remarkable of theſe ſeparate articles is that, wherein it is declared, that the allies *ſhould not be looked upon as priſoners of war.*

It needs but little attention to diſcover the nature and end of this convention: it is a ſuſpenſion of arms, a military regulation, which the French miniſter himſelf drew up: it was to continue till the iſſue of a negotiation, begun by his Britannic majeſty in the quality of Elector of Hanover, and upon the declaration of the courts of Vienna and Verſailles which was expected. This was the reaſon why it was not thought neceſſary to fix the time the ſuſpenſion of arms was to laſt. It was drawn up by the generals of the two armies, who mutually agreed that it might be concluded without the ratification of the two courts: and, indeed, they might well agree to a truce, which was to laſt only for a ſhort time; but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that they had power to make a treaty by which, without the ratification of the ſovereigns, the king's dominions ſhould be delivered up into the hands of foreigners, till a general peace, of which there was not the leaſt appearance. It is a thing unheard of to give the general of an army ſo extenſive an authority.

The conduct of Hanover, immediately after it was ſigned, ſhews ſtill more clearly the meaning and end of the convention: not only the inſtructions given to the king's envoys, but the original letters which remain in the hands of the moſt reſpectable miniſters who were employed in this affair, teſtify to the whole world the truth of what we have here advanced. His royal highneſs the Duke of Cumberland in the firſt memorial, delivered to Count de Lynar, informs him, 'that he had a view to procure, 'by means of the convention, a 'ſuſpenſion of arms on both ſides, 'as the firſt means of a reconciliation.' Baron de Schwegeld, his Britannic majeſty's miniſter, writes the 10th of September, the ſame day the convention was ſigned, to Baron de Bernſtorff, his Daniſh majeſty's miniſter of ſtate, as follows; 'I need not enter into a 'detail of a negotiation of which 'your excellency will be already 'fully informed by Count de Ly-'nar. You will ſee, Sir, by the 'account which he will give you, 'that nothing but the hopes that 'this firſt ſtep would ſerve as a 'foundation and introduction to 'other meaſures, made us over-'look numberleſs conſiderations, 'which otherwiſe would have me-'rited the moſt ſerious conſidera-'tion in many reſpects.' Baron de Steinberg, miniſter of ſtate, wrote in the following terms to the Count de Lynar, who had ſent the ſcheme of explanation. This letter is dated

September 28. 'Your excellency 'has too well obſerved, during 'your reſidence here, how faithfully we have acted, and how ardently we have deſired to continue 'the negotiation begun, to pave 'the way to more particular explanations, and to the relief which 'the ſtates of the king ſtand ſo 'much in need of. Your excellency, I ſay, has too well obſerved all this, to make the leaſt 'doubt that the hopes which you 'gave occaſion to, in your letter 'of the 27th, are not entirely 'agreeable to the miniſtry, who 'are under the greateſt obligations 'to your excellency for the zeal 'which you ſhew in this affair, and 'the care which you have promiſed to take. As to a more particular convention mentioned to 'us by your excellency, I ſhall 'conform entirely to what his royal 'highneſs the Duke of Cumberland 'ſhall ſignify on that head. I add, 'however, that the king's miniſter has ſeen, with great pleaſure, the efforts which your excellency, who hath ſo ſure and extenſive a knowledge, hath made 'to bring things to a formal 'negotiation. And as there is the 'greateſt reaſon to think, that the 'exhibition of full powers will, 'with this view, be inſiſted upon, 'the miniſtry make no doubt 'but your excellency will take 'all poſſible care to cauſe thoſe 'of Marſhal Richelieu, or of any 'other, to extend farther than to a 'negotiation *ad interim*, and conſequently to an entire concluſion 'of the accommodation which they 'have in view. The articles contained in your excellency's ſcheme 'of explanation will furniſh ſufficient arguments on this head, 'as every ſuſpenſion of arms un'determined with regard to time, 'firſt ſuppoſes that the principal 'negotiation will follow, and that 'equitable terms will be granted 'on both ſides. The promiſe of 'the King, the Duke of Brunſwick, 'and the Landgrave of Heſſe, 'not to employ their troops during the preſent troubles, muſt be 'founded upon the hopes, that in 'conſideration thereof their ſtates 'ſhall be delivered from the oppreſſion under which they at preſent groan, and that no pretences 'ſhall be made to put off this condition till a general peace, which 'a ſeries of unforeſeen events, of 'which the preſent year has furniſhed ſo great a number, may 'long prevent.'

Laſtly, it is plain that France herſelf underſtood the convention in the very ſame ſenſe. For whether the hands of the Hanoverians were tied up by the ſuſpenſion of arms concluded at Cloſter-ſeven, till a general peace, or whether the ſtate of inaction was only to laſt till it ſhould be ſeen whether the king, as elector, could obtain a particular accommodation: In the former caſe, and if that obligation exiſted already, why did France inſiſt upon having it ſtipulated by the ſcheme of explanation propoſed by Count de Lynar. And in the other, the king muſt have been at liberty to put an end to the truce when there were no hopes left of obtaining a particular peace. In a word, if we but ſimply conſider the convention of Cloſter-ſeven, both theſe points are inconteſtible. If the convention was a ſuſpenſion of arms, a military regulation, the duration of which depended upon the ſucceſs of the propoſals for a particular peace, it might then be revoked when the courts of Vienna

Vienna and Verſailles had rejected theſe propoſals. If, on the contrary, it was a formal treaty, by virtue of which the king's dominions were to remain in the enemy's hands, till an entire reconciliation of the ſovereigns, which was at a great diſtance, it required the ratification of the king, which had never been obtained.

The court of France has furniſhed the king with many other reaſons for regarding the convention as null and void. Scarce was the news of it received at Paris, but they thought they had gained the point ſo long deſired, and that they were able to make the king accept the moſt unſupportable terms. They not only declared, that they would abſolutely hear no terms of peace, but even proteſted againſt the validity of the convention, and refuſed to accept the guaranty of the King of Denmark, unleſs the troops ſhould take a ſolemn engagement not to ſerve during the war againſt France or her allies. This is formally declared in the poſtſcript to a letter to Count de Lynar. Another equally authentic proof of this fact, is found in a letter of Marſhal Richelieu to General de Zaſtrow. The diſarming of the troops was alſo inſiſted upon, though by the advice of France herſelf, the convention had obſerved a profound ſilence on that head. This pretenſion was ſo obſtinately maintained, that the propoſal made without the concurrence of his Britannic majeſty, by his majeſty the King of Denmark, to receive theſe troops into his dominions, was rejected.

The weight of the yoke impoſed upon the electorate of Hanover was doubled, by giving it in farm to a citizen named Faidy: ſo that the ſentiments of humanity which a people reduced to the laſt extremity might expect from ſome placemen of France, were more effectually ſtifled by the avarice of the farmer, whoſe intereſt rendered him deaf to prayers and remonſtrances. To leave no doubt of the ambitious views of the court of Verſailles; to ſhew that it expected to make new conqueſts over the king, the ſaid Jean Faidy obtained by patent the farm *of the territories of his Britannic majeſty, which were conquered or to be conquered.*

The convention was infringed in numberleſs other reſpects by France, of which an ample account was given in a piece, intituled, *Previous expoſitions of the reaſons which induced his Britannic majeſty, in quality of Elector of Hanover, to take up arms againſt the French army, which is again in motion.*

The king's territories and thoſe of his allies were threatened with the moſt ſevere treatment. They even threatened to raſe and reduce to aſhes the royal palaces, and thoſe of the king's miniſters, in caſe they ſhould make the leaſt difficulty to ſubſcribe blindly to the will and orders of the court of France. Of this Count Lynar's letter gives ſufficient proof. As to the court of Vienna, it ſpared no pains to ſecond the unjuſt deſigns of its ally. After the example of the latter, it declared that it was not a ſeparate peace that would be ſought: and that the king might not change his premeditated deſign of putting the laſt hand to it, the Aulic and Imperial Councils ought to interpoſe on this occaſion. The Prince of Tour-Taxis had alſo the

credit and influence at Vienna, preciſely in theſe circumſtances, to bring about the moſt unjuſt and illegal proceedings againſt his Britannic majeſty in the affair of the poſts.

The king eaſily perceived to what the threatenings of his enemies tended. They wanted to throw an indelible ſtain upon his arms, by diſarming the auxiliary troops who had no other reſource left but either to diſband or enter into the French armies. The Hanoverian troops were confined in ſo narrow a ſpace, that it would have been impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt long, but muſt have periſhed in miſery. Beſides, the king, by ſubſcribing to the new terms which they wanted to impoſe upon him, could not afterwards have claimed the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh nation for that electorate. The revenues of his German dominions would have been ſeized, and the country exhauſted in ſuch a manner, that nothing could have been expected from it in a long courſe of years. The king would then have ſeen himſelf unable to maintain either his own or ſubſidiary troops, which by a natural conſequence he had been forced to diſband. Then would his majeſty's enemies have accompliſhed the dangerous ſchemes which Count Fleming foretold, *might one day become fatal to the houſe of Hanover.*

Let any one but examine this picture, whoſe natural colours are much ſtronger than here repreſented; let him but liſten to the voice of reaſon, juſtice, and equity; let him, in ſhort, but put himſelf in the king's place, it will be impoſſible for him to heſitate a moment, what part the king had to take in theſe circumſtances. The court of France itſelf acknowledged, that the laſt conditions propoſed did not exiſt in the treaty of Cloſter-ſeven, as it wanted them to be granted by new conventions. The king had therefore an undoubeed right to reject them. France alſo maintained, that the convention, before it could become obligatory, wanted the ratification of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. The king, therefore, had an equal power to grant his, or to refuſe it. Was he to renounce this power, and abandon his country and people to the diſcretion of an enemy, who ſought their total ruin and deſtruction?

The king, then, took the moſt juſt meaſures, and the moſt agreeable for his own dignity and preſervation; the only meaſures which the arrogance of his enemies had permitted him to take; meaſures, in ſhort, which, however dangerous and uncertain they then appeared, could not poſſibly prove more fatal, than the equally heavy and ſhameful yoke which France wanted to impoſe upon the king, by the new convention. He reſolved to try, what was poſſible, to deliver his eſtates, and thoſe of his allies, from tyranny and oppreſſion, and for this purpoſe, and to defend himſelf, to join in quality of elector, with his Pruſſian majeſty. He ordered a perſon of confidence to be ſent to that monarch, to deſire him to permit Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, a prince of the blood-royal, to take the command of his army. This was the firſt of Nov. and conſequently five days before the battle of Roſbach, when Major General Count de Schulembourg departed from Stade, to go to the King of Pruſſia. In the mean time, the

the generals and miniſters had not yet received orders to commence hoſtilities. The king would not permit them to purſue any meaſures which might give France room to think that he was diſpoſed to enter into her views. General Zaſtrow's letter, annexed to the Parallel, ſhews that they conformed exactly to his majeſty's intentions, and that they ſignified that they thought the king was reſolved henceforward to regard the convention as null and void. As ſoon as we were ſure of a general, a reſolution was taken to march againſt the enemy. Duke Ferdinand gave notice of this to Marſhal Richelieu, by a letter of the 28th of November.

The king gave all the world an account of the juſt motives of this conduct in a memorial publiſhed the 26th of that month, and hoſtilities were renewed on both ſides. This is the juſteſt idea that can be given of an event, which will ſerve as an eternal monument of France's manner of acting as ſoon as ſhe thinks ſhe has the ſuperiority on her ſide; her conduct will convince all the ſtates of the empire, that there is nothing to be gained by yielding to her, and that the pride, and the abuſe of her ſtrength, increaſe in proportion as they become abject.

We ſhall examine as we go along, and diſſipate the falſhoods with which the court of France has ſought to amuſe the public with regard to this event, and the ſophiſtry which ſhe has made uſe of for her juſtification. It is impoſſible in doing this, not to fall into ſome repetitions. The French miniſtry begin with an exaggerated deſcription of the condition of the Hanoverian army at the ſigning of the convention. It is ſaid in the Parallel, 'That the generous ſentiments of the King of France 'were never more conſpicuous 'than in the capitulation of Cloſter-ſeven: That the Hanoverian 'army, forced to fly before that 'of Marſhal Richelieu, had been 'obliged to retire to Stade, where 'it was in the moſt dangerous ſituation.'

It will be eaſily granted, that at the time of making the convention, we had no hopes of ſoon delivering the king's dominions, and thoſe of his allies, by force of arms, becauſe we ſaw an army making head againſt us, greatly ſuperior to ours in number. But had not Marſhal Richelieu reaſon, on the other hand, to fear a reverſe of fortune, if he was reſolved to drive an army of forty thouſand men to deſpair, whoſe valour he had experienced at the affair of Haſtenbeck? Beſides, it was that marſhal, and not the Duke of Cumberland, who was informed of the march of the King of Pruſſia againſt the Prince of Soubiſe. So there is not the leaſt mention made of the haſte with which the French army flew to the aſſiſtance of the latter, immediately after ſigning the convention. As to the reſt, it is impoſſible to conceive that this convention can ſerve as an example of the generous ſentiments of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. They ingenuouſly own, that Marſhal Richelieu granted the capitulation of his own accord, without conſulting his court. As to the new conditions propoſed by the court of Verſailles, and with which ſhe connected her ratification, it would be abſurd to maintain that they were dictated by ſentiments of generoſity.

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The court of France ſaw very well that ſhe could not claim the right of refuſing the capitulation of the treaty of Cloſter-ſeven without giving the ſame right to his Britannic majeſty. In order, therefore, to throw a falſe gloſs upon the explanation of the treaty, it pretends, 'That the King of France, 'out of his zeal for his allies and 'the empire, approved of the con-'duct of Marſhal Richelieu; and 'to render the capitulation more 'ſolid, his majeſty propoſed to add 'to it ſome explanations, to fix the 'ſenſe of it in ſo clear a manner, 'as to obviate every falſe interpre-'tation; explanations which the 'court of Copenhagen and Count 'Lynar had found conformable to 'the true ſenſe of the capitulation.'

But this tale is abſolutely contrary to the true ſtate of things. The court of France declared, that it would not acknowledge the validity of the convention, unleſs the new terms which it intended to add were agreed to, and the auxiliary troops were diſarmed. This circumſtance, which is moſt clearly related in Count de Lynar's letter, which is known to the court of Copenhagen, and which was the cauſe that the guaranty of that court was not ſought, is alſo mentioned in Marſhal Richelieu's own letter, annexed to the Parallel. His words are as follow: 'His Daniſh ma-'jeſty having offered to guaranty 'them (the articles of the conven-'tion) the king my maſter thinks, 'that before he ſigns his accept-'ance of them, it will be proper 'to obviate ſome obſcurities which 'might occaſion difficulties in the 'execution, which has been ſuſ-'pended reciprocally upon words of 'honour, to make no alteration in 'their ſubſtance, and always to ex-'ecute them, when both ſides have 'come to an underſtanding relating 'to any doubts that may ariſe.'

CHARACTERS.

WE have ſet apart this article, for ſome remarkable characters of thoſe, whether in the political or literary world, whether living or dead, who have been diſtinguiſhed by ſuch talents as merit the public attention. The three firſt are drawn by hands altogether worthy their ſubjects; neither are the others contemptibly executed. If the firſt of theſe pictures inclines ſomewhat towards panegyric, and if the ſecond ſhould be thought to partake of ſatire, the reader will not therefore think either of them leſs juſt.

An eſſay towards the character of the King of Pruſſia, tranſlated from the French of M. Maupertuis.

THE moſt faithful and ſcrupulous hiſtorian would be the beſt panegyriſt of Frederick King of Pruſſia. I pretend to be neither; I only attempt the out-lines of his character, which even cotemporary jealouſy, envy and malignity, are forced to admire, and which more impartial poſterity, if it can believe, will almoſt adore,

By the mere natural ſtrength and ſuperiority of his genius, without experience, he broke out at once, a general and a hero. He diſtinguiſhed with preciſion, what inferior minds never diſcover at all, the difference between great difficulties and impoſſibilities, and being never diſcouraged by the former, has often ſeemed to execute the latter.

Indefatigably laborious and active, coolly intrepid in action, he diſcerns, as by intuition, ſeizes with rapidity, and improves with ſkill, the ſhort, favourable, and often deciſive moments of battle. Modeſt and magnanimous after victory, he becomes the generous protector of his ſubdued, and captive enemies. Reſolute and undejected in misfortunes, he has ariſen ſuperior to diſtreſſes, and ſtruggled with difficulties, which no courage, no conſtancy but his own would have reſiſted, nor could have ſurmounted.

But as he cannot always command the ſucceſs which he always deſerves, he may perhaps be obliged to yield at laſt to the ſuperior numbers of almoſt all Europe combined againſt him; their legions may perhaps conquer, but his virtues muſt triumph.

As a king, he is a *man*, a citizen, a legiſlator, and a patriot. His own extenſive mind forms all his plans of government, undebaſed by ſelfiſh miniſterial intereſts and miſrepreſentations. Juſtice and humanity are his only miniſters. *

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* The following account, the truth of which is not diſputed, will ſerve to give ſome idea of that great prince in that part of his character.

An Engliſh lady being poſſeſſed of actions [ſhares] in the Embden company, and having occaſion to raiſe money on them, repaired to Antwerp, and made

In his own dominions he has reformed the law, and reduced it to equity, by a code of his own digesting. He has thrown cavil out

made application for that purpose to a director of the company, established there by the King of Prussia, for the managing all affairs relating thereto. This person very willingly entered into treaty with her; but the sum he offered to lend, being far short of what the actions would bear, and also insisting on forfeiture of her right in them, if not redeemed in twelve months, she broke off with him, and had recourse to some merchants at Antwerp, who were inclinable to treat with her on much more equitable terms. The proceeding necessarily brought the parties before this director for receiving his sanction, which was essential to the solidity of the agreement; and he, finding he was like to lose the advantage he had flattered himself with, disputed the authenticity of the actions, and thereby threw her into such discredit, as to render all attempts to raise money on them ineffectual. Upon this the lady wrote a letter by the common post to his majesty of Prussia, accompanied with a memorial, complaining of the treatment she had received from the director; and likewise inclosed the actions themselves, in another letter to a friend at Berlin. By the return of the post, his majesty condescended to answer her letter; and the actions were returned authenticated, which so restored her credit, that in a few hours all difficulties were removed, relating to the transaction she had in hand; and it is more than probable, the director has felt his majesty's resentment for his ill behaviour.

A translation of the lady's letter.

SIRE,

Having had the happiness to pay my court to your majesty, during a pretty long residence at Berlin, and to receive such marks of favour from their majesties the queens, as I shall ever retain a grateful sense of, I presume to flatter myself that your majesty will not be offended at the respectful liberty I take, in laying before you my complaints against one Van Ertborn, a director of the Embden China company, whose bad behaviour to me, as set forth in my memorial, hath forced me to make a very long and expensive stay at this place: and as the considerable interest I have in that company may further subject me to his caprices, I cannot forbear laying my grievances at the foot of your majesty's throne, most respectfully supplicating your majesty, that you would be graciously pleased to give orders that this director should not act towards me for the future, as he hath done hitherto.

I hope for this favour from your majesty's sovereign equity; and I shall never cease offering up my ardent prayers for the prosperity of your glorious reign; having the honour to be, with the most respectful zeal, SIRE,

Your majesty's most humble,
most obedient,
and most devoted servant,
* * * *.

Translation of his Prussian *majesty's answer.*

Madam,

I received the letter, of the 19th instant, which you thought proper to write me, and was not a little displeased to hear of the bad behaviour of one of the directors of the Asiatic company of Embden towards you, of which you were forced to complain. I shall direct your grievances to be examined, and have just now dispatched my orders for that purpose, to Lentz, my president of the chamber of East Friesland. You may assure yourself the strictest justice shall be done you that the case will admit. God keep you in his holy protection.

Potsdam, FREDERICK.
Feb. 26, 1756.

out of the ſhifting and wavering ſcales of juſtice, and poized them equally to all.

Indulgent to the various errors of the human mind, becauſe tainted with ſo few himſelf, he has eſtabliſhed *univerſal toleration*; that deciſive characteriſtic of true religion, natural juſtice, ſocial benevolence, and even good policy. He equally abhors the guilt of making martyrs, and the folly of making hypocrites.

Greatly above all narrow local prejudices, he has invited and engaged, by a *general indiſcriminating naturalization*, people of all nations to ſettle in his dominions. He encourages and rewards the induſtrious, he cheriſhes and honours the learned; and *man as man*, wherever oppreſſed by civil, or perſecuted by eccleſiaſtical tyranny, finds a ſure refuge in his ſentiments of juſtice and humanity, which the purple robe has not been able to ſmother.

A philoſopher undazzled with the ſplendor of the heroic parts of this character, may perhaps inquire after the milder and ſocial virtues of humanity, *and ſeek for the man.* ——He will find both the man and the philoſopher too in Frederick, unallayed by the king, and unſullied by the warrior.

A patron of all liberal arts and ſciences, and a model of moſt. In a more particular manner cultivating, adorning and adorned by the *belles lettres*. His early and firſt attempt was a refutation of the impious ſyſtem of Machiavel, that celebrated profeſſor of political iniquity; nobly conſcious that he might venture to give the world that public pledge of his future virtue. His memoirs, intended to ſerve only as materials for a future hiſtory of the houſe of Brandenbourg, are ſuch as muſt neceſſarily defeat his own purpoſe, unleſs he will write the hiſtory too, himſelf. There are alſo ſpecimens enough of his poetical genius, to ſhew what he might be as a poet, were he not ſomething greater and better.

Neither the toils of war, nor the cares of government, engroſs his whole time, but he enjoys a conſiderable part of it in familiar and eaſy converſation with his equals, *men*. There the king is unknown, and what is more, *unfelt*. Merit is the only diſtinction, in which his unaſſerted, but confeſſed, and undecided ſuperiority, flatters a mind formed like his much more delicately, than the always caſual, and often undeſerved, ſuperiority of rank and birth.

But not to ſwell an eſſay towards a character, to the bulk of a finiſhed character, ſtill leſs to that of a hiſtory; I will conclude this ſketch with this obſervation: Many a private man might make a great king, but where is the king who could make a great private man, except FREDERICK?

The following character of M. de Voltaire, is ſaid to have been written by a P——ce.

MR De Voltaire is below the ſtature of a tall man, or, in other words, he is a little above thoſe of a middling ſize: he is extremely thin, and of an aduſt temperament, hot and atrabilious; his viſage is meagre, his aſpect ardent

ardent and penetrating, and there is a malignant quickneſs in his eye; the ſame fire that animates his works appears in his actions, which are lively even to abſurdity; he is a kind of meteor, perpetually coming and going with a quick motion, and a ſparkling light that dazzles our eyes. A man thus conſtituted cannot fail of being a valetudinarian: the blade eats away the ſcabbard; gay by complexion, grave by regimen; open without frankneſs, politic without refinement, ſociable without friends: He knows the world, and he forgets it; in the morning he is Ariſtippus, and Diogenes at night; he loves grandeur, and deſpiſes the great; with his ſuperiors his carriage is eaſy, but with his equals conſtrained; he is firſt polite, then cold, then diſguſting. He loves the court, yet makes himſelf weary of it; he has ſenſibility without connections, and is voluptuous without paſſion. He is attached to nothing by choice, but to every thing by inconſtancy. As he reaſons without principle, his reaſon has its fits like the folly of others. He has a clear head, and a corrupt heart; he thinks of every thing, and treats every thing with deriſion. He is a libertine without a conſtitution for pleaſure, and he knows how to moralize without morality. His vanity is exceſſive, but his avarice is yet greater than his vanity; he therefore writes leſs for reputation than money, for which he may be ſaid both to hunger and thirſt. He is in haſte to work that he may be in haſte to live: he was made to enjoy, and he determines only to hoard. Such is the man, and ſuch is the author.

There is no other poet in the world, whoſe verſes coſt him ſo little labour: but this facility of compoſition hurts him becauſe he abuſes it; as there is but little for labour to ſupply, he is content that little ſhould be wanting, and therefore almoſt all his pieces are unfiniſhed. But tho' he is an eaſy, and ingenious, and elegant writer of poetry, yet his principal excellence would be hiſtory, if he made fewer reflections, and drew no parallels, in both of which however, he has ſometimes been very happy. In his laſt work he has imitated the manner of Bayle, of whom, even in his cenſure of him, he has exhibited a copy. It has long been ſaid, that for a writer to be without paſſion, and without prejudice, he muſt have neither religion nor country, and in this reſpect Mr. Voltaire has made great advances towards perfection. He cannot be accuſed of being a partiſan to his nation; he appears on the contrary to be infected with a ſpecies of madneſs ſomewhat like that of old men, who are always extolling the time paſt, and bitterly complaining of the preſent. Voltaire is always diſſatisfied with his own country, and laviſh in his praiſe of thoſe that are a thouſand leagues off. As to religion, he is in that reſpect utterly undetermined, and he would certainly be the neutral and impartial being, ſo much deſired for an author, but for a little leaven of anti-janſeniſm which appears ſomewhat too plainly diſtinguiſhed in his works. Voltaire has much foreign and much French literature; nor is he deficient in that mixed erudition which is now ſo much in faſhion. He is a politician,

litician, a naturaliſt, a geometrician, or whatever elſe he pleaſes; but he is always ſuperficial, becauſe he is not able to be deep. He could not, however, flouriſh as he does upon theſe ſubjects without great ingenuity. His taſte is rather delicate than juſt; he is an ingenious ſatyriſt, a bad critic, and a dabler in the abſtracted ſciences. Imagination is his element, and yet, ſtrange as it is, he has no invention. He is reproached with continually paſſing from one extream to another; now a *Philanthropiſt*, then a cynic; now an exceſſive encomiaſt, then an outrageous ſatyriſt. In one word, Voltaire would fain be an extraordinary man, and an extraordinary man he moſt certainly is!

Anecdotes of the Life of Baron Monteſquieu, author of the Spirit of Laws.

From the French of M. D' Alembert.

CHarles de Secondat, Baron of la Brede and Monteſquieu, preſident *à mortier* in the parliament of Bourdeaux, member of the French academy, of the royal academy of ſciences and belles lettres at Berlin, and of the royal ſociety of London, was deſcended of a noble family in Guienne, and born at the caſtle of la Brede, near Bourdeaux, on the 28th of January, 1689. His father was a younger brother, and ſerved ſome time in the army, from which he ſoon retired. Young Monteſquieu gave early proofs of his ſuperior talents, and his father was diligent to improve them. At the age of twenty he was employed in preparing the materials of his *Spirit of Laws*, by judicious extracts from the immenſe volumes that compoſe the body of civil law. Juriſprudence, though leſs dry to him than to moſt who apply to it, becauſe he cultivated it as a philoſopher, was not ſufficient for his extenſive and active genius. He entered, at the ſame time, into the depths of the moſt important and delicate ſubjects †, and treated them with that judgment, decency, and juſtneſs, which diſtinguiſh all his writings.

His father's brother, preſident *à mortier* of the parliament of Bourdeaux, who was the eldeſt branch of the family, loſing his only ſon, left his fortune and his office to M. Monteſquieu, who had been admitted a counſellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux, Feb. 14, 1714, and was received preſident *à mortier* July 13, 1716. In 1722, during the king's minority, he was deputed by the parliament to make remonſtrances againſt a new oppreſſive tax. He diſcharged this commiſſion with ſo much boldneſs and addreſs, that the tax was aboliſhed. April 3, 1716, he was admitted a member of the infant academy of Bourdeaux, and diverted the ſociety from the ſtudy of the fine arts, which can ſeldom be cultivated to advantage but in the capital, to the more uſeful ſtudy of phyſic.

† This was a tract in the form of letters; deſigned to ſhew that the idolatry of moſt of the Pagans did not deſerve eternal damnation.

In

In 1721, when he was 32 years of age, he publiſhed his firſt work, intituled, Perſian Letters [*Lettres Perſannes.*] In theſe he expoſes with great ſprightlineſs and energy, the cuſtom of the French, to treat the moſt trifling things with ſerioufneſs, and turn the moſt important into ridicule; their converſation ſo noiſy and frivolous; their languor, even in the lap of pleaſure; their prejudices and their actions in continual contradiction to their underſtanding; their ardent love of glory joined to the moſt profound homage to the idol of court-favour; their courtiers ſo ſervile, and yet ſo vain; their outward politeneſs to, and their innate contempt of foreigners, or affected partiality towards them; the extravagance of their taſte, than which nothing can be more contemptible, except the eagerneſs of all Europe to adopt it; their barbarous diſdain of the moſt reſpectable occupations of a citizen, namely, commerce and the adminiſtration of juſtice; their literary diſputes, ſo warm and yet ſo uſeleſs; their rage of writing without thought, and judging without knowledge. To this lively portrait he oppoſes, in the apologue of the Troglodites, a repreſentation of England, which he calls a virtuous nation made wiſe by misfortunes.

Though this piece had the greateſt ſucceſs, it was not owned by the author. There were ſeveral free expreſſions in it, relating not to the eſſentials of Chriſtianity, but to things that many people ſtudy to confound with Chriſtianity; concerning the ſpirit of perſecution, with which ſo many Chriſtians have been animated; the temporal uſurpations made by the clergy; and the exceſſive multiplication of monaſteries, which leſſens the number of ſubjects in the ſtate, without increaſing the ſincere worſhippers of God. Theſe and ſome other points being miſrepreſented to the miniſtry, when M. de Monteſquieu ſtood candidate for a place in the French academy, vacant by the death of M. de Sacy, it was ſignified to the members, that the king would not approve of the election of the author of the *Lettres Perſannes*. M. de Monteſquieu ſaw the conſequence of this blow, to his perſon, his family, and the tranquillity of his life. He conſidered perpetual excluſion from the academy, eſpecially from ſuch motives, as an injury. He waited on the miniſter; repreſented that for private reaſons he did not acknowledge himſelf to be the author of the *Lettres Perſannes*; but that there was nothing in them he was aſhamed of; and that he ought to have been judged not upon the repreſentation of an informer, but upon a candid peruſal of his work *. The miniſters did what they ought to have done at firſt: they read the book, and liked the author, and learned where to place their confidence. France retained a ſubject whom ſuperſtition and calumny

* Voltaire ſays (Siecle de Louis XIV. edit. 1756.) that Monteſquieu cauſed a new edition of his book to be printed off in a few days; in which he either omitted or ſoftened whatever could give offence to Cardinal Fleury, and carried the book to him himſelf. The Cardinal, who ſcarce ever read, curſorily looked into ſome parts of it, and the air of confidence Monteſquieu aſſumed, joined to the ſollicitations of ſome perſons of high rank, made him drop his oppoſition.

were

were on the point of making her loſe. For M. de Monteſquieu declared, that after ſuch an affront, he would ſeek among ſtrangers, who held out their arms to receive him, that ſecurity and quiet, and perhaps thoſe recompences, which he might have hoped for in his own country. He was received into the academy, Jan. 24, 1728.

The new academician was the more deſerving of that title, as he had a little before quitted every other employment to follow entirely his genius and taſte. He was ſenſible that he could be more ſerviceable to his country, and to mankind, by his writings, than by deciding, in obſcurity, private contentions. He, therefore, determined to ſell his place; and ceaſing to be a judge, devoted his time to letters only.

But to be uſeful to different nations, it was neceſſary that he ſhould know them. With this view he ſet out on his travels. He went firſt to Vienna, where he often ſaw the celebrated Prince Eugene. This hero ſo fatal to France (to which he might have been uſeful) after bringing Lewis XIV. into jeopardy, and humbling the Ottoman pride, lived, in time of peace, without pomp, a lover and encourager of letters, in a court where little honour is paid to them, and ſet an example to his maſters to patroniſe them.

M. de Monteſquieu went next to Hungary, an opulent and fertile country, inhabited by a proud and generous people, the ſcourge of tyrants, and the ſupporters of their ſovereigns. As this country is little known, he is very full on it in the account of his travels, which are not yet publiſhed. He went next to Italy. At Venice he ſaw the famous Law, who had nothing left of his former grandeur, but projects that were happily deſtined to die with him, and a diamond which he often pledged to raiſe money to play at games of chance. One day the converſation turned on the famous ſyſtem invented by Law, the æra of the ruin and the opulence of many people in France, and of a remarkable corruption of manners in that kingdom. Law met with oppoſition to his ſcheme from the parliament of Paris, who are the immediate depoſitaries of the laws during a minority. M. de Monteſquieu aſked him why he did not try to gain them by that which proves infallible in England, money? 'The members of 'your parliament, replied Law, 'have leſs fire and generoſity than 'my countrymen; but they have 'more integrity*.' Another perſon not leſs famous, whom Monteſquieu ſaw often at Venice, was Count Bonneval. This man, ſo well known by his adventures, which were not yet brought to their final period, pleaſed to have a judge that deſerved ſo well to hear him, took great pleaſure in giving M. de Monteſquieu a de-

* 'M. D'Alembert's remark on this paſſage, is as follows:
'We ſhall add, without any prejudice from national vanity, that a body, which 'is free for a ſhort time only, muſt reſiſt corruption better, than a body which is 'always free: the firſt, if it ſells its liberty, loſes it; the ſecond only lends it (if I 'may be allowed the expreſſion) and exerciſes it even in pledging it. Thus the 'vices and virtues of nations ariſe from circumſtances and the nature of the 'government.'

tail of his very extraordinary life, of the military actions he had a part in, and the characters of the generals and miniſters he had known. Monteſquieu often recalled to mind thoſe converſations, and related many paſſages of them to his friends.

From Venice he went to Rome. In this ancient capital of the world, which is ſtill ſo in ſome reſpects, he particularly attended to that by which it is at preſent diſtinguiſhed, the works of Raphael, Titian, and Michael Angelo. He had never particularly ſtudied the fine arts: but the expreſſion that ſhines forth in the maſter-pieces of that kind, never fails to ſtrike every man of genius. Accuſtomed to attend to nature, he knows her when he ſees her imitated; as a good likeneſs ſtrikes all to whom the original is familiar.

After travelling through Italy, M. de Monteſquieu went to Switzerland, and carefully examined the vaſt countries that are watered by the Rhine. There remained nothing more in Germany for him to ſee; for Frederick was not yet come to the crown. After ſtaying ſome time in the United Provinces, which are an admirable monument of what *Induſtry* can do animated by the love of *Liberty*, he came over to England, where he reſided two years. He had nothing to regret, but that he did not come ſooner; Locke and Newton were both dead. But he had often the honour to wait on their protectreſs, Queen Caroline, who cultivated philoſophy on the throne, and had a juſt reliſh for M. de Monteſquieu's converſation. He was equally well received by the nation; who in this inſtance did not want to have the example ſet them by the court. At London he formed connections with men accuſtomed to meditation, who qualified themſelves for great actions by ſtudy. From them he informed himſelf of the nature of the Engliſh government, and acquired a perfect knowledge of it. Germany, he ſaid, was fit only to travel in, Italy to reſide in, England to think in, and France to live in.

On his return to France, he retired for two years to his ſeat at la Brede, and put the laſt hand to his work, of the cauſes of the riſe and fall of Rome, *Sur la cauſe de la grandeur, & de la decadence des Romains*; which appeared in 1734. It might juſtly have been intituled, *The Roman Hiſtory, for the uſe of Stateſmen and Philoſophers.*

How much reputation ſoever he might have gained by this and his former works, he had, as yet, only cleared the way for a much greater undertaking, that which ought to immortaliſe his name, and render his memory reſpectable to future ages. He had long before this time formed the deſign of it: he had meditated on the execution of it for twenty years, or rather his whole life was one continued meditation. He firſt made himſelf, as it were, a ſtranger in his own country, that he might know it better. He next viſited Europe, and with the deepeſt attention ſtudied the characteriſtics of the different nations by which it is inhabited. That famous iſland, which glories ſo much in its laws, and makes ſuch a bad uſe of them, was to him, in this long tour, what the iſle of Crete was formerly to Lycurgus, a ſchool where he improved in knowledge, without approving of the whole. In fine, he had examined and judged nations and eminent men that no longer exiſt, but in the annals of the world. Thus he gradu-

gradually roſe to the higheſt title a wiſe man can arrive at, that of Legiſlator of nations.

If he was animated by the importance of his ſubject, he was diſcouraged by its extent: he abandoned and reſumed it ſeveral times. And at length, encouraged by his friends, he muſtered all his ſtrength, and gave the public his *Spirit of Laws*.

Among the authors by whom he was aſſiſted, and from whom he borrowed ſome of his ſentiments, the principal are the two of deepeſt meditation, Tacitus and Plutarch: but though a philoſopher who reads two, may diſpenſe with many others, Monteſquieu neglected or ſlighted none that could be of uſe. *The Spirit of Laws* diſcovers immenſe reading: and the judicious uſe which the author made of the prodigious maſs of materials will appear ſtill more ſurpriſing, when it is known that he was almoſt wholly deprived of ſight, and obliged to make uſe of other peoples eyes.

Though M. de Monteſquieu did not long ſurvive the publication of his *Eſprit des Loix*, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the beginning of its effects upon the French nation; the natural love of the French to their country, turned to its proper object; a taſte for commerce, agriculture, and the uſeful arts, beginning to ſpread throughout that kingdom; and that general knowledge of the principles of government, which renders the people more attached to what they ought to love.

Nevertheleſs a multitude of pieces appeared in France againſt his book. The anonymous author of a periodical work, who imagined himſelf the ſucceſſor of Paſchal, becauſe he ſucceeded to his opinions, thought to ruin M. de Monteſquieu, but was the occaſion of new luſtre being caſt on his name, as a man of learning, by provoking him to write a *Defence of his Spirit of Laws*. This work may ſerve as a model on account of the moderation, truth, and humour that appear throughout the whole of it. M. de Monteſquieu could eaſily have rendered his adverſary odious; but he choſe rather to make him ridiculous. What adds to the value of this excellent piece, is, that the author without thinking of it, has in it drawn a true picture of himſelf: thoſe who knew him imagine they hear him ſpeak; and poſterity, when they read his *Defence*, will ſee that his converſation was not inferior to his writings.

While the inſects thus buzzed about and moleſted him in his own country, M. Daſſier, famous for his medals of illuſtrious men, went from London to Paris, 1752, to ſtrike a medal of M. de Monteſquieu. M. de la Tour, alſo, an eminent painter, was very deſirous to paint the author of the *Spirit of Laws*: but M. de Monteſquieu conſtantly refuſed, in a polite manner, his preſſing ſollicitations. M. Daſſier met with the ſame difficulties at firſt: 'Don't you think (ſaid he one day to Monteſquieu) 'that 'there is as much pride in refuſing 'my requeſt, as there would ap-'pear in granting it?' Diſarmed by this pleaſantry, he ſuffered M. Daſſier to do what he pleaſed.

He was at laſt in peaceable poſſeſſion of the glory he ſo juſtly acquired, when he was taken ill in the beginning of February. His health, naturally delicate, had long before begun to break by the ſlow and almoſt imperceptible effects of his cloſe ſtudy, the chagrin given

him on account of his work, and the multiplicity of company that crowded to him at Paris. His end was worthy of his life. Oppreſſed by grievous pain, and at a diſtance from a family he loved, he breathed his laſt with the tranquillity of a good man, conſcious of having devoted his talents to the ſervice of virtue and mankind. He died on the 10th of February, 1755, univerſally and ſincerely regretted. 'His virtues (ſays Lord Cheſterfield) 'did honour to human nature, his writings juſtice. A friend to mankind, he aſſerted their undoubted and unalienable rights and freedom, even in his country, whoſe prejudice in matters of religion and government he had long lamented, and endeavoured (not without ſome ſucceſs) to remove. He well knew, and juſtly admired the happy conſtitution of this country, where fixed and known laws reſtrain monarchy from tyranny, and liberty from licentiouſneſs. His works will illuſtrate his name, and ſurvive him as long as right reaſon, moral obligation, and the true ſpirit of laws ſhall be underſtood, reſpected, and maintained.'

With regard to his private life. In company he was always pleaſant and gay: his converſation, by the many men and nations he had converſed with, was ſprightly, agreeable, and inſtructive. It was abrupt, like his ſtyle; full of piquant ſallies, without bitterneſs or ſatire. Nobody told a ſtory with more life, readineſs, and grace, and leſs formality; he knew that the concluſion of a pleaſant ſtory is the chief point, and he haſtened to it, and produced the deſired effect, without having promiſed it. The pleaſure found in his company was not the effect of his temper and genius, but of a kind of regimen, alſo, which he obſerved in his ſtudies: though capable of deep and long-continued meditation, he never exhauſted his ſtrength; but always quitted labour before he felt any ſenſation of fatigue.

Nothing does more honour to his memory, than his œconomy; which was thought too great in an age of avarice and diſſipation when its motives were not perceived, nor if perceived, could have been felt. Beneficent, and conſequently juſt, M. de Monteſquieu would take from his family nothing of what he gave to relieve the diſtreſſed, nor of the large expences occaſioned by his long travels, the diſorder in his eyes, and the printing of his works. He left to his children the inheritance of his father, without diminution, and without increaſe.

He married in 1715, Jane de Lartigue, daughter of Pierre de Lartigue, lieutenant colonel of the regiment of Maulévrier; by whom he had two daughters, and a ſon, who by his character, his manners, and his writings, hath ſhewn himſelf worthy of ſuch a father.

We omitted to mention in its place ſome of the author's leſs conſiderable works, which ſerved him for relaxation. The moſt remarkable of theſe is the *Temple de Gnide*, which appeared ſoon after the *Lettres Perſannes*. In this piece he paints the delicacy and naivety of paſtoral love, as it appears in a mind uncorrupted by the commerce of the world. He concludes in the preface, in which he repreſents the work as a tranſlation from the Greek, with theſe words: 'If grave peo-
'ple ſhould deſire of me a leſs
'frivolous work, I can ſatisfy
'them

'them: I have been employed 'for these thirty years on twelve 'pages, which are to contain all 'that we know of metaphysics, 'politics, and morals; and all 'that very great authors have 'forgotten in the volumes they 'have written on those sciences.'

Some remarkable passages of the life and death of the celebrated Dr. Boerhaave.

IT was the daily practice of that eminent physician, Dr. Boerhaave, through his whole life, as soon as he rose in the morning, which was generally very early, to retire for an hour to private prayer, and meditation on some part of the scriptures.——He often told his friends, when they asked him how it was possible for him to go through so much fatigue? that it was *This* which gave him spirit and vigour in the business of the day. *This* he therefore recommended as *the best rule* he could give; for nothing he said, could tend more to the health of the body, than the tranquillity of the mind; and that he knew nothing which could support himself, or his fellow-creatures, amidst the various distresses of life, but a well-grounded confidence in the Supreme Being upon the principles of Christianity. This remark of the doctor's is undeniably just; for a benevolent manner of acting, and a true greatness of soul, can never flow from any other source than a consciousness of the divine favour and assistance.—This was strongly exemplified in his own illness in 1722, which can hardly be told without horror, and by which the course of his lectures as well as his practice was long interrupted. He was for five months confined to his bed by the gout, where he lay upon his back without daring to attempt the least motion, because any effort renewed his torments, which were so exquisite, that he was at length not only deprived of motion but of sense.—Here his medical ART was at a stand, nothing could be attempted, because nothing could be proposed with the least prospect of success. But having (in the sixth month of his illness) obtained some remission, he determined to try whether the juice of fumitory, endive, and succory, taken thrice a day in a large quantity (viz. above half a pint each dose) might not contribute to his relief, and by a perseverance in this method he was wonderfully recovered. This patience of Boerhaave's was founded not on vain reasonings, like that of which the *Stoicks* boasted, but on a religious composure of mind, and christian resignation to the will of GOD.

Of his sagacity and the wonderful penetration with which he often discovered and described, at the first sight of a patient, such distempers as betray themselves by no symptoms to common eyes, such surprising accounts have been given as scarcely can be credited, though attested beyond all doubt.—Yet this great master of medical knowledge was so far from a presumptuous confidence in his abilities, or from being puffed up by his riches, that he was condescending to all, and remarkably diligent in his profession; and he often used to say, that the life of a patient (if trifled with, or neglected) would one day be required at the hand of the physician.—He always called the

poor his beſt patients, for God, ſaid he, is their pay-maſter.

The activity of his mind ſparkled viſibly in his eyes.—He was always chearful, and deſirous of promoting every valuable end of converſation; and the excellency of the chriſtian religion was frequently the ſubject of it; for he aſſerted on all *proper* occaſions, the divine authority and ſacred efficacy of the ſcriptures; and maintained, that *they only* could give peace of mind, that ſweet and ſacred peace which paſſeth all underſtanding; ſince none can conceive it, but he who has it; and none can have it, but by divine communication. He never regarded calumny, nor detraction, (for Boerhaave himſelf had enemies) nor ever thought it neceſſary to confute them. 'They are 'ſparks, ſaid he, *which if you do* 'not blow will go out of them-'ſelves.—The ſureſt remedy againſt 'ſcandal, is TO LIVE IT DOWN 'by a perſeverance in well-doing; 'and by praying to God that he 'would cure the diſtempered minds 'of thoſe who traduce, and injure 'us.' An excellent method this: eſpecially as it keeps our minds contented and unruffled, whilſt the hearts of our enemies are overflowing with rancour, envy, and other diabolical paſſions.

He was not to be over-awed, or depreſſed by the preſence, frowns, or inſolence of great men, but perſiſted on all occaſions in doing what was right, regardleſs of the conſequences.—He could, too, with uncommon readineſs, and almoſt to a certainty, make a conjecture of mens inclinations and capacity by their aſpect.—A ſagacity perhaps unequalled, and which often ſurpriſed even his moſt intimate acquaintance, though they ſo well knew his talents.

Being once aſked by a friend, who had often admired his patience under great provocations, whether he knew what it was to be angry, and by what means he had ſo entirely ſuppreſſed that impetuous and ungovernable paſſion? Dr. Boerhaave anſwered, with the utmoſt frankneſs and ſincerity, that he was *naturally* quick of reſentment, but that he had, by daily prayer and meditation, at length attained to this maſtery over himſelf. But this he ſaid was the work of *God's Grace*; for he was too ſenſible of his own weakneſs to aſcribe any thing to himſelf, or to conceive that he could ſubdue paſſion, or withſtand temptation, *by his own natural power:* he attributed every good thought, and every laudable action, to the Father of goodneſs.

To the will of God he paid an abſolute ſubmiſſion, without endeavouring to diſcover the *reaſons* of his unſearchable determinations; and this he accounted the firſt and moſt inviolable duty of a chriſtian.

About the middle of the year 1737 he felt the firſt approaches of that fatal illneſs, which brought him to the grave, viz. a diſorder in his breaſt, which was at times very painful; often threatened him with immediate ſuffocation; and terminated in an univerſal dropſy; but during this afflictive and lingering illneſs, his conſtancy and firmneſs did not forſake him. He neither intermitted the neceſſary cares of life, nor forgot the proper preparations of death. About three weeks before his diſſolution, when the Rev. Mr. Schultens, one of the

moſt

most learned and exemplary divines of the age, attended him at his country-house, the doctor desired his prayers, and afterwards entered into a most remarkably judicious discourse with him on the spiritual and immaterial nature of the soul; and this he illustrated to Mr. Schultens with wonderful perspicuity, by a description of the effects which the infirmities of his body had upon his faculties; which yet they did not so oppress or vanquish, but his soul was always master of itself, and always resigned to the pleasure of its maker—and then he added, "*He who loves* GOD *ought to think* "*nothing desireable but what is most* "*pleasing to the supreme goodness.*" These were his sentiments, and such was his conduct in this state of weakness and pain. As death approached nearer, he was so far from terror or confusion, that he seemed less sensible of pain, and more chearful under his torments, which continued till the 23d day of September, 1738, on which he died (much honoured and lamented) between four and five in the morning, in the 70th year of his age—often recommending to the by-standers a careful observation of St. John's precepts concerning the love of GOD, and the love of *Man*, as frequently inculcated in his first epistle, particularly in the 5th chapter.

Such were the qualities of the great BOERHAAVE.—So far was this truly eminent man from being made impious by philosophy, or vain by his extraordinary genius for physic, that he ascribed all his abilities to the bounty, and all his goodness to the grace of GOD.—May his example extend its influence to his admirers and followers! May those who study his writings as a physician, imitate his life as a christian! And thus, while they are endeavouring after his medical knowledge, be aspiring likewise to his exalted piety, as he was so admirable a pattern of patience, fortitude, chearfulness, charity, candour, humility, and devotion.

His funeral oration was spoken in Latin before the university of Leyden, to a very numerous audience, by Mr. Schultens, and afterwards published at their particular desire.

After these remarkable characters, in which the advantages of birth or education have joined to adorn and perfect natural genius, we present the reader with as remarkable an instance of the power of natural capacity and application contending with every difficulty, and without any of these advantages arriving at a very high point of erudition. After this we have placed one of the most curious accounts that perhaps ever was published. As in the case of John Ludwig, one sees the triumph of industry and perseverance over all the obstacles of a hard fortune: in the case of the lady who suffered by the small-pox, we have a strong instance of the power of these virtues in overcoming even natural defects, in supplying the want of several of the senses themselves and of those senses too which are the general inlets of knowledge.

An account of John Ludwig.

IT is usual for the commissaries of excise in Saxony to appoint a peasant in every village in their

diſtrict to receive the exciſe of the place, for which few are allowed more than one crown, and none more than three. Mr. Chriſtian Gothold Hoffman, who is chief commiſſary of Dreſden and the villages adjacent, when he was auditing the accounts of ſome of theſe peaſants in 1753, was told that there was one John Ludwig among them, a ſtrange man; who, though he was very poor and had a family, was yet continually reading in books, and very often ſtood the greateſt part of the night at his door, gazing at the ſtars.

This account raiſed M. Hoffman's curioſity, and he ordered the man to be brought before him. Hoffman, who expected ſomething in the man's appearance that correſponded with a mind ſuperior to his ſtation, was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the moſt ruſtic boor he had ever beheld. His hair hung over his forehead down to his eyes, his aſpect was ſordid and ſtupid, and his manner was, in every reſpect, that of a plodding ignorant clown. Mr. Hoffman, after contemplating this unpromiſing appearance, concluded, that as the ſuppoſed ſuperiority of this man was of the intellectual kind, it would certainly appear when he ſpoke; but even in this experiment he was alſo diſappointed. He aſked him, if what his neighbours had ſaid of his reading and ſtudying was true? and the man bluntly and coarſely replied, "What neighbour has told you that I read and ſtudied? If I have ſtudied, I have ſtudied for myſelf, and I don't deſire that you or any body elſe ſhould know any thing of the matter." Hoffman, however, continued the converſation, notwithſtahding his diſappointment, and aſked ſeveral queſtions concerning arithmetic and the firſt rudiments of aſtronomy; to which he now expected vague and confuſed replies. But in this too he had formed an erroneous prognoſtic; for Hoffman was ſtruck not only with aſtoniſhment but confuſion, to hear ſuch definitions and explications as would have done honour to a regular academician in a public examination.

Mr. Hoffman, after this converſation, prevailed on the peaſant to ſtay ſome time at his houſe, that he might further gratify his curioſity at ſuch times as would be moſt convenient. In their ſubſequent conferences he propoſed to his gueſt the moſt abſtracted and embarraſſing queſtions, which were always anſwered with the utmoſt readineſs and preciſion. The account which this extraordinary perſon gives of himſelf and his acquiſitions, is as follows:

John Ludwig was born the 24th of February, 1715, in the village of Coſſe-daude, and was, among other poor children of the village, ſent very young to ſchool. The Bible, which was the book by which he was taught to read, gave him ſo much pleaſure, that he conceived the moſt eager deſire to read others, which, however, he had no opportunity to get into his poſſeſſion. In about a year his maſter began to teach him to write, but this exerciſe was rather irkſome than pleaſing at firſt; but when the firſt difficulty was ſurmounted, he applied to it with great alacrity, eſpecially as books were put into his hand to copy as an exerciſe; and he employed himſelf almoſt night and day, not in copying particular paſſages only, but in forming collections of ſentences, or events that were connected with each

each other. When he was ten years old, he had been at ſchool four years, and was then put to arithmetic, but this embarraſſed him with innumerable difficulties, which his maſter would not take the trouble to explain, expecting that he ſhould content himſelf with the implicit practice of poſitive rules. Ludwig, therefore, was ſo diſguſted with arithmetic, that after much ſcolding and beating he went from ſchool, without having learnt any thing more than reading, writing, and his catechiſm.

He was then ſent into the field to keep cows, and in this employment he ſoon became clowniſh, and negligent of every thing elſe; ſo that the greateſt part of what he had learnt was forgotten. He was aſſociated with the ſordid and the vicious, and he became inſenſibly like them. As he grew up he kept company with women of bad character, and abandoned himſelf to ſuch pleaſures as were within his reach. But a deſire of ſurpaſſing others, that principle which is productive of every kind of greatneſs, was ſtill living in his breaſt; he remembered to have been praiſed by his maſter, and preferred above his comrades when he was learning to read and write, and he was ſtill deſirous of the ſame pleaſure, though he did not know how to get at it.

In the autumn of 1735, when he was about twenty years old, he bought a ſmall Bible, at the end of which was a catechiſm, with references to a great number of texts, upon which the principles contained in the anſwers were founded. Ludwig had never been uſed to take any thing upon truſt, and was therefore continually turning over the leaves of his bible, to find the paſſages referred to in the catechiſm; but this he found ſo irkſome a taſk, that he determined to have the whole at one view, and therefore ſet about to tranſcribe the catechiſm, with all the texts at large brought into their proper places. With this exerciſe he filled two quires of paper, and though when he began, the character was ſcarce legible, yet before he had finiſhed it was greatly improved; for an art that has been once learnt is eaſily recovered.

In the month of March 1736, he was employed to receive the exciſe of the little diſtrict in which he lived, and he found that in order to diſcharge this office, it was neceſſary for him not only to write, but to be maſter of the two firſt rules of arithmetic, addition and ſubſtraction. His ambition had now an object, and a deſire to keep the accounts of the tax he was to gather, better than others of his ſtation, determined him once more to apply to arithmetic, however hateful the taſk, and whatever labour it might require. He now regretted that he was without an inſtructor, and would have been glad at any rate to have practiſed the rules without firſt knowing the rationale. His mind was continually upon the ſtretch to find out ſome way of ſupplying this want, and at laſt he recollected that one of his ſchoolfellows had a book, from which examples of ſeveral rules were taken by the maſter to exerciſe the ſcholars. He, therefore, went immediately in ſearch of this ſchoolfellow, and was overjoyed to find upon enquiry, that the book was ſtill in his poſſeſſion. Having borrowed this important volume, he returned home with it, and beginning his ſtudies as he went along, he

he purſued them with ſuch application, that in about ſix months he was maſter of the rule of three with fractions.

The reluctance with which he began to learn the powers and properties of figures was now at an end; he knew enough to make him earneſtly deſirous of knowing more; he was therefore impatient to proceed from this book to one that was more difficult, and having at length found means to procure one that treated of more intricate and complicated calculations, he made himſelf maſter of that alſo before the end of the year 1739. He had the good fortune ſoon after to meet with a treatiſe of geometry, written by Pachek, the ſame author whoſe arithmetic he had been ſtudying; and finding that this ſcience was in ſome meaſure founded on that which he had learnt, he applied to his new book with great aſſiduity for ſome time; but at length, not being able perfectly to comprehend the theory as he went on, nor yet to diſcover the utility of the practice, he laid it aſide, to which he was alſo induced by the neceſſity of his immediate attendance to his field and his vines.

The ſevere winter which happened in the year 1740, obliged him to keep long within his cottage, and having there no employment either for his body or his mind, he had once more recourſe to his book of geometry; and having at length comprehended ſome of the leading principles, he procured a little box ruler and an old pair of compaſſes, on one point of which he mounted the end of a quill cut into a pen. With theſe inſtruments he employed himſelf inceſſantly in making various geometrical figures on paper, to illuſtrate the theory by a ſolution of the problems. He was thus buſied in his cot till March, and the joy ariſing from the knowledge he had acquired was exceeded only by his deſire of knowing more.

He was now neceſſarily recalled to that labour by which alone he could procure himſelf food, and was beſides without money to procure ſuch books and inſtruments as were abſolutely neceſſary to purſue his geometrical ſtudies. However, with the aſſiſtance of a neighbouring artificer, he procured the figures which he found repreſented by the diagrams in his book, to be made in wood, and with theſe he went to work at every interval of leiſure, which now happened only once a week, after divine ſervice on a Sunday. He was ſtill in want of a new book, and having laid by a little ſum for that purpoſe againſt the time of the fair, where alone he had acceſs to a bookſeller's ſhop, he made a purchaſe of three ſmall volumes, from which he acquired a complete knowledge of trigonometry. After this acquiſition he could not reſt till he had begun to ſtudy aſtronomy; his next purchaſe therefore was an introduction to that ſcience, which he read with indefatigable diligence, and invented innumerable expedients to ſupply the want of proper inſtruments, in which he was not leſs ſucceſsful than Robinſon Cruſoe, who in an iſland, of which he was the only rational inhabitant, found means to ſupply himſelf not only with the neceſſaries but the conveniencies of life.

During his ſtudy of geometry and aſtronomy, he had frequently met with the word *philoſophy*, and this became more and more the object of his attention. He conceived that

it was the name of ſome ſcience of great importance and extent, with which he was as yet wholly unacquainted; he became therefore impatient in the higheſt degree to get acquainted with philoſophy; and being continually upon the watch for ſuch aſſiſtance as offered, he at laſt picked up a book, called *An introduction to the knowledge of God, of man, and of the univerſe*. In reading this book he was ſtruck with a variety of objects that were equally intereſting and new.

But as this book contained only general principles, he went to Dreſden, and enquired among the bookſellers, who was the moſt celebrated author that had written on philoſophy. By the bookſellers he was recommended to the works of Wolfius written in the German language; and Wolfius having been mentioned in ſeveral books he had read, as one of the moſt able men of his age, he readily took him for his guide in the regions of philoſophy.

The firſt purchaſe that he made of Wolfius's works, was his logic, and at this he laboured a full year, ſtill attending to his other ſtudies, ſo as not to loſe what he had gained before. In this book he found himſelf referred to another, written by the ſame author, called Mathematical Principles, as the fitteſt to give juſt ideas of things, and facilitate the practice of logic; he therefore enquired after this book with a deſign to buy it, but finding it too dear for his finances he was obliged to content himſelf with an abridgment of it, which he purchaſed in the autumn of 1743. From this book he derived much pleaſure and much profit, and it employed him from October 1743 to February 1745.

He then proceeded to metaphyſics, at which he laboured till the October following, and he would fain have entered on the ſtudy of phyſics, but his indigence was an inſuperable impediment, and he was obliged to content himſelf with his author's morality, politics, and remarks on metaphyſics, which employed him to July 1746; by this time he had ſcraped together a ſum ſufficient to buy the phyſics, which he had ſo earneſtly deſired, and this work he read twice within the year.

About this time a dealer in old books ſold him a volume of Wolfius's Mathematical Principles at large, and the ſpherical trigonometry which he found in this book was a new treaſure, which he was very deſirous to make his own. This however coſt him incredible labour, and filled every moment that he could ſpare from his buſineſs and his ſleep for ſomething more than a year.

He proceeded to the ſtudy of Kahrel's Law of Nature and Nations, and at the ſame time procured a little book on the terreſtrial and celeſtial globes. Theſe books with a few that he borrowed were the ſources from which he derived ſuch a ſtock of knowledge, as is ſeldom found even among thoſe who have aſſociated with the inhabitants of a univerſity, and had perpetual acceſs to public libraries.

Mr. Hoffman, during Ludwig's reſidence at his houſe, dreſſed him in his own gown with other proper habiliments, and he obſerves that this alteration of his dreſs had ſuch an effect, that Hoffman could not conceive the man's accent or dialect to be the ſame, and he felt himſelf ſecretly inclined to treat him with more deference than

when

when he was in his peaſant's dreſs, though the alteration was made in his preſence and with his own apparel.

It happened alſo that before Ludwig went home there was an eclipſe of the ſun, and Mr. Hoffman propoſed to his gueſt that he ſhould obſerve this phænomenon as an aſtronomer, and for that purpoſe furniſhed him with proper inſtruments. The impatience of Ludwig till the time of the eclipſe is not to be expreſſed; he had hitherto been acquainted with the planetary world only by books and a view of the heavens with the naked eye; he had never yet looked thro' a teleſcope, and the anticipation of the pleaſure which the new obſervation would yield him, ſcarce ſuffered him either to eat or ſleep; but it unfortunately happened, that juſt before the eclipſe came on, the ſky became cloudy, and continued ſo during the whole time of its continuance: this misfortune was more than the philoſophy even of Ludwig could bear; as the cloud came on he looked up at it in the agony of a man that expected the diſſolution of nature to follow; when it came over the ſun, he ſtood fixed in a conſternation not to be deſcribed, and when he knew the eclipſe was paſt, his diſappointment and grief were little ſhort of diſtraction.

Mr. Hoffman ſoon after went in his turn to viſit Mr. Ludwig, and take a view of his dwelling, his library, his ſtudy, and his inſtruments. He found an old crazy cottage, the inſide of which had been long blacked with ſmoke; the walls were covered with propoſitions and diagrams written with chalk. In one corner was a bed, in another a cradle, and under a little window at the ſide, three pieces of board, laid ſide by ſide over two truſſels, made a writing table for the philoſopher, upon which were ſcattered ſome pieces of writing paper containing extracts of books, various calculations and geometrical figures; the books which have been mentioned before were placed on a ſhelf with the compaſs and ruler that have been deſcribed, which with a wooden ſquare and a pair of ſix inch globes, conſtituted the library and muſæum of the truly celebrated John Ludwig.

In this hovel he lived till the year 1754, and while he was purſuing the ſtudy of philoſophy at his leiſure hours, he was indefatigable in his day labour as a poor peaſant, ſometimes carrying a baſket at his back, and ſometimes driving a wheel barrow, and crying ſuch garden-ſtuff as he had to ſell about the village. In this ſtate he was ſubject to frequent inſults, "ſuch as patient merit takes of the unworthy," and he bore them without reply, or any other mark either of reſentment or contempt, when thoſe who could not agree with him about the price of his commodities uſed to turn from him with an air of ſuperiority, and call him in deriſion *ſilly* clown and a *ſtupid* dog.

Mr. Hoffman, when he diſmiſſed him, preſented him with a hundred crowns, which has filled all his wiſhes, and made him the happieſt man in the world: with this ſum he has built himſelf a more commodious habitation in the middle of his vineyard, and furniſhed it with many moveables and utenſils, of which he was in great want; but above all he has procured a very conſiderable addition to his library, an article ſo eſſential to his happi-

neſs,

neſs, that he declared to Mr. Hoffman, he would not accept the whole province in which he lived upon condition that he ſhould renounce his ſtudies, and that he had rather live on bread and water than withhold from his mind that food which his intellectual hunger perpetually required.

An account of ſome remarkable particulars that happened to a lady after having had the confluent kind of the ſmall-pox.

IN the courſe of this diſeaſe, during which the lady was attended by the late Sir Hans Sloane, ſeveral threatening ſymptoms appeared, which, however, were at length overcome; and the patient, being thought out of danger, took ſeveral doſes of ſuch purgative medicines as are uſually adminiſtered in the decline of the diſeaſe, without any bad conſequence.

But in the evening of the day on which ſhe had taken the laſt doſe that was intended to be given her on that occaſion, ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized with pains and convulſions in the bowels; the pain and other ſymptoms became gradually leſs violent, as the force of the medicine abated, and by ſuch remedies as were thought beſt adapted to the caſe, they ſeemed at length to be intirely ſubdued.

They were, however, ſubdued only in appearance; for at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the next day they returned with great violence, and continued ſome hours; when they went off, they left the muſcles of the lower jaw ſo much relaxed, that it fell down, and the chin was ſupported on the breaſt. The ſtrength of the patient was ſo much exhauſted during this paroxyſm, that ſhe lay near two hours with no other ſign of life than a very feeble reſpiration, which was often ſo difficult to be diſcerned, that thoſe about her concluded ſhe was dead.

From this time the fits returned periodically every day, at about the ſame hour. At firſt they ſeemed to affect her nearly in the ſame degree; but at length all the ſymptoms were aggravated, the convulſions became more general, and her arms were ſometimes convulſed alternately; it alſo frequently happened, that the arm which was laſt convulſed remained extended and inflexible ſome hours after the ſtruggles were over. Her neck was often twiſted with ſuch violence, that the face looked directly backwards, and the back part of the head was over the breaſt; the muſcles of the countenance were alſo ſo contracted and writhed by the ſpaſms, that the features were totally changed, and it was impoſſible to find any reſemblance of her natural aſpect by which ſhe could be known. Her feet were not leſs diſtorted than her head, for they were twiſted almoſt to diſlocation at the inſtep, ſo that ſhe could not walk but upon her ancles.

To remove or mitigate theſe deplorable ſymptoms, many remedies were tried, and, among others, the cold bath; but either by the natural effect of the bath, or by ſome miſmanagement in the bathing, the unhappy patient firſt became blind, and ſoon afterwards deaf and dumb. It is not eaſy to conceive what could increaſe the miſery of deafneſs, dumbneſs, blindneſs, and frequent paroxyſms of excruciating pain; yet a very conſiderable aggravation was added; for the loſs of her

her ſight, her hearing, and her ſpeech, was followed by ſuch a ſtricture of the muſcles of her throat that ſhe could not ſwallow any kind of aliment, either ſolid or liquid. It might reaſonably be ſuppoſed that this circumſtance, though it added to the degree of her miſery, would have ſhortened its duration; yet in this condition ſhe continued near three quarters of a year, and during that time was ſupported, in a very uncommon manner, by chewing her food only, which having turned often, and kept long in her mouth, ſhe was obliged at laſt to ſpit out. Liquors were likewiſe gargled about in her mouth for ſome time, and then returned in the ſame manner, no part of them having paſſed the throat by an act of deglutition: ſo that whatever was conveyed into the ſtomach, either of the juices of the ſolid food, or of liquids, was either gradually imbibed by the ſpongineſs of the parts, which they moiſtened, or trickled down in a very ſmall quantity along the ſides of the veſſels.

But there were other peculiarities in the caſe of this lady, yet more extraordinary. During the privation of her *ſight* and *hearing*, her *touch* and her *ſmell* became ſo exquiſite, that ſhe could diſtinguiſh the different colours of ſilk and flowers, and was ſenſible when any ſtranger was in the room with her.

After ſhe became blind, and deaf, and dumb, it was not eaſy to contrive any method by which a queſtion could be aſked her, and an anſwer received. This however was at laſt effected, by talking with the fingers, at which ſhe was uncommonly ready. But thoſe who converſed with her in this manner, were obliged to expreſs themſelves by touching her hand and fingers inſtead of their own.

A lady who was nearly related to her, having an apron on, that was embroidered with ſilk of different colours, aſked her, in the manner which has juſt been deſcribed, if ſhe could tell what colour it was? and after applying her fingers attentively to the figures of the embroidery, ſhe replied, that it was red, and blue, and green, which was true, but whether there were any other colours in the apron, the writer of this account does not remember. The ſame lady having a pink coloured ribbon on her head, and being willing ſtill farther to ſatisfy her curioſity and her doubts, aſked what colour that was? her couſin, after feeling ſome time, anſwered, that it was pink colour; this anſwer was yet more aſtoniſhing, becauſe it ſhewed not only a power of diſtinguiſhing different colours, but different kinds of the ſame colour; the ribbon was not only diſcovered to be red, but the red was diſcovered to be of the pale kind, called a pink.

This unhappy lady, conſcious of her own uncommon infirmities, was extreamly unwilling to be ſeen by ſtrangers, and therefore generally retired to her chamber, where none but thoſe of the family were likely to come. The ſame relation, who had by the experiment of the apron and ribbon diſcovered the exquiſite ſenſibility of her *touch*, was ſoon after convinced by an accident, that her power of *ſmelling* was acute and refined in the ſame aſtoniſhing degree.

Being one day viſiting the family, ſhe went up to her couſin's chamber, and after making herſelf known, ſhe intreated her to go down,

down, and ſit with her among the reſt of the family, aſſuring her, that there was no other perſon preſent; to this ſhe at length conſented, and went down to the parlour door; but the moment the door was opened, ſhe turned back, and retired to her own chamber much diſpleaſed, alledging, that there were ſtrangers in the room, and that an attempt had been made to deceive her. It happened, indeed, that there were ſtrangers in the room, but they had come in while the lady was above ſtairs: ſo that ſhe did not know they were there. When ſhe had ſatisfied her couſin of this particular, ſhe was pacified; and being afterwards aſked how ſhe knew there were ſtrangers in the room, ſhe anſwered, by the ſmell.

But though ſhe could by this ſenſe diſtinguiſh in general between perſons with whom ſhe was well acquainted, and ſtrangers, yet ſhe could not ſo eaſily diſtinguiſh one of her acquaintance from another without other aſſiſtance. She generally diſtinguiſhed her friends by feeling their hands, and when they came in they uſed to preſent their hands to her, as a means of making themſelves known; the make and warmth of the hand produced in general the differences that ſhe diſtinguiſhed, but ſometimes ſhe uſed to ſpan the wriſt and meaſure the fingers. A lady, with whom ſhe was very well acquainted, coming in one very hot day, after having walked a mile, preſented her hand, as uſual; ſhe felt it longer than ordinary, and ſeemed to doubt whoſe it was; but after ſpanning the wriſt, and meaſuring the fingers, ſhe ſaid, "It is Mrs. M. but ſhe is "warmer to-day than ever I felt "her before."

To amuſe herſelf in the mournful and perpetual ſolitude and darkneſs to which her diſorder had reduced her, ſhe uſed to work much at her needle; and it is remarkable, that her needle-work was uncommonly neat and exact; among many other pieces of her work that are preſerved in the family, is a pin-cuſhion, which can ſcarce be equalled. She uſed alſo ſometimes to write, and her writing was yet more extraordinary than her needle-work; it was executed with the ſame regularity and exactneſs; the character was very pretty, the lines were all even, and the letters placed at equal diſtances from each other; but the moſt aſtoniſhing particular of all, with reſpect to her writing, is, that ſhe could by ſome means diſcover when a letter had by ſome miſtake been omitted, and would place it over that part of the word where it ſhould have been inſerted, with a caret under it. It was her cuſtom to ſit up in bed at any hour of the night, either to write or to work, when her pain or any other cauſe kept her awake.

Theſe circumſtances were ſo very extraordinary, that it was long doubted whether ſhe had not ſome faint remains both of hearing and ſight, and many experiments were made to aſcertain the matter; ſome of theſe experiments ſhe accidentally diſcovered, and the diſcovery always threw her into violent convulſions. The thought of being ſuſpected of inſincerity, or ſuppoſed capable of acting ſo wicked a part as to feign infirmities that were not inflicted, was an addition to her miſery which ſhe could not bear, and which never failed to produce an agony of mind not leſs viſible

viſible than thoſe of her body. A clergyman, who found her one evening at work by a table with a candle upon it, put his hat between her eyes and the candle, in ſuch a manner that it was impoſſible ſhe could receive any benefit from the light of it if ſhe had not been blind. She continued ſtill at her work, with great tranquillity, till putting up her hand ſuddenly to rub her forehead, ſhe ſtruck it againſt the hat, and diſcovered what was doing; upon which ſhe was thrown into violent convulſions, and was not without great difficulty recovered. The family were, by theſe experiments, and by ſeveral accidental circumſtances, fully convinced that ſhe was totally deaf and blind, particularly by ſitting unconcerned at her work, during a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightening, though ſhe was then facing the window, and always uſed to be much terrified in ſuch circumſtances; but Sir Hans Sloane, her phyſician, being ſtill doubtful of the truth of facts, which were ſcarce leſs than miraculous, he was permitted to ſatisfy himſelf by ſuch experiments and obſervations as he thought proper; the iſſue of which was, that he pronounced her to be abſolutely deaf and blind.

She was at length ſent to Bath, where ſhe was in ſome meaſure relieved, her convulſions being leſs frequent, and her pains leſs acute; but ſhe never recovered her ſpeech, her ſight, or her hearing, in the leaſt degree.

Many of the letters, dated at Bath, in ſome of which there are inſtances of interlineations with a caret, the writer of this narrative hath ſeen, and they are now in the cuſtody of the widow of one of her brothers, who, with many other perſons, can ſupport the facts here related, however wonderful, with ſuch evidence as it would not only be injuſtice, but folly, to diſbelieve.

The following characters of Lord Somers, the Duke and Ducheſs of Marlborough, Lord Godolphin, Lord Sunderland, Lord Wharton, Lord Cowper, the Earl of Nottingham, and Sir Robert Walpole, are extracted from the hiſtory of the four laſt years of the queen, by Dr. Swift, who profeſſes to deſcribe thoſe qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appeared chiefly to have influenced them in acting their ſeveral parts upon the public ſtage: 'For I do 'not intend (ſays he) to draw 'their characters entire, which 'would be tedious and little to the 'purpoſe; but ſhall only ſingle out 'thoſe paſſions, acquirements, and 'habits, which the owners were 'moſt likely to transfer into their 'political ſchemes, and which 'were moſt ſubſervient to the 'deſigns they ſeemed to have in 'view.'

Theſe characters, and the hiſtory from whence they have been extracted, are far from giving us a very juſt idea of the times, or the perſons they profeſs to deſcribe; they may be read very uſefully notwithſtanding this defect. For they may ſerve as a ſtriking example of the melancholy effects of prejudice, and party-zeal; a zeal, which whilſt it corrupts the heart, vitiates the underſtanding itſelf; and could miſlead a writer of ſo penetrating a genius as Dr. Swift, to imagine that poſterity would accept ſatire in the

place of history, and would read with satisfaction a performance in which the courage and military skill of the Duke of Marlborough is called in question. The real character of these great men was not what the low idolatry of the one faction, or the malignity of the other, would represent it. They were men who, with great virtues and great talents, mixt with some human infirmities, did their country much service and honour. Their talents were a public benefit; their failings such as only affected their private character. The display of this mixture had been a very proper task for an impartial historian; and had proved equally agreeable and instructive to the reader, in such hands. But these characters before us, have all the signs of being written, as Tacitus calls it, recentibus odiis. *In all other respects the piece seems to be a work not unworthy of its author; a clear and strong, though not an elevated style, an entire freedom from every sort of affected ornament; a peculiar happiness of putting those he would satirize in the most odious and contemptible light, without seeming directly to intend it.*

These are the characteristics of all Swift's works, and they appear as strongly in this as in any of them. If there be any thing different in this performance, from the manner of his works published in his life-time, it is, that the stile is in this thrown something more backwards, and has a more antique cast. This probably he did designedly, as he might think it gave a greater dignity to the work. He had a strong prejudice in favour of the language as it was in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and he rated the style of the authors of that time a little above its real value. Their style was indeed sufficiently bold and nervous, but deficient in grace and elegance.

THE Lord Somers may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party; he hath raised himself by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune: he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. The accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops, whom King James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit which the revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons; that since we had accepted a new king from a calvanistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government: but since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy as delivered down from their ancestors; it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or gesture, which

are in the higheſt degree courteous and complaiſant, wherein he ſet an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow; but this extreme civility is univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed, and in private converſation, where he obſerveth it as inviolably as if he were in the greateſt aſſembly, it is ſometimes cenſured as formal: two reaſons are aſſigned for this behaviour; firſt, from the conſciouſneſs of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmoſt diſtance, which otherwiſe might be apt to intrude; the ſecond, that being ſenſible how ſubject he is to violent paſſions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching thoſe he converſes with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and reſpect, and it is, indeed, true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the leaſt appearance of provocation, which temper he ſtrives to ſubdue with the utmoſt violence to himſelf: ſo that his breaſt has been ſeen to heave, and his eyes to ſparkle with rage, in thoſe very moments, when his words, and the cadence of his voice were in the humbleſt and ſofteſt manner; perhaps that force upon his nature, may cauſe that inſatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who conſequently reckon diſſimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the uncontеſted head of his party. With an excellent underſtanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taſte for converſation, to which he prefers the pleaſure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuſeth himſelf with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite ſervant.

Theſe are ſome few diſtinguiſhing marks in the character of that perſon who now preſideth over the diſcontented party: although he be not anſwerable for all their miſtakes; and if his precepts had been more ſtrictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been ſo eaſily ſhaken. I have been aſſured, and heard him profeſs, that he was againſt engaging in that fooliſh proſecution of Dr. Sacheverel, as what he foreſaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanour of ſome perſons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared, her majeſty was firmly reſolved upon a treaty of peace, he adviſed his friends not to oppoſe it in its progreſs, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like uſage themſelves had met with after the treaty of Ryſwick; and the ſafeſt, as well as the moſt probable way of diſgracing the promoters and adviſers. I have been the larger in repreſenting to the reader ſome idea of this extraordinary genius, becauſe whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of ſucceſs, to reſtore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him: and I propheſy the ſame for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of buſineſs.

The Duke of Marlborough's character hath been ſo variouſly drawn, and is indeed of ſo mixed a nature

a nature in itſelf, that it is hard to pronounce on either ſide without the ſuſpicion of flattery or detraction. I ſhall ſay nothing of his military accompliſhments, which the oppoſite reports of his friends and enemies among the ſoldiers have rendered problematical: but if he be among thoſe who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reaſons common with other generals. Thoſe maligners who deny him perſonal valour, ſeem not to conſider, that this accuſation is charged at a venture; ſince the perſon of a wiſe general is too ſeldom expoſed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is ſaid to have ſometimes diſconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army, than for himſelf. He was bred in the height of what is called the tory principles, and continued with a ſtrong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature is in ſome ſort ſupplied by a good underſtanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his ſolliciting to be general for life: I am perſuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquiſites, by continuing the war; and that he had then no intentions of ſettling the crown in his family, his only ſon having been dead ſome years before. He is noted to be maſter of great temper, able to govern or very well to diſguiſe his paſſions, which are all melted down or extinguiſhed in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with reſpect of money, he makes up by a great profuſion of promiſes; but this perfection ſo neceſſary in courts, is not very ſucceſsful in camps among ſoldiers, who are not refined enough to underſtand or to reliſh it.

His wife the ducheſs may juſtly challenge her place in this liſt. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatneſs and his fall; for above 20 years ſhe poſſeſſed, without a rival, the favours of the moſt indulgent miſtreſs in the world, nor ever miſſed one ſingle opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preſerved a tolerable court-reputation, with reſpect to love and gallantry; but three furies reigned in her breaſt, the moſt mortal enemies of all ſofter paſſions, which were ſordid avarice, diſdainful pride, and ungovernable rage; by the laſt of theſe often breaking out in ſallies of the moſt unpardonable ſort, ſhe had long alienated her ſovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without ſome degree of wit, and hath in her time affected the character of it, by the uſual method of arguing againſt religion, and proving the doctrines of chriſtianity to be impoſſible and abſurd. Imagine what ſuch a ſpirit, irritated by the loſs of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have ſaid enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the Earl of Godolphin. It is ſaid he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which ſome have very

unjuſtly objected as a reproach. He hath riſen gradually in four reigns, and was more conſtant to his ſecond maſter King James, than ſome others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the ſea-ſide, and kept conſtant correſpondence with him till the day of his death. He always profeſſed a ſort of paſſion for the queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her in the ſtyle of what the French call double entendre. In a mixture of love and reſpect, he uſed frequently to ſend her from hence little preſents of thoſe things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always aſked King William's leave, as if without her privity; becauſe, if ſhe had known that circumſtance, it was to be ſuppoſed ſhe would not accept them. Phyſiognomiſts would hardly diſcover, by conſulting the aſpect of this lord, that his predominant paſſions were love and play; that he could ſometimes ſcratch out a ſong in praiſe of his miſtreſs with a pencil and card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be uſed either in an intrigue of gallantry or politics. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his paſſion for the duchefs, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whoſe principles he naturally diſliked, and whoſe leaders he perſonally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle, taking fire at a nickname (Volpone) delivered by Dr. Sacheverel, which he applied to himſelf: and this is one among many inſtances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The Earl of Sunderland is another of that alliance. It ſeems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politics from his tutor (Dr. Trimnel, ſince biſhop of Winton). It may be thought a blemiſh in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of thoſe republican principles with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the houſe of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuſe the title of Lord (as he hath done to myſelf) ſwear he would never be called otherwiſe than Charles Spencer, and hoped to ſee the day when there ſhould not be a peer in England. His underſtanding, at the beſt, is of the middle ſize: neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his ſovereign from the lady he is allied to, or whether it be the reſult of his own nature. The ſenſe of the injuries he had done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards thoſe to whom he had given great cauſe to complain; for which reaſon he will never forgive either the queen, or the preſent treaſurer.

The Earl of Wharton hath filled the provinces allotted him by his colleagues, with ſufficiency equal to the ableſt of them all. He hath imbibed his father's [the earl, his father, was a rigid Preſbyterian] principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up

up no other in its ſtead; excepting that circumſtance, he is a firm Preſbyterian. He is perfectly ſkilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleaſure for making converts of young men of quality, upon their firſt appearance; in which public ſervice he contracted ſuch large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere juſtice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to ſet himſelf right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be aſhamed of him; for beſides his talents above mentioned, he is very uſeful in parliament, being a ready ſpeaker, and content to employ his gift upon ſuch occaſions, where thoſe who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modeſty are aſhamed to appear. In ſhort, he is an unconteſtible inſtance to diſcover the true nature of faction; ſince, being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithſtanding been able to make ſo conſiderable a figure.

The Lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the reſt, deſerveth a rank in this great council. He was conſiderable in the ſtation of a practiſing lawyer: but as he was raiſed to be a chancellor and a peer, without paſſing through any of the intermediate ſteps, which in the late times have been the conſtant practice, and little ſkilled in the nature of government, or the true intereſts of princes, further than the municipal, or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former paſſages of his life were thought to diſqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conſcience: but theſe difficulties were eaſily overruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a perſon that would be ſubſervient to all their deſigns, wherein they were not diſappointed. As to his other accompliſhments, he was what we uſually call a piece of a ſcholar, and a good logical reaſoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and ſometimes to deceive himſelf.

The laſt to be ſpoken of in this liſt, is the Earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquiſition to that party ſince their fall, to which he contributed his aſſiſtance. I mean his words, and probably his wiſhes; for he had always lived under the conſtant viſible profeſſion of principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his new friends: his vehement and frequent ſpeeches againſt admitting the Prince of Orange to the throne, are yet to be ſeen; and although a numerous family gave a ſpecious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reſerve of allegiance to his exiled maſter, of which his friends produce ſeveral inſtances, and ſome while he was ſecretary of ſtate to King William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and ſeeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, ſo they are the excuſe of that ſtiff-

neſs and formality with which his nature is fraught. His aduſt complexion diſpoſeth him to rigour and ſeverity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a ſincerer countenance, or more truly repreſenting his mind and manners. He hath ſome knowledge in the law, very amply ſufficient to defend his property at leaſt: a facility of utterance, deſcended to him from his father, and improved by a few ſprinklings of literature, hath brought himſelf, and ſome few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother Guernſey, but chiefly in thoſe talents which he moſt values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheleſs, he preſerveth an aſcendant. His great ambition was to be the head of thoſe who were called the church-party: and, indeed, his grave ſolemn deportment and countenance, ſeconded by abundance of profeſſions for their ſervice, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their ſenſe of his judgment and wiſdom; and this miſtake laſted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cauſe; but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one ſingle proſelyte, to keep himſelf in countenance.

The following character is alſo by the ſame hand, and an inſtance equally ſtrong, of the ſame party blindneſs.

Sir Robert Walpole was a perſon much careſſed by the oppoſers of Queen Anne and her miniſtry, having been firſt drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept ſteady by the loſs of his place [of ſecretary at war.] His bold forward countenance, altogether a ſtranger to that infirmity which makes men baſhful, joined to a readineſs of ſpeaking in public, hath juſtly intitled him, among thoſe of his faction, to be a ſort of leader of the ſecond form. The reader muſt excuſe me for being ſo particular about one, who is otherwiſe altogether obſcure.

It is not foreign to the plan of this article to inſert the following deſcription of the court and perſon of Q. Elizabeth, from the journey into England, of Paul Hentzer, in 1598.

Minds of a much deeper turn than the author of this itinerary ſeems to have been, may find matter of agreeable reflection in his account of England, as it appeared under Q. Elizabeth. That great princeſs had as much ſtate and magnificence in her court, as wiſdom and ſteadineſs in her government. She knew that it was neceſſary to ſtrike the imaginations as well as to purſue the real intereſt of her people. Thus ſhe threw a veil over the foibles of her perſonal character, and prevented the weak vanity of an old coquette from eclipſing the virtues of a great Queen. Our traveller is a very minute painter; but even minute things where they concern great characters, ſeem to quit their nature, and become things of conſequence; beſides that they bring us nearer to the times and perſons they deſcribe. It will be equally agreeable in his character of the Engliſh, to trace the difference which increaſe of riches, refinement, and even time itſelf, have

have made in the manners and taſtes of the people; and no leſs ſo to obſerve that ground-work of character, which is the ſame in the people of thoſe days and of ours, and which no accidental circumſtances are able totally to alter.

WE arrived next at the royal palace at Greenwich, reported to have been originally built by Humphry Duke of Glouceſter, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the preſent queen, was born; and here ſhe generally reſides, particularly in ſummer, for the delightfulneſs of its ſituation. We were admitted, by an order Mr. Rogers had procured from the lord chamberlain, into the preſence-chamber, hung with rich tapeſtry, and the floor, after the Engliſh faſhion, ſtrewed with hay, through which the queen paſſes in her way to chapel: at the door ſtood a gentleman dreſſed in velvet, with a gold chain, whoſe office was to introduce to the queen any perſon of diſtinction, that came to wait on her: it was Sunday, when there is uſually the greateſt attendance of nobility. In the ſame hall were the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, a great number of counſellors of ſtate, officers of the crown, and gentlemen, who waited the queen's coming out; which ſhe did from her own apartment, when it was time to go to prayers, attended in the following manner: firſt went Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, Knights of the garter, all richly dreſſed, and bareheaded; next came the chancellor bearing the ſeals in a red ſilk purſe, between two: one of which carried the royal ſcepter, the other the ſword of ſtate, in a red ſcabbard ſtudded with golden fleurs de lis, the point upwards; next came the queen, in the ſixty-fifth year of her age, as we are told, very majeſtic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes ſmall, yet black and pleaſant; her noſe a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the Engliſh ſeem ſubject to, from their too great uſe of ſugar); ſhe had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops; ſhe wore falſe hair, and that red; upon her head ſhe had a ſmall crown, reported to be made of ſome of the gold of the celebrated Lunebourg table: her boſom was uncovered, as all the Engliſh have it till they marry; and ſhe had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels; her hands were ſmall, her fingers long, and her ſtature neither tall nor low; her air was ſtately, and her manner of ſpeaking mild and obliging. That day ſhe was dreſſed in white ſilk, bordered with pearls of the ſize of beans; and over it a mantle of black ſilk, ſhot with ſilver threads; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioneſs; inſtead of a chain ſhe had an oblong collar of gold and jewels. As ſhe went along in all this ſtate and magnificence, ſhe ſpoke very graciouſly, firſt to one, then to another, whether foreign miniſters, or thoſe who attended for different reaſons, in Engliſh, French, and Italian; for, beſides being well ſkilled in Greek, Latin, and the languages I have mentioned, ſhe is miſtreſs of Spaniſh, Scotch, and Dutch: whoever ſpeaks to her, it is kneeling; now and then ſhe raiſes ſome with her hand. While we were there, W. Slawata, a Bohemian baron, had letters to preſent to her; and ſhe, after pulling off her glove, gave him her hand to

kiſs, ſparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular favour. Wherever ſhe turned her face, as ſhe was going along, every body fell down on their knees. The ladies of the court followed next to her, very handſome and well-ſhaped, and, for the moſt part, dreſſed in white; ſhe was guarded on each ſide by the gentlemen-penſioners, fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes. In the anti-chapel, next the hall, where we were, petitions were preſented to her, and ſhe received them moſt graciouſly, which occaſioned the acclamation of *Long live Queen Elizabeth!* ſhe anſwered it with, *I thank you my good people.* In the chapel was excellent muſic; as ſoon as it and the ſervice was over, which ſcarce exceeded half an hour, the queen returned in the ſame ſtate and order, and prepared to go to dinner. But, while ſhe was ſtill at prayers, we ſaw her table ſet out with the following ſolemnity: a gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmoſt veneration, he ſpread upon the table; and, after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with the ſalt-ſeller, a plate, and bread; when they had kneeled, as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they two retired with the ſame ceremonies performed by the firſt. At laſt came an unmarried lady (we were told ſhe was a counteſs) and along with her a married one, bearing a taſting knife; the former was dreſſed in white ſilk, who, when ſhe had proſtrated herſelf three times, in the moſt graceful manner, approached the table, rubbed the plates with bread and ſalt, with as much awe as if the queen had been preſent: when they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bare-headed, cloathed in ſcarlet, with golden roſes upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a courſe of twenty-four diſhes, ſerved in plate, moſt of them gilt; theſe diſhes were received by gentlemen in the ſame order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taſter gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat of the particular diſh he had brought, for fear of poiſon. During the time that this guard, which conſiſts of the talleſt and ſtouteſt men that can be found in all England, being carefully ſelected for this ſervice, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of all this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular ſolemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after ſhe had choſen for herſelf, the reſt goes to the ladies of the court. The queen dines and ſups alone, with a very few attendants; and it is very ſeldom that any body, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time, and then only at the interceſſion of ſomebody in power.

Deſcription of Theobalds and Nonſuch, from Hentzer.

THeobalds belongs to Lord Burleigh the treaſurer. In the gallery was painted the genealogy of the kings of England; from

from this place one goes into the garden, encompaſſed with water, large enough for one to have the pleaſure of going in a boat, and rowing between the ſhrubs; here are a great variety of trees and plants, labyrinths made with a great deal of labour, a *jet d'eau*, with its baſon of white marble, and columns and pyramids of wood, and other materials, up and down the garden; after ſeeing theſe, we were led by the gardener into the ſummer-houſe, in the lower part of which, built ſemicircularly, are the twelve Roman emperors in white marble, and a table of truck-ſtone; the upper part of it is ſet round with ciſterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, ſo that fiſh may be kept in them, and, in ſummer-time, they are very convenient for bathing: in another room, for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was a noble table of red marble. We were not admitted to ſee the apartments of this palace, there being nobody to ſhew it, as the family was in town attending the funeral of their lord.

Nonſuch is a royal retreat, in a place formerly called Cuddington, a very healthful ſituation, choſen by K. Henry VIII. for his pleaſure and retirement, and built by him with an exceſs of magnificence and elegance, even to oſtentation; one would imagine every thing that architecture can perform, to have been employed in this one work: there are every where ſo many ſtatues that ſeem to breathe, ſo many miracles of conſummate art, ſo many charts that rival even the perfection of Roman antiquity, that it may well claim and juſtify its name of Nonſuch, being without an equal, as the poet ſung:

This, which no equal has in art or fame,
Britons deſervedly a Nonſuch name.

The palace of itſelf is ſo encompaſſed with parks full of deer, delicious gardens, groves ornamented with trellis-work, cabinets of verdure, and walks ſo embrowned with trees, that it ſeems to be a place pitched upon by Pleaſure herſelf, to dwell in along with Health.

In the pleaſure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that ſpout water, one round the other, like a pyramid, upon which are put ſmall birds that ſtream water out of their bills: in the grove Diana is a very agreeable fountain, with Actæon turned into a ſtag, as he was ſprinkled by the goddeſs and the nymphs, with inſcriptions.

There is beſides another pyramid of marble, full of concealed pipes, which ſpout upon all who come within their reach.

From the ſame itinerary we ſhall preſent our readers with the manner of celebrating harveſt-home in England, in our author's time.

AS we were returning to our inn, we happened to meet ſome country-people celebrating harveſt-home; their laſt load of corn they crown with flowers, having beſides an image richly dreſſed, by which perhaps they would ſignify Ceres; this they keep moving about, while men and women, men and maid ſervants, riding through the ſtreets in the cart, ſhout as loud as they can, till they arrive at the barn; the farmers here do not

not bind up their corn in ſheaves, as they do with us, but directly as they have reaped or mowed it, put it into carts, and convey it into their barns.

He gives the following account of the manners of our anceſtors.

THE Engliſh are ſerious, and, like the Germans, lovers of ſhow; liking to be followed whereever they go by whole troops of ſervants, who wear their maſters arms in ſilver, faſtened to their left arms; a ridicule they very deſervedly lay under. They excel in dancing and muſic, for they are active and lively, though of a thicker make than the French. They cut their hair cloſe on the middle of the head, letting it grow on either ſide. They are good ſailors, and better pirates, cunning, treacherous, and thieviſh; above * 300 are ſaid to be hanged annually in London. Beheading with them is leſs infamous than hanging. They give the wall as the place of honour. Hawking is the general ſport of the gentry. They are more polite in eating than the French, devouring leſs bread, but more meat, which they roaſt in perfection. They put a great deal of ſugar in their drink. Their beds are covered with tapeſtry, even thoſe of farmers. They are often moleſted with the ſcurvy, ſaid to have firſt crept into England with the Norman conqueſt. Their houſes are commonly of two ſtories, except in London, where they are of three and four, though but ſeldom of four; they are built of wood, thoſe of the richer ſort with bricks; their roofs are low, and, where the owner has money, covered with lead.

They are powerful in the field, ſucceſsful againſt their enemies, impatient of any thing like ſlavery; vaſtly fond of great noiſes that fill the ear, ſuch as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, ſo that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glaſs in their heads, to go up into ſome belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the ſake of exerciſe. If they ſee a foreigner very well made, or particularly handſome, they will ſay, it is a pity he is not an Engliſhman.

The two following pieces having appeared within the laſt year, and the firſt throwing ſome light on ancient cuſtoms, and the latter containing ſome particulars of a very remarkable perſonage, we thought it beſt to inſert them here.

Order of King Henry VIII. *for the ſupply of Lady Lucy's table, taken from a collection of letters and ſtate papers, from the original manuſcripts of ſeveral princes and great perſonages in the two laſt centuries. Compiled by L. Howard, D. D.*

HENRY. By the King,

WE wol and commaunde you to allowe dailly from hensforth, unto our right dere and wel beloved, the Lady Lucye, in-

* Although it is likely that the people, being then poor to what they are now, were more addicted to theft, as it uſually happens; yet this account of executions muſt certainly be exaggerated. As to the cunning and treachery he mentions, it ſeems never to have been the real character of the Engliſh.

to

to her chambre, the dyat faire hereafter enſuying:

Furſt, Every morning at brekefaſt, oon chyne of beyf at our kechyn, oon chete loff and oon mannchet at our panatrye barr, and a galon of ale at our buttrye barr:

Item, At dyner, a peſe of beyf, a ſtroke of roſte, and a rewarde at our ſaid kechyn, a caſt of chete bread at our panatrye barr, and a galon of ale at our buttrye barr:

Item, At after none, a mannchet at our panatrye barr, and half a galon of ale at our buttrye barr:

Item, At ſupper, a meſs of porage, a peſe of mutton, and a rewarde at our ſaid kechyn, a caſt of chete bread at our panatrye, and a galon of ale at our buttrye:

Item, At after-ſupper, a chete loff and a mannchet at our panatrye barr, a galon of ale at our buttrye barr, and half a galon of wine at our ſeller barr:

Item, Ev'ry morning at our wood-yard, four tall ſhyds and twoo faggots:

Item, At our chaundrye barr in winter, ev'ry night, oon picket and four ſyſes of waxe, with eight candells, white lights, and oon torch:

Item, At our picker-houſe, weekly, ſix white cuppas:

Item, At ev'ry time of our removal, oon hool carte for the carriage of her ſtuff.

And theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this behalfe, at all tymes hereafter. Given under our ſegnet at our manour of Eſthampſtede, the 17th day of July, the 14th yere of our reign.

To the lord ſteward of our houſhold, the treaſurer, comptroller, cofferer, clerks of the greene cloithe, the clerks of our kechyn, and all other our hed officers of our ſaid houſhold, and to ev'ry of them.

The character of Oliver Cromwell may be ſeen in the following extract from the ſaid ſtate papers.

To his highneſs, the Lord Protector of the common wealth of England, Sotland, and Ireland.

The humble petition of Marjery, the wife of William Beacham, mariner,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioner's huſband hath been active and faithful in the wars of this commonwealth, both by ſea and land, and hath undergone many hazards by impriſonment and fights to the endangering of his life, and at laſt loſt the uſe of his right arm, and is utterly diſabled from future ſervice, as doth appear by the certificate annexed, and yet he hath no more than forty ſhillings penſion from Chatham by the year:

That your petitioner having one only ſonne, who is tractable to learn, and not having wherewith to bring him up, by reaſon of their preſent low eſtate, occaſioned by the publique ſervice aforeſaid:

Humbly prayeth, That your Highneſs would vouchſafe to preſent her ſaid ſonne Randolph Beacham, to be ſcholler in Sutton's hoſpital called the Charter-houſe.

OLIVER

OLIVER, P.

We referre this petition and certificate to the commiſſioners of Sutton's hoſpital.

July 28, 1655.

Copy of a letter ſent by Oliver to his ſecretary on the above petition.

You receive from me this 28th inſtant, a petition of Marjery Beacham, deſiring the admiſſion of her ſon into the Charter-houſe. I know the man who was employed one day in a very important ſecret ſervice, which he did effectually to our great benefit, and the commonwealth's. The petition is a brief relation of a fact, without any flattery. I have wrote under it a common reference to the commiſſioners, but I *mean* a great deal more, that it *ſhall* be *done*, without *their debate*, or *conſideration of the matter*, and ſo do you privately hint to * * * *.

I have not the particular ſhining bauble or feather in my cap, for crouds to *gaze at*, or *kneel to*; but I have power and reſolution for foes to *tremble at:* to be ſhort, I know how to *deny* petitions; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to refer to any officer or office, I expect that ſuch my compliance with cuſtom ſhall be alſo looked upon as an indication of my will and pleaſure to have the thing done. See therefore that the boy is admitted.

Thy true friend,

July 28, 1655. OLIVER, P.

An account of the origin, and manners, and cuſtoms of the Calmucks and Coſſacks, who have lately committed ſuch outrages on the ſubjects of the King of Pruſſia. From an account given by the Chevalier de Polignac, Secretary to King Staniſlaus; written in 1750.

As this is a good account of two very remarkable nations, which the preſent troubles have brought much into converſation, we thought it naturally referable to this head.

THAT theſe people are Tartars, and that the Tartars are of Scythian original, is evident from their ſentiments and manners at this day. The Scythians ſacrificed to their gods the priſoners taken in war. The Tartars do not indeed deprive their priſoners of life, but they make death preferable, by ſelling them to maſters that equal themſelves in cruelty. The ancient Scythians lived on mares milk, applied themſelves to the feeding of cattle, and neglected tillage. They had no other habitations but tilted waggons, which were drawn from paſture to paſture as herbage failed, and neceſſity required. Their cloathing was the ſkins of beaſts. They made uſe of poiſoned arrows. To croſs a river they filled ſacks with cork, on which they placed themſelves, and were drawn over by horſes which they held by the tail. They had no written laws, but adminiſtered juſtice according to the natural dictates of reaſon. Theſe cuſtoms ſtill ſubſiſt, with little variation, among the Tartars. There was one very ſingular cuſtom among the Scythians: when two friends wanted to ſwear a laſting friendſhip, they made inciſions in their fingers, and

and received the blood in a cup. Both dipt the point of their ſwords in it, and lifting them to their heads, eagerly ſucked it. When the modern Tartars take an oath, they dip their ſabres in water, which they afterwards drink. The barbarity of ſome of their cuſtoms appears to have been ſoftened by time; but one thing that has remained invariable in the character of theſe people, is their rage of invading the neighbouring nations upon every opportunity that offers, and often of falling upon one another, when they are confined in their own country by ſuperior force or fear. Their wars, their incurſions, their ravages, differ in nothing from thoſe of the Scythians. We may apply to them what the prophet Jeremiah ſaid, ſpeaking of the irruption of their anceſtors into Judea: *Their chariots are as a whirlwind; their horſes are ſwifter than eagles, and their quiver is as an open ſepulchre*, iv. 13.

Aſia hath often felt that they have loſt nothing of the brutal impetuoſity of their anceſtors. Their ſucceſs is leſs ſurpriſing than that continuance of their valour, which, though not always ſufficient to preſerve their conqueſts, ſtill kept up in them a deſire to recover them. Thus, though expelled China in 1368, after poſſeſſing it above a century, they never ceaſed their efforts to recover it, and in 1644 reduced it in ſuch a manner, that they have no reaſon to apprehend a ſecond expulſion. The exploits of Tamerlane *, the chief of one of their rulers, are well known. He was equal to Cæſar in courage, and not inferior to Alexander in good fortune. He conquered the Indies, ſubdued Perſia, vanquiſhed the Turks, and ravaged all Egypt. His name and his reputation have reached nations to whom his country is ſtill unknown.

The Tartars are generally divided into three diſtinct powers: the firſt are thoſe known by the name of Tartars; the ſecond are the Calmucks; and the third the Moungals.

The Tartars properly ſo called, live to the weſt of the Caſpian ſea. The moſt conſiderable of them are the Uſbecs; the Kara-Kallpacks; the Nagais, who are ſubject to Ruſſia; the Baſkirs, who alſo hold of that empire; and the Dagheſtans, who depend on no power, and who are more ſavage than any of thoſe juſt named —The Nagais, who at preſent occupy the lands of Aſtracan, between the Jaick and the Wolga, and the Baſkirs, who are ſituated in the eaſtern part of the kingdom of Caſan, between the Wolga and the river Kama, formerly received tribute from Ruſſia, which the Great Duke of Muſcovy carried to them annually upon his own horſes. He was obliged to walk on foot, followed by the principal perſons of his court, to meet the perſons who came to demand this tribute, who were the pooreſt and moſt wretched of all the tribes. John or Iwan, Duke of Muſcovy, ſurnamed the Great, was the firſt, who, to free himſelf from this ſhameful mark of ſervitude, attempted to bring the Tartars under ſubjection. His ſon Baſil continued to reduce them; but the final blow was given them by John Baſilides, a prince deteſted for his barbarity, but reſolute and

* The Orientals call him Timur-lang, that is, Tamur the lame. He in fact halted, by reaſon of a wound received in his youth. He was born in 1432, reigned ſix and thirty years, and died at the age of 63.

valiant,

valiant. He extended his power even over the moſt diſtant of their hords.

The Kan of the Calmucks, who occupy a great part of the country, which lies between the Moungal and the Wolga, is ſo rich and powerful, that it is ſaid he can bring an army of an hundred thouſand men into the field. There is always a body of them in the Ruſſian army. I have ſeen them, and can therefore deſcribe them. They are rather ſhort than tall; but ſtrong, robuſt, courageous, and inured to fatigue. Their complexion is tawny; their faces flat, and their noſes ſunk to a level with their cheeks; only their two noſtrils are ſtriking, becauſe larger than their eyes; theſe are ſo ſmall, that they could not be perceived, if they were not extremely black and brilliant. They have ſcarce any beard; and their hair, of which they wear only a tuft on the crown of the head, is rough like a horſe's mane. They wear a round bonnet with a border of fur in the Poliſh manner, and a kind of looſe coat of ſheep-ſkins, which comes down to the middle of their leg. They ſerve only on horſeback; their arms are a bow which is larger, and arrows which are longer than uſual. It is ſaid that their arrows are ſo ſharp-pointed, and that they make them fly with ſuch force, that they will pierce a man through. They carry alſo a fuſee, which hangs by their ſide: and a lance, which they handle with great dexterity. They are all pagans: the name Calmucks is a kind of nick-name given them by the Mahometan Tartars, with which they are much offended. They want to be called Mogouls.

Thoſe Tartars who are at preſent called Moungals, are ſituated, on one ſide, between theſe laſt people and the ſea of Japan, and on the other between China and Siberia. It is of little importance to mention their ſeveral tribes.

Thoſe that lie next to Poland, and who by their incurſions into that kingdom, have made themſelves better known than the others, are called Little Tartars, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of Aſia. Like theſe they are divided into ſeveral hords, each forming a different nation: The Kubans; the Tartars of the Crimea or Perecop; the hord of Oczakow; and that of Buoziack.

Beſides theſe four ſpecies of Little Tartars, there is another very ſingular one, of which it may not be improper to take notice. They are ſituated in the heart of Lithuania. Some tribes of this people formerly threatened that duchy: Vitoldus, uncle of Flagellon, a bold and haughty prince, marched againſt them, and ſucceeded. He led captive into Lithuania many thouſands of thoſe Tartars of both ſexes. He treated them mildly, and aſſigned them lands near Vilna to cultivate, which their poſterity poſſeſs at this day. They have retained Mahometaniſm, and all their ancient cuſtoms; but they are leſs barbarous than thoſe of the Crimea and its neighbourhood. They love work, are very ſober, and of inviolable fidelity. The grandees of Poland are fond of having them in their ſervice. They have eſcorted me in many journies, and it is from them I have received the following portrait of the preſent Tartars, who were originally one and the ſame people with themſelves. They come into the world with their eye-

lids

lids cloſed together ſo faſt, that for ſome days they cannot open them. They are thick-ſet, with broad ſhoulders, and extremely ſtrong and vigorous. They have a ſhort neck and large head, a flat face almoſt round, a large forehead well ſhaped, bright eyes, a ſhort noſe, a little mouth, white teeth, an olive complexion, rough black hair, and ſcarce any beard. They clip the hind part of their head, leaving only a tuft before. They never till the ground, and are ſtrangers to all the arts of luxury and effeminacy. They know nothing of the ſciences. Their laws are ſimple; and are derived from plain good ſenſe, as much as from cuſtom. Gentle and affable among themſelves, they are ſo likewiſe to thoſe whom trade brings into their country. They have no law-ſuits nor quarrels among them. If any one has a claim upon another, he goes to one of the principal men, called Murzas, who determines it without long diſcuſſion, and without formality. Prejudiced in favour of the principles of Mahomet's law, which they profeſs, they abhor all Chriſtians; and in their invaſions, covering their avarice with a religious motive, they make a merit of cauſing Chriſtians to feel all the ferocity of their character.

They are brought up very hardy. Deſtined to a life of toil, they are inured to it from their infancy. Mothers often waſh their children in cold water, mixed with ſalt, to harden their ſkins; hence, in the depth of winter they ſwim acroſs rivers without ſuffering any inconvenience. To teach them to be markſmen, they receive no food after they are ſeven years old, but what they kill with their arrows.

Their cloathing is ſheep-ſkins. In winter, they wear the wool next to them; but in ſummer, or when it rains, they wear the other ſide next them, The Kan and all his family are cloathed in ſilk, which they uſually receive in preſents from the neighbouring nations, particularly Poland; and the officers wear cloth. They wear no turban, but bonnets of the Poliſh faſhion.

Their arms are a crooked ſabre, a lance, and a bow. They are afraid of fire-arms. They fight at a diſtance, and even in their flight, they let fly their arrows; but if they cannot avoid a cloſe fight, they uſe their ſabres with ſuch dexterity, that it is not eaſy to parry them. In their flight they are very ſwift, and their purſuers run a great riſk, not ſo much from their arrows, as from their unexpected return. They all carry a knife and an awl to make leather ſtraps to bind their priſoners. They often poiſon the points of their arrows.

Their horſes are extremely briſk and nimble runners; and as indefatigable as their riders; but they make no ſhew: the Tartars often make them travel fifty or ſixty miles without halting. They cut the cartilage which ſeparates their noſtrils, that breathing more eaſily they may be leſs apt to give out, however violently they may be rode. They always lead ſeveral in their hands, and when one is tired, they ſpring on the back of another without ſtopping a moment.

The uſual food of theſe Tartars, and that of which they are moſt fond, is horſe-fleſh. Bread and mutton are reſerved for the rich, and for the wealthy burghers, that live in their towns without ever taking the field. The poorer ſort bake

bake under aſhes, cakes made of millet, barley, or Sarrazin corn, which grows ſpontaneouſly. The Poles call this bread Tatarka. Tho' ſome become ſervants to others, yet moſt of them chooſe rather to ſeek their food by rapine, than to earn it by an ignominious ſubjection. It is ſcarce conceivable, conſidering their indefatigability in war, how lazy and ſlothful they are in their families, where they ſpend their days in the moſt contemptible indolence. When they kill a horſe, they firſt thruſt a knife into his throat, and carefully ſaving the blood, they mix it with flour of millet, and make a kind of pudding, which they hold to be delicious. They afterwards cut the horſe into four quarters. The maſter reſerves one only for himſelf, and ſends the other three as preſents to his friends or neighbours, who make returns in kind.

Their uſual drink is water. In ſome parts of their country there is none, and they either have not the ſenſe to dig pits, or they neglect it through indolence. Snow, however, in the winter, ſupplies the defect. Thoſe who live more comfortably than the reſt, make a kind of drink of boiled millet. It is of the conſiſtence and colour of milk, and drank to exceſs will intoxicate. However, they eſteem nothing comparable to mares milk, which they chiefly uſe when they croſs deſarts to make war. Being Mahometans, they abſtain from wine, or drink it only by ſtealth; but they think the frequent uſe of brandy no breach of their laws.

When they find themſelves indiſpoſed, they open a vein of a horſe, drink the blood hot, and fatigue themſelves as much as poſſible, by galloping *. If any one is ſo weak that he cannot uſe this exerciſe, two of them get on horſeback, and holding him each by an arm, make him ride at full ſpeed. There are few ailments which they do not actually cure, or believe they cure, by this remedy. Without any other occaſion, than to appeaſe their hunger or thirſt, when they have nothing elſe, they bleed their horſes, and drink the blood. This likewiſe was the cuſtom of the ancient Scythians. They all carry millet of meal with them when they go to war. They mix it with water; and this ſupports them in their painful marches, and extremely refreſhes them in the great heats. Poliſh lords, who have been obliged to follow them, have often experienced what I ſay; and it is upon their teſtimony I relate it.

Ever ready to make incurſions among their neighbours, becauſe they have no other way of ſupplying themſelves with what they want, they are not apprehenſive of being attacked in their turn. They truſt to the power of the Turks for their protection.

When they are preparing for an expedition, they ſend their horſes for ſome time to graſs in the fields to fatten: their Kan holds council with the Galga, or general of the army: they aſſemble their chief Murzas: they draw up the plan of operations, or rather of the ravages to be committed. If the Kan commands

* Perſons of credit have aſſured me (ſays M. Polignac) that when Charles XII. was at Bender, the Swedes of his retinue having neither ſurgeons nor phyſicians to attend them in their illneſs, made uſe of this remedy, and were all cured by it.

mands in perſon, all muſt march with him; none muſt ſtay even to guard their country; nor are the infirmities of old age admitted as an excuſe. On theſe occaſions, the army amounts, as I have ſaid, to 100,000 men, and 2 or 300,000 horſes; for each Tartar has two or three.

They croſs rivers in a very extraordinary manner. Every one gathers ruſhes or reeds, which he faſtens to two long poles, and makes a kind of raft, on which he places his cloaths and arms. He ties theſe poles to the tail of one of his horſes, whoſe mane he holds with one hand, and holding a rod in the other to guide the horſe, he ſwims with his feet, and paſſes the river quite naked. As to the reſt, theſe rafts, though made in haſte, are ſo well joined and ſo firm, that they carry ſafely ſuch of their ſlaves as cannot ſwim.

If they have effects which water might damage, they kill four horſes that are nearly of a ſize; and preſerving the ſkins whole, after taking out the fleſh and bones, they blow them like bladders, and place them on ſledges, or waggons, of which they take off the wheels. Several Tartars ſwim at the ſides to ſecure this floating machine, which is drawn by two horſes, each of which hath a conductor to guide him to ſhore.

They are more eager to make incurſions in winter than in ſummer, becauſe in that ſeaſon they find in the houſes of the peaſants, all the proviſions which in ſummer they muſt collect in the fields, and the rivers and marſhes being frozen, they can go any where without hindrance; the ſnow too renders the roads more convenient for their horſes, which they never ſhoe. The feeding of their horſes gives them no more trouble than the feeding of themſelves; they require neither proviſions nor magazines.

Moſs, bark of trees, and poor herbs, are to them as good, and ſupport them as well as the choiceſt forage; and in the winter they ſeek their food under ſnow, which they remove with their feet.

The Tartars in their expeditions never follow the uſual beaten paths. They always chooſe the leaſt known and moſt difficult roads; and to cover their march ſtill more, they never make fires in their camp. By theſe means, they ſurpriſe even thoſe who are moſt upon their guard againſt theſe incurſions.

When they arrive within three or four leagues of the country into which they intend to penetrate, they halt for ſome days to reſt. They then divide into three bodies; two of which compoſe the main body of their army: the third is ſubdivided, and forms a large detachment at each ſide. In this order they enter the country. The center advances in a parallel line with the right and left; but the whole marches night and day, without halting above an hour at moſt.

After marching ſixty or eighty leagues into the country (which tract they ſpare at preſent, paſſing through it only as travellers) the two wings are ordered to diſperſe themſelves ſix leagues round. Divided again into ten or twelve brigades, of about 5 or 600 men each, and theſe into ſeveral others as they advance, they make what haſte they can to pillage the country; and joining again by degrees, and in the ſame order in which they ſeparated, they carry the booty to the main body of the army, which during this time kept together to

repel the inhabitants, who might aſſemble to attack them. Two new corps are detached to ſcour the parts where the former had been; and in the inſtant theſe return, a third detachment is ſent out to gather the gleaning the others may have left.

Theſe barbarians ſpare none. They cut the throats of infants and old people; but men and women, boys and girls, they compel to follow them. The number of their captives hath ſometimes exceeded 50,000. They generally burn the houſes they have plundered, and turn the moſt pleaſant and fruitful countries into a frightful deſart.

The ſame havock which they make round the places they fix for the limits of their incurſions, they make alſo in their return in thoſe parts which they ſpared at firſt, provided they be not purſued. When they paſs the frontiers and get to a place of ſafety, they repoſe themſelves and divide the booty, of which one tenth is always reſerved for the Kan. They cruelly ſeparate all the members of one family; the huſband from the wife, the children from the parents, allotting them to different perſons, and ſelling them into different countries. They ſell many of them to the Turks, who employ them on board their gallies; but they reſerve the young women to be the unfortunate victims of their brutality. Tho' they arrive in a country all together, yet in going back they march in ſeveral diviſions, that thoſe who follow them, ſeeing ſeveral tracks, may not know preciſely which road they have taken. On theſe occaſions, the Coſſacks, who have almoſt as much ferocity, and no leſs love of plunder, generally lay ambuſcades for them. They wait for them in defiles, or even in the midſt of plains, where they march in *tabort*; that is the name they give to their manner of travelling between two rows of waggons, which encloſe them: and from thence they fire on the Tartars with ſmall arms. It ſeldom happens, but that the whole army is put into diſorder. They fly in ſuch confuſion, that one runs over another, without reſpect even to their leaders. Each runs whither his fears carry him: and if they are purſued, they gradually throw away all they carry. They ſtrew effects in the way, to amuſe the enemy. They throw away even their arms, and often, without ceaſing to run, they cut the girts of their ſaddles, and let them fall off, in order to relieve their horſes, that they may run more ſwiftly.

The following remarkable part was acted in Dublin, by a perſon who has acted very remarkable parts wherever he has appeared; who has good humour enough to make a life of diſſipation and frolic, ſerve as a ſort of merit; who has great talents for mimickry, without being an actor, and who has a conſiderable ſhare of wit and humour, which could acquire him the reputation of a writer. But he has made more noiſe than many who have had a larger ſhare of theſe talents, which is all he ſeems to deſire. In a word, he is the moſt ſingular man in this age, and is able to appear in a greater variety of characters than any body elſe, becauſe he has no character of his own.

From

From Drontheim in Norway, having alſo viſited in his tour the cities of Peterſburgh, Hamburgh, Amſterdam, and London, (from which laſt capital he is juſt arrived) Ulan Smolenzco Czernznigorff, the celebrated Laplander, born within the confines of the Arctic circle.

HE tells things paſt, preſent, and to come, by means of a quobdas, kannus, or drum, handed down from nine generations from his great anceſtor Ulan Gorff, who in the reign of Swein, King of Norway, was burnt for being a wizard, being charged by ſome miſſionaries with having a familiar, but was in reality no other than a Gam, or good genius, which is a conſtant attendant on the chief fire of each tribe of the Laplanders and moſt of the aborigines or old inhabitants of Scandinavia, and all the regions of the north.

His life hath been devoted to the ſtudy of aſtrology; and he hereby informs the learned, that his chief reaſon of his preſent viſit to theſe ſouthern regions of the globe, is to have the opportunity of beholding and obſerving the expected amazing comet, or blazing ſtar, whoſe appearance was predicted by him in his Ephemeris Septentrionalis, publiſhed at Copenhagen and Stockholm in 1743, the tranſit of which, being by him and Dr. Halley laid down to be ſouth of the equinoctial line, could not be obſerved in his own country, the latitude or altitude of the pole being there 73 degrees north, conſequently the comet's path being below the horizon of Lapland, that ſtupendous phænomenon will be inviſible to all the inhabitants thereof.

He begs leave to acquaint the public, that he hath by frequent converſe with ſome Bramins (who, by means of the Ruſſian caravans from China and India, have paſſed from the eaſt into Norway) acquired all the wiſdom of the oriental Magi or Gymnoſophiſts, the ſame as that of the ancient ſoothſayers, modern roſycruſians, or followers of Peter Lully, the firſt European profeſſor of the cabaliſtical and hermetic arts, derived originally from the Pythagorean ſect; and hath, according to the unalterable rule and law of the original founder, condemned himſelf to a ſeptennial ſilence and ceſſation of ſpeech, but utters his reſponſes in writing, void of all ambiguity, and eaſy to be comprehended by the meaneſt capacity.

He therefore profeſſes and underſtands all the myſteries of chyromanchy, alectromanchy, and catoptromanchy, he having a magical glaſs to be conſulted upon ſome extraordinary occaſions. He can alſo divine either by hydromanchy or necromancy, and is fully poſſeſſed of the art, called by the Greeks, oneiocritica, or the interpretation of dreams: and will prove to the virtuoſi, that he hath the true ſelinites lac lunæ, or moonſtone, proper for the making of taliſmans, only to be found genuine near the dreadful volcano of Mount Hecla in Iceland; and though he alſo hath in his muſeum ſeveral of the myſtical knots and magical darts of his countrymen, the Samoides and Finlanders, he ſticks chiefly to his drum.

From all which it is evident, (even to the literati themſelves)

that he can inform mankind whether life be happy or unhappy? Suits at law, who ſhall overcome? If the party is to be rich, and how wealth may lawfully be obtained? He anſwers to all queſtions, relating to love, gallantry, and marriage, as what manner of perſon one ſhall be courted by, and be married unto? Whether at preſent bachelor, maid, huſband, wife, widower, or widow? Whether the party be beloved or not? Children, their number and ſex? alſo the diſeaſes, croſſes, accidents, or other fortunate and unfortunate adventures and events, he, ſhe, or they ſhall meet with, or be incident unto, with the means of preventing and avoiding them; and can foretel moſt people's buſineſs, even before they deliver any queſtions; all which he performs with due regard to honour and the ſtricteſt ſecrecy.

*** He ſells prolific drops for barrenneſs in women, the true arcanum by which the northern hive hath anciently poured forth its ſwarms over the reſt of Europe, the uſe of them counteracting the inclemency of that climate, and invigorates cold and languid conſtitutions. Price of the bottle half a guinea, with compleat directions for uſe.

†‡† He hath a few remaining bottles of his grand coſmetic waſh, for the invention of which her Serene Highneſs the Archduchеſs of Livonia preſented him with a veſt of ſables; and honoured him with a ſeal ring from her own finger, and 500 Livonian ducats. Price of this ineſtimable ſecret one guinea.

He is to be ſpoke with at his lodgings at Mr. Tucker's, a portrait-painter, at the houſe with the Venetian window in Uſher's ſtreet, the back of Uſher's quay, from the hours of ſeven till nine, on the evenings of Mondays, Tueſdays, Thurſdays and Fridays only, the other parts of his time being devoted to aſtrology and the ſtudy of the occult ſciences, when he will not be interrupted on any account whatſoever.

Dublin, Dec. 14.

Yeſterday morning the learned world was deprived of one of its moſt uſeful ornaments by the death of the celebrated Lapland philoſopher and virtuoſo, Ulan Smolenzco Czernznigorff, who is greatly lamented by perſons of all ranks, ſexes, and diſtinctions. His diſſolution, which was long ſince predicted by himſelf, was occaſioned by an atrophy contracted by intenſe ſtudy. He was attended by ſeveral eminent phyſicians, whom he diſcovered by his art to have miſtaken the ſtate of his caſe. Many divines remarkable for their learning and piety, waited alſo upon him, and exhorted him to make a full and ample confeſſion of his miſdeeds, as they were perſuaded that he had certainly practiſed the black art, and dealt with the devil, and more eſpecially, as he gave each of them a ſuccinct account of all their moſt ſecret tranſactions; but he perſiſting to the laſt, that all his knowledge was obtained by means of the Gam or good genius, that inhabited his drum, they denounced an anathema againſt him, and refuſed him the rites of their function. He has given all the product of his gain, ſince his arrival in this kingdom, to charitable uſes, and bequeathed many legacies, particularly his quobdas or drum, to be placed in our muſeum. To his

his truſty and well-beloved faithful ſervant Peter, he has left a great number of original letters and queries, from doctors of divinity, phyſic and law, lords and eſquires, ladies, widows, lawyers, kept-miſtreſſes, politicians, courtezans, attornies, waiting-women, civil and military officers, belles, beaus, ſpruce curates, and many others of all ranks, ages, denominations, and ſexes; together with ſeveral horoſcopes ready drawn for perſons, who he underſtood by his art, intended to favour him with their company, many of which laſt will be ſent by the ſaid Peter to their reſpective owners. The memoirs of ſeveral tranſactions that befel him, ſince his arrival in this metropolis, being a compleat ſecret hiſtory of all the private intrigues, anecdotes, &c. thereof, he hath ordered to be printed under the inſpection of an eminent bookſeller who lately went to viſit him, ſo that the public may ſhortly expect to ſee ſeveral curious, uſeful, and truly valuable diſcoveries, the benefit of which works is to go alſo to his man Peter. It appears by a ſketch, found among his papers, that he had formed the plan of an academy for inſtructing the youth of this kingdom in the Pythagorean philoſophy; and particularly in the judicious *Art of holding the tongue*, which it is thought would prove of great and ſingular advantage to ſeveral perſons who ſpeak in public; and that ſo uſeful an inſtitution may not be loſt, it is hoped, that ſuch gentlemen as have the reputation of this country at heart, will appoint ſome place of meeting to conſider of proper ways and means to carry this important deſign into execution.

EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES.

PERHAPS the human mind can have no entertainment at once more congenial and more uſeful to it, than ſuch ſtories as compoſe the following article; ſtories of extraordinary diſtreſſes, and wonderful deliverances. In the former part our humanity is cultivated; in the latter is inſpired a ſpirited hope and a truſt in Providence, which may enable us to act with reſolution in the trying emergencies of life. They have the effect which Ariſtotle attributes to good tragedy, in correcting the paſſions by terror and pity. They give us ſtriking examples of the reſources in which ingenious diſtreſs is fruitful; and inſtances as remarkable of magnanimity and virtue, ſometimes even in rude minds, and where it might leaſt be expected. For theſe reaſons we have not confined ourſelves wholly to the publications of the laſt year, for narratives of that kind, but have collected from thoſe of the preceding, ſuch as we thought moſt memorable.

A genuine narrative of the ſufferings of the perſons who were confined in the priſon called the Black Hole, in Fort William at Calcutta, in the kingdom of Bengal, after the ſurrender of that place to the Indians in June 1756, from a letter of J. Z. Holwell, Eſq; to William Davis, Eſq;

THE ill conduct of Drake, the late governor of Calcutta, who had, among other things, unjuſtly impriſoned a very conſiderable merchant of the country, whoſe name was Omychund, and who was a Gentoo, having drawn the reſentment of the viceroy upon the factory, he marched againſt it in perſon, with a very conſiderable force, and laid ſiege to the fort.

Drake, who had brought on this misfortune, no ſooner ſaw it approach, than he deſerted his ſtation, and left the gentlemen of the factory and the garriſon to ſhift for themſelves. As ſoon as Drake was gone, Mr. Holwell, from whoſe letter this account is taken, took the command upon himſelf, and reſolved to defend the place as long as he was able. This voluntary oppoſition of Mr. Holwell incenſed the viceroy againſt him; and ſuppoſing, that he would not have undertaken a work of ſupererogation, attended with ſuch fatigue and danger, upon diſintereſted principles, he made no doubt but that there were very great treaſures in the fort, in which he was deeply concerned as a proprietor; he therefore puſhed on the ſiege with great vigour.

A very good account of the whole tranſaction is given by Mr. Holwell himſelf, in the following manner.

"The ſuba, or viceroy of Bengal, and his troops, were in poſ-

poſſeſſion of the fort, before ſix in the evening. At a third interview with him, before ſeven, he repeated his aſſurances to me, on the word of a ſoldier, that no harm ſhould come to us: and, indeed, I believe his orders were only general, that we ſhould for that night be ſecured; and that what followed was the reſult of revenge and reſentment in the breaſts of the lower Jemmautdaars, or Serjeants (to whoſe cuſtody we were delivered) for the number of their order killed during the ſiege. Be this as it may, as ſoon as it was dark, we were all, without diſtinction, directed by the guard ſet over us to collect ourſelves into one body, and ſit down quietly under the arched Veranda, or Piazza, to the weſt of the Black-hole priſon, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard. Juſt as it was dark, about 400 or 500 men, who were drawn up upon the parade, advanced, and ordered us all to riſe and go into the barracks. We were no ſooner all within them, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall; and, with their muſkets preſented, ordered us to go into the room at the ſouthernmoſt end of the barrack, commonly called the Black-hole priſon. Few amongſt us, the ſoldiers excepted, had the leaſt idea of the dimenſions or nature of a place we had never ſeen; for if we had, we ſhould, at all events, have ruſhed upon the guard, and been, as the leſſer evil, by our own choice cut to pieces.

Amongſt the firſt that entered were myſelf, Meſſieurs Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, Enſign Scott, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got poſſeſſion of the window neareſt the door, and Meſſieurs Coles and Scott into the window with me, they being both wounded (the firſt I believe mortally.) The reſt of the above mentioned gentlemen were cloſe round about me. It was now about eight o'clock.

Figure to yourſelf, my friend, if poſſible, the ſituation of a hundred and forty-ſix wretches, exhauſted by continual fatigue and action, crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a cloſe ſultry night, in Bengal, ſhut up to the eaſtward and ſouthward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the weſtward by two windows, ſtrongly barred with iron, from which we could receive ſcarce any the leaſt circulation of freſh air.

What muſt enſue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the inſtant I caſt my eyes round and ſaw the ſize and ſituation of the room. Many unſucceſsful attempts were made to force the door; for having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitleſs. . . . .

Amongſt the guards poſted at the windows, I obſerved an old Jemmautdaar near me, who ſeemed to carry ſome compaſſion for us in his countenance. I called him to me, and preſſed him to endeavour to get us ſeparated, half in one place, and half in another, and that he ſhould in the morning receive a thouſand rupees for this act of tenderneſs. He withdrew; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impoſſible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promiſed him two thouſand: he

withdrew a ſecond time, but returned ſoon, and (with, I believe, much real pity and concern) told me, that it could not be done but by the ſuba's order, and that no one dared awake him.

We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perſpiration ſo profuſe, you can form no idea of it. This brought on a raging thirſt, which increaſed in proportion as the body was drained of its moiſture.

Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their cloaths: this was approved as a happy motion, and in a few minutes, I believe every man was ſtripped (myſelf, Mr. Court, and the two young gentlemen by me excepted.) For a little time they flattered themſelves with having gained a mighty advantage; every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air, and Mr. Baillie propoſed that every man ſhould ſit down on his hams. This expedient was ſeveral times put in practice, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whoſe natural ſtrength was leſs than that of others, or who had been more exhauſted and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to riſe, fell to riſe no more; for they were inſtantly trod to death, or ſuffocated. When the whole body ſat down, they were ſo cloſely wedged together, that they were obliged to uſe many efforts, before they could put themſelves in motion to get up again.

Before nine o'clock every man's thirſt grew intolerable, and reſpiration difficult. Efforts were made again to force the door, but in vain. Many inſults were uſed to the guard to provoke them to fire in upon us. For my own part, I hitherto felt little pain or uneaſineſs, but what reſulted from my anxiety for the ſufferings of thoſe within. By keeping my face between two of the bars I obtained air enough to give my lungs eaſy play, though my perſpiration was exceſſive, and thirſt commencing. At this period, ſo ſtrong a urinous volatile effluvia came from the priſon, that I was not able to turn my head that way, for more than a few ſeconds at a time.

Now every body, excepting thoſe ſituated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious: *Water, water*, became the general cry. And the old Jemmautdaar before mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring ſome ſkins of water. This was what I dreaded. I foreſaw it would prove the ruin of the ſmall chance left us, and eſſayed many times to ſpeak to him privately to forbid its being brought: but the clamour was ſo loud, it became impoſſible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the univerſal agitation and raving the ſight of it threw us into. I flattered myſelf that ſome, by preſerving an equal temper of mind, might out-live the night; but now the reflection, which gave me the greateſt pain, was, that I ſaw no poſſibility of one eſcaping to tell the diſmal tale.

Until the water came, I had myſelf not ſuffered much from thirſt, which inſtantly grew exceſſive. We had no means of conveying it into the priſon, but by hats forced through the bars; and thus myſelf

myſelf and Meſſieurs Coles and Scott (notwithſtanding the pains they ſuffered from their wounds) ſupplied them as faſt as poſſible. But thoſe who have experienced intenſe thirſt, or are acquainted with the cauſe and nature of this appetite, will be ſufficiently ſenſible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation; the cauſe ſtill ſubſiſted. Though we brought full hats within the bars, there enſued ſuch violent ſtruggles, and frequent conteſts to get at it, that before it reached the lips of any one, there would be ſcarcely a ſmall tea cup full left in them. Theſe ſupplies, like ſprinkling water on fire, only ſerved to feed and raiſe the flame.

Oh! my dear Sir, how ſhall I give you a conception of what I felt at the cries and ravings of thoſe in the remoter parts of the priſon, who could not entertain a probable hope of obtaining a drop, yet could not diveſt themſelves of expectation, however unavailing! and calling on me by the tender conſiderations of friendſhip and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me! Think, if poſſible, what my heart muſt have ſuffered at ſeeing and hearing their diſtreſs, without having it in my power to relieve them: for the confuſion now became general and horrid. Several quitted the other window (the only chance they had for life) to force their way to the water, and the throng and preſs upon the window was beyond bearing; many forcing their paſſage from the further part of the room, preſſed down thoſe in their way, who had leſs ſtrength, and trampled them to death.

From about nine to near eleven, I ſuſtained this cruel ſcene and painful ſituation, ſtill ſupplying them with water, though my legs were almoſt broke with the weight againſt them. By this time I myſelf was near preſſed to death, and my two companions, with Mr. William Parker (who had forced himſelf into the window) were really ſo. . . .

For a great while they preſerved a reſpect and regard to me, more than indeed I could well expect, our circumſtances conſidered; but now all diſtinction was loſt. My friend Baillie, Meſſrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simpſon, and ſeveral others, for whom I had a real eſteem and affection, had for ſome time been dead at my feet; and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common ſoldier, who, by the help of more robuſt conſtitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held faſt by the bars over me, till at laſt I became ſo preſſed and wedged up, I was deprived of all motion.

Determined now to give every thing up, I called to them, and begged, as the laſt inſtance of their regard, they would remove the preſſure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window, to die in quiet. They gave way; and with much difficulty I forced a paſſage into the center of the priſon, where the throng was leſs by the many dead, (then I believe amounting to one third) and the numbers who flocked to the windows; for by this time they had water alſo at the other window.

In

In the black-hole there is a platform * correſponding with that in the barrack: I travelled over the dead, and repaired to the further end of it, juſt oppoſite to the other window. Here my poor friend Mr. Edward Eyre came ſtaggering over the dead to me, and with his uſual coolneſs and good-nature, aſked me how I did? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myſelf down on ſome of the dead behind me, on the platform; and, recommending myſelf to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my ſufferings could have no long duration.

My thirſt grew now inſupportable, and the difficulty of breathing much increaſed; and I had not remained in this ſituation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was ſeized with a pain in my breaſt, and palpitation of heart, both to the moſt exquiſite degree. Theſe rouſed and obliged me to get up again; but ſtill the pain, palpitation, thirſt, and difficulty of breathing increaſed. I retained my ſenſes notwithſtanding; and had the grief to ſee death not ſo near me as I hoped; but could no longer bear the pains I ſuffered without attempting a relief, which I knew freſh air would and could only give me. I inſtantly determined to puſh for the window oppoſite to me; and by an effort of double the ſtrength I had ever before poſſeſſed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand ſeized a bar, and by that means gained the ſecond, though I think there were at leaſt ſix or ſeven ranks between me and the window.

In a few moments the pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceaſed; but my thirſt continued intolerable. I called aloud for *Water for God's ſake.* I had been concluded dead; but as ſoon as they found me amongſt them, they ſtill had the reſpect and tenderneſs for me, to cry out, *Give him water, give him water!* nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I had no relief; my thirſt was rather increaſed by it; ſo I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event; and kept my mouth moiſt from time to time by ſucking the perſpiration out of my ſhirt-ſleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain from my head and face; you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them eſcaped my mouth.

I came into the priſon without coat or waiſtcoat; the ſeaſon was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards, who robbed me of it when we were under the Veranda. Whilſt I was at this ſecond window, I was obſerved by one of my miſerable companions on the right of me, in the expedient of allaying my thirſt by ſucking my ſhirt-ſleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a conſiderable part of my ſtore; though after I detected him, I had even the addreſs to begin on that ſleeve firſt, when I thought my reſervoirs were ſufficiently replenished.

* This platform was raiſed between three and four feet from the floor, open underneath; it extended the whole length of the eaſt ſide of the priſon, and was above ſix feet wide.

niſhed; and our mouths and noſes often met in the conteſt. This plunderer I found afterwards was a worthy young gentleman in the ſervice, Mr. Luſhington, one of the few who eſcaped from death, and ſince paid me the compliment of aſſuring me, he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my ſleeves. Before I hit upon this happy expedient, I had, in an ungovernable fit of thirſt, attempted drinking my urine; but it was ſo intenſely bitter, there was no enduring a ſecond taſte, whereas no Briſtol water could be more ſoft or pleaſant than what aroſe from perſpiration.

By half an hour paſt eleven, the much greater number of thoſe living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable; few retaining any calmneſs, but the ranks next the windows. They all now found, that water, inſtead of relieving, rather heightened their uneaſineſſes; and, *Air, air*, was the general cry. Every inſult that could be deviſed againſt the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuſe that the ſuba, Monickchund, &c. could be loaded with, were repeated to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, ruſhing tumultuouſly towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the firſt ſhot. Then a general prayer to heaven to haſten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our miſery. But theſe failing, they whoſe ſtrength and ſpirits were quite exhauſted, laid themſelves down and expired quietly upon their fellows: others who had yet ſome ſtrength and vigour left, made a laſt effort for the windows, and ſeveral ſucceeded by leaping and ſcrambling over the backs and heads of thoſe in the firſt ranks; and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left ſunk with the violent preſſure, and were ſoon ſuffocated; for now a ſteam aroſe from the living and the dead, which affected us in all its circumſtances, as if we were forcibly held by our heads over a bowl of ſtrong volatile ſpirit of hartſhorn, until ſuffocated; nor could the effluvia of the one be diſtinguiſhed from the other; and frequently, when I was forced by the load upon my head and ſhoulders, to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, inſtantly to raiſe it again, to eſcape ſuffocation.

I need not, my dear friend, aſk your commiſeration, when I tell you, that in this plight, from half an hour after eleven till near two in the morning, I ſuſtained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees on my back, and the preſſure of his whole body on my head; a Dutch ſerjeant, who had taken his ſeat upon my left ſhoulder, and a Topaz * bearing on my right; all which, nothing could have enabled me long to ſupport, but the props and preſſure equally ſuſtaining me all around. The two latter I frequently diſlodged, by ſhifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs; but my friend above ſtuck faſt, and, as he held by two bars, was immoveable.

The repeated trials and efforts I made to diſlodge this inſufferable incumbrance upon me, at laſt quite exhauſted me, and towards two o' clock,

* A black chriſtian ſoldier; uſually termed ſubjects of Portugal.

clock, finding I muſt quit the window, or ſink where I was, I reſolved on the former, having borne, truly for the ſake of others, infinitely more for life, than the beſt of it is worth.

In the rank cloſe behind me was an officer of one of the ſhips, whoſe name was Carey, and who behaved with much bravery during the ſiege, (his wife, a fine woman tho' country born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the priſon, and was one who ſurvived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my ſtation. On my quitting, he made an attempt to get my place; but was ſupplanted.

Poor Carey expreſſed his thankfulneſs, and ſaid, he would give up life too; but it was with the utmoſt labour we forced our way from the window (ſeveral in the inner ranks appearing to me dead ſtanding †.) He laid himſelf down to die: and his death, I believe, was very ſudden, for he was a ſhort, full, ſanguine man: his ſtrength was great, and I imagine had he not retired with me, I ſhould never have been able to have forced my way.

I was at this time ſenſible of no pain, and little uneaſineſs. I found a ſtupor coming on apace, and laid myſelf down by that gallant old man, the reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his ſon the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the ſouthernmoſt wall of the priſon.

When I had lain there ſome little time, I ſtill had reflection enough to ſuffer ſome uneaſineſs in the thought, that I ſhould be trampled upon, when dead, as I myſelf had done to others. With ſome difficulty I raiſed myſelf and gained the platform a ſecond time, where I preſently loſt all ſenſation: the laſt trace of ſenſibility that I have been able to recollect after my lying down, was, my ſaſh being uneaſy about my waiſt, which I untied and threw from me. Of what paſſed in this interval to the time of my reſurrection from this hole of horrors, I can give you no account.

When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make a ſearch for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a releaſe from this ſcene of miſery. Accordingly Meſſrs. Luſhington and Walcot undertook the ſearch, and by my ſhirt diſcovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence, and imagining I had ſome ſigns of life, brought me towards the window I had firſt poſſeſſion of.

But as life was equally dear to every man (and the ſtench ariſing from the dead bodies was grown ſo intolerable) no one would give up his ſtation in or near the window: ſo they were obliged to carry me back again. But ſoon after Captain Mills, (now captain of the company's yacht) who was in poſſeſſion of a ſeat in the window, had the humanity to offer to reſign it. I was again brought by the ſame gentlemen and placed in the window.

At this juncture the ſuba, who had received an account of the havock

† Unable to fall by the throng and equal preſſure round,

vock death had made amongſt us, ſent one of his Jemmautdaars to enquire if the Chief ſurvived. They ſhewed me to him; told I had appearance of life remaining; and believed I might recover if the door was opened very ſoon. This anſwer being returned to the ſuba, an order came immediately for our releaſe, it being then near ſix in the morning.

As the door opened inwards, and as the dead were piled up againſt it, and covered all the reſt of the floor, it was impoſſible to open it by any efforts from without; it was therefore neceſſary that the dead ſhould be removed by the few that were within, who were become ſo feeble, that the taſk, tho' it was the condition of life, was not performed without the utmoſt difficulty, and it was 20 minutes after the order came before the door could be opened.

About a quarter after ſix in the morning, the poor remains of 146 ſouls, being no more than three and twenty, came out of the Black-hole alive, but in a condition which made it very doubtful whether they would ſee the morning of the next day; among the living was Mrs. Carey, but poor Leech was among the dead. The bodies were dragged out of the hole by the ſoldiers, and thrown promiſcuouſly into the ditch of an unfiniſhed ravelin, which was afterwards filled with earth."

Mr. Holwell, Mr. Court, Mr. Walcot, and Mr. Burdet, were ordered into the cuſtody of an officer, and the reſt were immediately ſet at liberty, except poor Mrs. Carey, whoſe youth and beauty cauſed her to be detained for the conqueror, or ſome officer of ſtate.

Mr. Holwell when he came out of the priſon, was in a high fever, and not able to ſtand; he was, however, ſent for to be examined by the viceroy, and was in this condition carried to his preſence. It was ſome time before he could ſpeak, but as ſoon as he was able, he began to relate the ſufferings and death of his unhappy companions. The viceroy without taking any notice of this tale of diſtreſs, ſtopt him ſhort, by telling him, that he had been informed, there was treaſure to a very conſiderable value ſecreted in the fort, and that if he did not diſcover it, he muſt expect no mercy. Mr. Holwell replied, that he knew of no ſuch treaſure; and then began to remind him of his aſſurance the day before, that no hurt ſhould come either to himſelf or his friends. To this remonſtrance he paid no more regard than he had done to the complaint, but proceeded in his enquiry concerning the treaſure; and when he found no intelligence could be got, he ordered the general of his houſhold troops, whoſe name was Mhir Muddon, to take charge of Mr. Holwell as his priſoner.

Among the guard that marched before Mr. Holwell, when he went out from the preſence of the viceroy, there was a man who carried a large Moratta battle-ax on his ſhoulder, which occaſioned a report, firſt, that his head was to be ſtruck off, and afterwards that the ſentence was executed.

It happened unfortunately, that Mr. Holwell, in the hurry and confuſion of the ſiege, after the fort had been deſerted by Drake, forgot to ſet Omychund, the black merchant, whom Drake had injuriouſly impriſoned, at liberty. This neglect

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Omychund reſented as an act of wilful injuſtice, and Mr. Holwell is of opinion, that if it had not been for Omychund's inſinuations, he ſhould have been diſcharged with the reſt, notwithſtanding the offence he had given to the viceroy by defending the fort; and the notion that prevailed of his being privy to the concealment of money; and in this opinion he ſays he is confirmed by the confinement of the three gentlemen, who were detained with him, who were all of them perſons againſt whom Omychund was known to have conceived a particular reſentment.

Mr. Holwell, and his aſſociates in captivity, were conveyed in a kind of coach, drawn by oxen, called a hackery, to the camp, where they were loaded with fetters, and lodged in the tent of a Mooriſh ſoldier, which being no more than 4 feet by 3 feet, they were obliged to lie, ſick as they were, half in and half out the whole night, which happened to be very rainy; yet the next day their fever happily came to a criſis, and boils broke out on every part of their bodies, which, though they were extremely painful, were the certain preſages of their recovery. The next day they were removed to the coaſt, and by order of general Mhir Muddon, were ſoon after ſent by ſea to Maxadavad, the metropolis of Bengal, to wait the viceroy's return, and be diſpoſed of as he ſhould farther determine.

At Maxadavad they arrived, after a voyage of 13 days, in a large boat, in which they had no better proviſion than rice and water, and no ſofter bed than ſome bamboos laid on the bottom timber of the veſſel; they were, beſides, expoſed alternately to exceſſive heat and violent rains, without any covering but a bit of old mat and ſome ſcraps of ſacking. The boils that covered them were become running ſores, and the irons on their legs had conſumed the fleſh almoſt to the bone.

When they arrived at Maxadavad, Mr. Holwell ſent a letter to Mr. Law, the chief of the French factory, with an account of their diſtreſs, and Mr. Law, with great politeneſs and humanity, ſent them not only cloaths, linen, proviſion and liquors, in great plenty, but money.

About 4 o'clock on the 7th of July, they landed, and after marching a conſiderable way as a ſpectacle to the multitude that thronged round them, they were depoſited under an open ſhed, not far from the palace.

In this place they received every poſſible relief, not only from the great kindneſs of the French and Dutch chiefs, but from the Arabian merchants.

On the 18th of July, the viceroy arrived, and the priſoners then learned that he had enquired for them, in order to ſet them at liberty before he left Calcutta, and was offended with Mhir Muddon for having ſo haſtily removed them to Maxadavad. He did not, however, order their immediate diſcharge when he arrived, which it is natural to ſuppoſe he would have done, if they had been detained in cuſtody contrary to his inclination.

On the 25th they were conducted to the palace, to have an audience, and to know their fate; but they could have no audience that day, which, as it happened, was a favourable circumſtance, for

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at night the viceroy's grandmother ſollicited their liberty, at a feaſt, to which ſhe was invited on his ſafe return, and the viceroy promiſed that he would releaſe them on the morrow.

On the morrow, about five in the morning, they were waked, and told that the viceroy would in a few minutes paſs by to his palace of Mooteejeel. Upon this intelligence they got up, and when the viceroy came in ſight, they paid him the uſual homage, and uttered their benediction aloud. He looked at them with ſtrong marks of compaſſion in his countenance, and ordering his litter to ſtop, he called them to him, and having heard a ſhort extemporary petition, which was ſpoken by Mr. Holwell, he made no reply, but ordered two of his officers to ſee their irons inſtantly ſtruck off, and conduct them ſafely wherever they choſe to go, giving them a ſtrict charge to ſee that they ſuffered no injury or inſult by the way.

This act of mercy, however late, or from whatever motive, was the more meritorious, as great pains were taken by ſome time-ſerving ſycophants to prevent it: they told the viceroy, that Mr. Holwell, notwithſtanding his loſſes, was ſtill poſſeſſed of enough to pay a conſiderable ſum for his freedom, to which the viceroy nobly replied, "If he has any thing left, let him keep it; his ſufferings have been great, and he ſhall have his liberty."

Mr. Holwell and his friends being thus diſmiſſed, immediately took boat, and ſoon after arrived ſafe at the Dutch ſettlement at Corcemadad, where he afterwards embarked for England.

An authentic narrative of the loſs of the Doddington Indiaman, and of the adventures of thoſe on board who ſurvived the ſhipwreck; from the journal of one of the ſurviving officers.

THE Doddington, Captain Samſon, ſailed from the Downs on the 23d of April 1755, in company with the Pelham, the Houghton, the Streatham, and the Edgecourt, all in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, and in about ſeven days got clear of the channel; during this time Captain Samſon perceived that his ſhip ſailed faſter than any of the others, and he was unwilling to loſe the advantage of this ſuperiority by keeping them company: he therefore ſtood on alone, and having very ſoon loſt ſight of them, he made Bonavi[illegible], one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, lat. 16 North, on the 20th of May, and on the 21ſt he got into Porto Prior bay. It now appeared either that he had been miſtaken in ſuppoſing his ſhip to outſail the reſt of the fleet, or that he had loſt time by the courſe he had ſteered, for he found the Pelham and the Streatham had reached the bay two hours before him. The Houghton arrived ſoon afterwards, but the Edgecourt did not come in till the 26th.

On the 27th of May, the Doddington, Pelham, Streatham, and Houghton, having taken in their water, proceeded on the voyage together, leaving the Edgecourt in the road; they continued in company ſteering S. by E. ½ E. till the 28th, when Capt. Samſon thinking the courſe too far eaſterly, ordered the Doddington to be kept South, which

which again ſeparated her from the reſt of the fleet, and after a fine voyage of ſeven weeks ſhe made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. Having juſt doubled the Cape, a new departure was taken from de Agulhas on the 8th of July; and the veſſel having ſteered eaſtward about twenty-four hours, between the latitude of 35 d. 30 m. and 36 d. the captain ordered her to be kept E. N. E.

In this courſe ſhe continued till about a quarter before one in the morning of Thurſday, July 17, when ſhe ſtruck: the officer from whoſe journal this account is taken, was then aſleep in his cabin, but being ſuddenly awaked by the ſhock, he ſtarted up in the utmoſt conſternation, and made all the haſte he could to get upon deck; here all the terrors of his ſituation ruſhed upon him at once; he ſaw the men daſhed to and fro by the violence of the ſea that rolled over them, and the ſhip breaking to pieces at every ſtroke of the ſurge; he crawled over, with great difficulty, to the larboard ſide of the quarter-deck, which lay the higheſt out of water, and there he found the captain, who ſaid very little more than they muſt all periſh; in a few minutes a ſea parted them, and he ſaw him no more. He made a ſhift to get back to the quarter-deck, but he was very much bruiſed, and the ſmall bone of his left arm was broken; all the reſt of the ſhip was under water, and ſhattered to pieces. In this dreadful ſituation, expecting every moment to be ſwallowed up, he heard ſomebody cry out, *Land!* upon this he looked eagerly about him, but though he ſaw ſomething which he ſuppoſed was taken for land, he believed it only the range of the ſea on the other ſide of the breakers; at the ſame moment the ſea broke over him with great violence, and not only forced him from his hold, but ſtunned him by a violent blow upon his eye. Though from this time he lay inſenſible till after day-light, yet he continued upon the wreck, and when he recovered he found himſelf made faſt to a plank by a nail that had been forced into his ſhoulder. Beſides the pain that he felt from his wounds and bruiſes, he was now ſo benumbed with cold, that he could ſcarce move either hand or foot; he called out as loud as he could, and was heard by the people on the rocks, but they could give no aſſiſtance, ſo that it was a conſiderable time before he could diſengage himſelf, and crawl on ſhore.

This ſhore was a barren uninhabited rock, in the lat. of 33 d. 44 m. South, and diſtance about 250 leagues Eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope. Here were now met Mr. Evan Jones, chief mate, Mr. John Collet 2d, Mr. William Webb 3d, and Mr. S. Powell 5th mate; Richard Topping, Carpenter; Neal Bothwell and Nathaniel Chiſholm, quarter-maſters; Daniel Ladova, the captain's ſteward; Henry Sharp, the ſurgeon's ſervant; Thomas Arnold, a black, and John Mackdowal, ſervants to the captain; Robert Beaſeley, John King, Gilbert Chain, Terence Mole, Jonas Roſenbury, John Glaſs, —— Taylor, and Hendrick Scantz, ſeamen; John Yets, midſhipman; and John Liſter, Ralph Smith, and Edward Dyſoy, matroſſes. Theſe perſons, being 23 in number, were all that remained of 270 ſouls that were on board when the ſhip ſtruck.

Their firſt care was to ſearch among the things which had been thrown

thrown upon the rocks from the ſhip, for ſomething to cover them, in which they ſucceeded beyond their hopes. The next thing they felt the want of was fire: and this was not ſo eaſily ſupplied; ſome of them attempted to kindle two pieces of wood, by rubbing them together, but without ſucceſs; others went peeping about among the rocks to pick up ſomething that might ſerve for a flint and ſteel; after long ſearch they found a box that contained two gun flints and a broken file; this was a joyful acquiſition, but ſtill they had nothing that would kindle from a ſpark, and till ſomething like tinder could be procured, the flint and ſteel were uſeleſs; a farther ſearch was therefore undertaken with inexpreſſible ſollicitude and anxiety; a caſk of gun-powder was at laſt diſcovered, but to their great diſappointment it proved to be wet; however, upon a near examination, a ſmall quantity was found at the bottom of the caſk which had ſuffered no damage. Some of this they bruiſed on a linnen rag, which ſerved them very well for tinder, and a fire was ſoon made; the bruiſed and wounded gathered about it, and the reſt went in ſearch of other neceſſaries, without which the rock could afford them but a ſhort reſpite from deſtruction. In the afternoon a box of wax-candles, and a caſk of brandy were brought in: both were extremely welcome, eſpecially the brandy, of which every one thought it adviſeable to take a dram. Soon after ſome others of the party returned with an account that they had diſcovered a caſk almoſt full of freſh water, which was yet of more conſequence than the brandy, and Mr. Jones brought in ſome pieces of ſalt pork, and ſoon after ſome others arrived driving before them ſeven hogs, which had come on ſhore alive; ſome caſks of beer, water, flour, were alſo ſeen at a diſtance, but it was not then poſſible to get them over the rocks. The approach of night made it neceſſary to provide ſome ſhelter, all hands therefore were employed to make a tent of ſome canvas that had been thrown on ſhore, which was at laſt effected, though it was ſo ſmall for want of more ſail-cloth, that it would not hold them all. The iſland was much frequented by a kind of water-fowl ſomething larger than a duck, called a gannet, and the higheſt part of it was covered with their dung; upon this part they were obliged to build their tent, for fear of being overflowed, and they placed thoſe who could not walk, under the tent, and kindled a fire near them; but as they had paſſed the day without food, they paſſed the night without reſt; for beſides that they were ſunk a foot in the fowls dung, the wind was ſo tempeſtuous that the wind blew about their fire, and before it could be ſcraped together again, the rain put it out.

In the morning, which was Friday, July the 18th, thoſe that were able went again about the rock, to ſee what could be ſaved from the wreck, but to their great mortification, they found all the caſks which they had ſeen the night before, except one of beer, and one of flour, ſtaved to pieces againſt the rocks; ſoon after theſe were ſecured the tide flowed up, and put a ſtop to the work of that day. The company therefore was called together to eat their firſt

meal, and ſome raſhers of pork were broiled upon the coals for dinner.

The ſitting down thus deſolate and forlorn, to a repaſt, which they uſed to ſhare in the convivial chearfulneſs, which naturally aroſe from the conſciouſneſs of preſent plenty, and the hope of future, ſtruck them with ſuch a ſenſe of their condition, that they burſt into paſſionate lamentations, wringing their hands, and looking round them with all the wildneſs of deſpair. In ſuch tumult of mind, our thoughts hurry from one object to another, to fix, if poſſible, upon ſomething that may afford comfort; and one of the company recollecting, that as the carpenter was among them, they might build a ſtrong ſloop, if they could procure materials and tools, mentioned this as a ſubject of hope to the reſt. Every man's attention was immediately turned upon the carpenter, who declared that he had no doubt but he ſhould be able to build a ſloop that would carry them all to ſome port of ſafety, if tools and materials could be found; at that time indeed, they had no rational proſpect of procuring either, any more than of being able to victual a ſloop, if they had had one ready built; yet they had no ſooner placed their deliverance one remove beyond total impoſſibility, than they ſeemed to think it neither improbable nor difficult; they began to eat without farther repining, and that moment the boat engroſſed their whole converſation; and they not only debated upon the ſize and manner of rigging her, but to what port they ſhould ſteer her, whether to the Cape or Delagoe.

As ſoon as they had finiſhed their repaſt, ſome went in ſearch of tools, others to mend the tent; no tools however were found that day.

Saturday, July 19, they ſecured four butts of water, one caſk of flour, one hogſhead of brandy, and one of their little boats, which had been thrown up by the tide, in a ſhattered condition; but they found no tools except a ſcraper.

Sunday, July 20, they had the good fortune to find a hamper, in which there were files, ſail-needles, gimblets, and an azimuth compaſs-card. They alſo found two quadrants, a carpenter's adze, a chiſſel, and three ſword blades, and a cheſt of treaſure. This ſearch was made very early in the morning, as there had been a prodigious ſurf rolling in all the day before, by which it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe ſomething would be thrown up. At ten o'clock they all aſſembled to prayers, and did not go out again till after dinner, when they found moſt of the packets of letters belonging to the king and the company; theſe they carefully dried and laid by.

The ſame day, as they were ſearching about the beach, they found the body of a gentlewoman, which they knew to be that of Mrs. Collet, the wife of their ſecond mate, who was then at a little diſtance from the ſpot. The mutual affection of this couple was remarkably tender, and Mr. Jones, the firſt mate, immediately ſtepped aſide to Mr. Collet, and found means to take him to the other ſide of the rock, while the other two mates, the carpenter, and ſome others, dug a grave in the bird's dung, in which they depoſited the body, reading over it the burial ſervice, from a French prayer-book, which had driven aſhore with her from the

the wreck. Having thus paid the debt of humanity to the dead, and concealed from Mr. Collet a ſight which would moſt ſenſibly, if not fatally, have affected him, they found means, after ſome days, to diſcloſe to him by degrees what they had done, and to give him the wedding-ring, which they had taken from her finger. He received it with great emotion, and afterwards ſpent many days in raiſing a monument over the grave, by piling up the ſquareſt ſtones he could find, on the top of which he fixed an elm plank, and inſcribed it with her name, her age, the time of her death, and ſome account of the fatal accident by which it was occaſioned.

On Monday, July 21, they ſecured ſome more water and pork, and found ſome timber, plank, cordage, and canvas. Theſe they ſecured with great joy for the boat, though as yet they were in want of many implements, without which it was impoſſible for the carpenter to work. He had juſt finiſhed a ſaw, but he had neither hammer nor nails. It happened, however, that one of the ſeamen, Hendrick Scantz, a Swede, having picked up an old pair of bellows, brought them to his companions, and told them, that he had been by profeſſion a ſmith, and that with theſe bellows and a forge, which he hoped they would be able, by his direction, to build, he could furniſh the carpenter with all the tools he would want, nails included, as plenty of iron might be obtained by burning the timber which had come on ſhore from the wreck. This account was received with a tranſport of joy; the ſmith immediately applied himſelf to mend the bellows, and the three following days, were ſpent in building a tent and a forge, in bringing together the timber and plank for the carpenter's uſe, who was alſo buſy in getting ready the few tools he had, that he might begin the boat as ſoon as poſſible.

Thurſday, July 24, the carpenter, aſſiſted by Cheſholm the quarter-maſter, began to work upon the keel of the boat, which they had determined ſhould be a ſloop, thirty feet long, and twelve wide. This day alſo the ſmith finiſhed his forge, and laid in a quantity of fir for fuel. From this time the carpenter and ſmith continued to work with indefatigable diligence, except when they were prevented by the weather; the ſmith having fortunately found the ring and nut of a bower anchor, which ſerved him for an anvil, ſupplied chiſſels, axes, hummers, nails, as they wanted, and the carpenter uſed them with great dexterity and diſpatch, till the 31ſt, when he fell ſick.

As the lives of the whole company depended upon the carpenter, they watched his recovery with the utmoſt impatience and anxiety, and, to their unſpeakable joy, he was ſo far recovered on the 2d of Auguſt, as to return to his work.

In the mean time the ſtores which they had ſaved from the wreck were ſo near exhauſted, that they came to an allowance of two ounces of bread a man per day, and had no ſalt pork, except what they were determined to keep to victual the boat; water alſo fell ſhort. In this diſtreſs they had recourſe to ſeveral expedients; they dug a well, in hopes to find a ſpring; but were diſappointed; they attempted to knock down ſome of the gannets that ſettled on the top of the rock, and in this they had ſome ſucceſs;

but they found the flesh very rank, of a fishy taste, and as black as a shoe. They also made a raft or float, called a catamaran, on which they purposed to go out a fishing, with such hooks and lines as had come ashore. They killed also some seals, but all those who eat of them were sick.

When they were driven to great distress, they killed a hog, but they had generally success in fishing on a float, and they sometimes sent out two at a time. It happened, however, that Mr. Collet the second mate, and Mr. Yets the midshipman, were very near being driven out to sea on one of these floats, where they would inevitably have perished.—On the 20th of August they had been fishing all the afternoon, till about four o'clock, when they weighed, and endeavoured to come in again, but the wind suddenly freshening up to the westward, they found, that instead of gaining a-head, they drove out very fast. The people on shore perceived their distress, but knew not how to assist them; at last, however, they sent out another float, with killicks and ropes, which they hoped would enable them to ride till the wind became more moderate; but the surf was so great, that it overset three times, and the men were obliged to swim back. In the mean time, they saw their friends driving out to sea at a great rate, and were just giving them up to inevitable destruction, when the carpenter sent them word, that he would make the little boat so tight, that she should not take in water, faster than one man could lave it out. This gave them fresh hope, and every one was ready to venture out for the deliverance of their friends. The carpenter dispatched the boat in a quarter of an hour, and she soon overtook the float, and took Collet and Yets on board. They soon found, however, that the water gained very fast upon them, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, and when she came in, she was so full of water, that in a few minutes she must have sunk.

As they were now afraid of venturing any more on the raft, the carpenter went again to work on the little boat, and put her into compleat repair. Their success in fishing was very uncertain; sometimes they took great quantities, and sometimes they took none. Nor were the supplies they gained on shore less precarious; the gannets would sometimes settle in amazing numbers like a cloud, and sometimes they would totally disappear for several days together. This made them very desirous of finding some way to preserve the food they caught from putrefaction, that they might lay by the surplus of a fortunate day, to serve them when neither gannets nor fish were to be caught. They made several attempts to cure both their fish and their fowl by smoaking it, but without success. They then attempted to make salt, but this had like to have been fatal to them all. The smith had mended a copper vessel for the experiment, and they immediately began to work, without knowing that their process in salt-making would dissolve the surface of the copper, into verdigreese, and that this solution or rust of copper was poison. Salt, however, was procured, but the quality that made it poisonous happened to abound in such a degree, as to make it intolerably of-

ſenſive to the taſte; it was therefore thrown away, but thoſe who had ventured to palate it, were ſeized with violent cholics, cold ſweats, and retchings, which ſufficiently convinced them of the danger they had eſcaped.

Wedneſday, Sept. 3. They had now been inhabitants of this deſolate rock, ever ſince the 17th of July, near ſeven weeks, and during this time they had often ſeen a great ſmoke on the main land, which made them very deſirous to ſend the boat, to try what aſſiſtance might be obtained from thence. On this day, therefore, Bothwell, Roſenbury, and Taylor, ſet out on the diſcovery, and at night the people on ſhore made a large fire on the higheſt part of the rock, as a ſignal to them.

While they were waiting the return of the boat, they were all thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by an accident which happened to the carpenter, who unfortunately cut his leg with an adze, in ſuch a manner that he was in great danger of bleeding to death, they having no ſurgeon among them, nor any thing proper to apply to the wound. At length, however, tho' with much difficulty, the blood was ſtaunched, and the wound healed without any bad ſymptom intervening.

Saturday, Sept. 6. The weather having been fair for 48 hours, they impatiently expected the return of the boat. At noon they became very uneaſy at having ſeen nothing of her; but juſt as they were ſitting down to dinner, they were agreeably ſurpriſed by two of their people, who came running over the rocks, crying out, *the boat! the boat!* They all ſtarted up, overjoyed at the ſound, and ran to ſee her come in, with great hopes that ſhe had ſucceeded; but they ſoon diſtinguiſhed, that ſhe was rowed only by one man, who plied both oa s: they concluded, therefore, that the other two were loſt or detained; but preſently they ſaw another get up from the bottom of the boat, where it was ſuppoſed he had lain down for a ſhort refreſhment, and then the boat came forward ſomewhat faſter, though ſtill at a ſlow rate. The dinner was now entirely forgot, and after they had waited an hour on the beach with the utmoſt impatience, the boat came in. The two men were Roſenbury and Taylor, who the moment they ſtept on ſhore, threw themſelves on their knees, and in ſhort but earneſt ejaculations returned thanks to God for having once more ſet them ſafe upon this place, which, barren and deſolate as it was, they now conſidered as an aſylum from a ſituation of much greater diſtreſs. Having exerted their utmoſt effort to bring the boat in, their ſtrength forſook them at once, and they were not able to riſe from the ground without aſſiſtance.

As ſoon as they were got over to the tent, every body was buſy to procure them ſome refreſhment, for they found that the boat was quite empty both of proviſions and water. They dreſſed them ſome fiſh, with as much haſte as they could; and perceiving that they were quite exhauſted with watching and labour, they left them when they had eaten their meal, without aſking any queſtions, and they immediately fell aſleep. The beha iour of theſe honeſt ſailors to their meſs-mates, was

an uncommon inſtance of hearty kindneſs, and generous ſelf-denial; the impatience of their curioſity muſt have been both increaſed and juſtified in proportion as they were intereſted in the account that was to gratify it; yet even this curioſity, in which life itſelf was concerned, they had the kindneſs and the fortitude to repreſs, rather than delay the refreſhment of others for its gratification.

The account which was given by the two adventurers when they awoke, was to this effect:

About three o'clock on the day they ſet out, they got round a point, about ſix leagues eaſt of the rock*, as they approached, it had the appearance of a double point, which encouraged them to hope, that between the two points they ſhould find an harbour; but in this hope they were diſappointed, for they found a large ſurf all along the coaſt. However, about five o'clock, having ſeen only one of the natives, they ventured to pull in for the ſhore, but the moment they got into the ſurf, the boat overſet. By this accident poor Bothwell was drowned, and the other two, who reached the ſhore in an exhauſted and feeble condition, were left deſtitute of every kind of proviſion, except a ſmall keg of brandy. As ſoon as they had a little recovered their ſtrength, they crawled along the ſhore to ſeek for the boat, having no other hope of ſhelter from the wild beaſts, which might be expected to come abroad in the night. After ſome ſearch they found her, but they were too weak to get her up, and darkneſs coming on, they were obliged to lie down upon the ſand, with no other covering than the branches of a tree, and in this condition they paſſed the night. As ſoon as the morning dawned, they went again to look for the boat, which the ſurf had driven from where they left her. As they walked along the coaſt they ſaw a man, and advanced towards him, upon which he ran away into the woods, that lay near the beach, and were very thick. They went on, and ſoon after diſcovered the body of their companion Bothwell, which had been dragged up the ſand a conſiderable diſtance from the water, and torn to pieces by ſome wild beaſt. This terrified them exceedingly, and having found the boat, the dread of paſſing another night on ſhore determined them immediatedly to return. They were, however, prevented in the attempt by a freſh gale at weſt, and before they could put back, the boat overſet with them a ſecond time, and drove with them along the ſhore. After much ſtruggling and ſwimming, they got once more ſafe on the land: but as they had now been faſting ever ſince three o'clock the day before, they were fainting with hunger and fatigue. It happened, however, that they met with a fruit reſembling an apple, which they eagerly gathered and eat, without knowing either its name or its quality. By good fortune it did them no harm; and being ſomewhat refreſhed by their antedilu-

* It does not appear by any map, that in lat. 33. 40. 250 leagues eaſt of the Cape, the ſuppoſed ſituation of their rock, they could be within ſix leagues of any part of the main land; they muſt therefore be all miſtaken in their reckoning.

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vian repaſt, they made ſhift to haul the boat on ſhore, and turning it upſide down, they crept under it to ſleep, being thus very well ſheltered from the ſun, and ſecured againſt the wild beaſts. Thoſe who know the irreſiſtible power of ſleep, after long watching and exceſſive labour, will not conclude that their firſt ſlumber was ſhort, becauſe their ſituation was incommodious or inſecure; they waked, however, before the next morning, and peeping under the edge of the boat, they could diſcern the feet of ſeveral creatures, which by their claws they ſuppoſed to be tygers, paſs by them to and again. This was a ſufficient motive to remain in their reſting-place till the morning, when they looked out again, and ſaw the feet of a man. Upon this diſcovery they came from under the boat, to the great aſtoniſhment of the poor ſavage, and two other men and a boy, who were at ſome diſtance. When they had got all together, and were a little recovered from their ſurpriſe, they made ſigns to the ſailors to go away, which they endeavoured to do, though they were able to move but very ſlowly. Before they had gone far from the boat, a conſiderable number of the natives ran down upon them with their launces. It happened that Roſenbury had picked up the maſt of the boat and a piſtol which had been waſhed on ſhore, as he went along; being thus armed, when the Indians came down upon him, and being beſides unable to run, he imprudently turned about, and exerting all his ſtrength, advanced towards them in a threatening manner, ſuppoſing they would have been ſeized with a panic and retreated into the woods. It happened, however, that he was miſtaken; for inſtead of running away they ſurrounded him, and began to whet their launces. Taylor thought it was now time to try what could be done by ſupplication; he therefore threw himſelf on his knees, and in a piteous tone cried out for mercy; but Roſenbury took refuge in the water. The ſavages immediately came up to Taylor, and began to ſtrip him: he ſuffered them quietly to take his ſhoes and his ſhirt, but when they attacked his trowſers he made ſome reſiſtance, and by his geſtures, intreated they would not leave him quite naked, upon which they thought fit to deſiſt. They then made ſigns for Roſenbury to come to them, who was all this while ſwimming about in the ſea; but he refuſed, and made ſigns that they would kill him. They then pointed to Taylor, intimating that they had not killed him: upon this he came forward, and having firſt thrown them his piſtol, and all his cloaths but his ſhirt, he ventured to put himſelf in their hands. When he came up they offered him no violence, only held the boat's maſt and the piſtol to him, by way of deriding the folly of his attempt to fright them. They ſeemed to be very much pleaſed with the cloaths, which they divided among them as far as they would go. Then they began to rifle the boat, and having taken all the rope they could find, and the hook by which the rudder hung to the ſtern-poſt, they began to knock the ſtern to pieces, for the iron which they ſaw about it. Next to knocking the poor wretches on the head, this was the worſt thing they could do, and, rough as they were, they burſt into

tears at the injury that was offered to their boat, and intreated the ſavages to deſiſt, with ſuch agony of diſtreſs that they ſuffered the boat to remain as they found it. Encouraged by this appearance of placability and kindneſs, and urged by hunger, they aſked by ſigns, for ſomething to eat; this requeſt was alſo granted, and having given them ſome roots, they again made ſigns for them to depart; upon which they once more launched their boat, and got into it, but the wind blowing ſtrong from the weſt, they could not put off. The natives perceiving that they were willing to comply with their deſires, but not able, covered them with the boat to ſleep under, and left them as they had found them. The next morning, the weather being fine, and the wind eaſterly, they launched the boat a third time, and returned back to the rock.

From this time till Sunday the 20th of September, the carpenter and ſmith continued to work upon the boat, and the people were buſy in getting in from time to time what was thrown up from the wreck, particularly cordage and canvas, to rig the boat, and ſome caſks of freſh water, which they were very ſollicitous to keep for ſea-ſtores, as their eſcape in the boat ſcarce depended leſs upon freſh water than upon the ſails themſelves. On this day, after they had been at prayers, a duty which was regularly and publickly performed every Sunday, the officers diſcovered that the cheſt of treaſure had been broke open, and the greater part of it taken away and concealed. It may perhaps be thought ſtrange, that people, whom danger had made religious, ſhould at the ſame time be guilty of theft; but, upon this occaſion, it ſhould be remembered, that as ſoon as the ſhip is loſt, the ſailors loſe their pay, and the captain his command; every diſtinction and ſubordination that ſubſiſted on ſhip-board is at an end; and whatever is caſt on ſhore from the wreck is, by the ſailors, conſidered as common property. The men therefore, who thought fit ſecretly to take what they deemed their ſhare of this treaſure, were not, in their own opinion, guilty of diſhoneſty, but intended only to ſecure what they feared the officers would monopolize, and by this means prevent diſputes, which, in their circumſtances, might produce fatal effects. The officers, however, when they diſcovered what had been done, and found that nobody would own they knew any thing about it, propoſed to write the form of an oath, and adminiſter it ſeparately to every individual, the officers to take it firſt. But to this the majority immediately objected; for though they might not ſuppoſe they had committed a crime by taking the treaſure, they knew it would be not only immoral, but impious, to ſwear they had not taken it. As the minority were not in a condition to ſupport their motion, the affair was ſuffered to reſt, without further enquiry or remonſtrance.

On the 6th of October they found a fowling-piece; this was a joyful acquiſition, and though the barrel was much bent, it was ſoon made ſerviceable by the carpenter, and uſed with great ſucceſs in ſhooting the birds, which before they had no way of taking but by knocking them down with a ſtick.

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On Friday October 11, they perceived the gannets, which had of late forſaken them, to hover again about the rock in great numbers, and were in hopes they would ſettle to lay their eggs, in which, to their great joy, they were not diſappointed; for after this time they were conſtantly ſupplied with eggs in great plenty, till the beginning of January, when the ſeaſon of laying was paſt.

On Sunday October 20, Mr. Collet, Mr. Webb, and two others, ventured out once more on the float, but the wind ſpringink up very freſh, the float broke looſe, and drove them to the other ſide of the rocks. The wind ſtill riſing, and the ſea running very high, it was impoſſible for the boat to put out; they were therefore obliged to remain all night among the ſeals on the rocks, without any ſhelter or refreſhment. But in this ſituation, however dreadful, they received great comfort, from reflecting how much more dreadful it would have been, if inſtead of being driven to the rocks, their float had been carried out to ſea. It was noon the next day before the wind abated, and then the boat ventured off; but as the waves ſtill ran high, it could bring in no more than two at a time, leaving the float behind them. They had now ſome rainy weather, which proved very acceptable, as they contrived to ſave ſome of the water for ſea-ſtores; but they were ſtill in great want of bread, having lived many days on ſhort allowance. As a laſt reſource, they thought of building an oven, for they had ſome barrels of flour, though they had no bread: in this attempt they ſucceeded, beyond their expectations, and were able to convert their flour into a tolerable biſcuit.

This biſcuit, however, was at length ſo near exhauſted, that they were obliged to live upon a few ounces a day, without brandy, of which only a ſmall quantity remained, and this they preſerved inviolable for the uſe of the carpenter. They were alſo ſo ſhort of water, that of this they were allowed but half a pint a day.

In this condition, however, they happily in a great degree preſerved their health and vigour, and on the 16th of February they launched their boat, and called her the *Happy Deliverance*. On the 17th they got their little pittance of ſtores on board, and on the 18th they ſet ſail from the rock, on which they had lived juſt ſeven months, and to which at parting they gave the name of *Bird Iſland*.

A wonderful and affecting account of the preſervation of three perſons buried above five weeks in ſnow ſixty feet deep; by Dr. Joſeph Bruni, profeſſor of philoſophy at Turin. From the Philoſ. Tranſactions.

A Small cluſter of houſes at a place called Bergemoletto near Demonte in the upper valley of Stura, was on the 19th of March 1755, entirely overwhelmed by two vaſt bodies of ſnow that tumbled down from a neighbouring mountain. All the inhabitants were then within doors, except one Joſeph Rochia and his ſon, a lad of 15, who were on the roof of their houſe clearing away the ſnow which had fallen for three days inceſſantly. A prieſt going by

by to maſs, adviſed them to come down, having juſt before obſerved a body of ſnow tumbling from the mountain towards them. The man deſcended with great precipitation, and fled with his ſon, he knew not whither; but ſcarce had he gone 30 or 40 ſteps, before his ſon, who followed him, fell down; on which looking back, he ſaw his own and his neighbours houſes, in which were 22 perſons in all, covered with a high mountain of ſnow. He lifted up his ſon, and reflecting that his wife, his ſiſter, two children, and all his effects were thus buried, he fainted away; but ſoon reviving got ſafe to a friend's houſe at ſome diſtance.

Five days after, Joſeph being perfectly recovered, got upon the ſnow, with his ſon, and two of his wife's brothers, to try if he could find the exact place where his houſe ſtood; but after many openings made in the ſnow they could not diſcover it. The month of April proving hot, and the ſnow beginning to ſoften, he again uſed his utmoſt endeavours to recover his effects, and to bury, as he thought, the remains of his family. He made new openings and threw in earth, to melt the ſnow, which on the 24th of April was greatly diminiſhed. He broke through ice ſix Engliſh feet thick, with iron bars, thruſt down a long pole, and touched the ground, but evening coming on, he deſiſted.

His wife's brother, who lived at Demonte, dreamed that night, that his ſiſter was ſtill alive, and begged him to help her; the man affected by his dream, roſe early in the morning and went to Bergemoletto, where Joſeph was; and after reſting himſelf a little, went with him to work upon the ſnow, where they made another opening, which led them to the houſe they ſearched for: but finding no dead bodies in its ruins, they ſought for the ſtable, which was about 240 Engliſh feet diſtant, which having found they heard a cry of, *Help, my dear brother.* Being greatly ſurpriſed as well as encouraged by theſe words, they laboured with all diligence till they had made a large opening, through which the brother who had the dream immediately went down, where the ſiſter with an agonizing and feeble voice told him, *I have always truſted in God and you, that you would not forſake me.* The other brother and the huſband then went down, and found ſtill alive the wife about 45, the ſiſter about 35, and a daughter about thirteen years old. Theſe they raiſed on their ſhoulders to men above, who pulled them up as if from the grave, and carried them to a neighbouring houſe: they were unable to walk, and ſo waſted, that they appeared like mere ſkeletons. They were immediately put to bed, and gruel of rye-flour and a little butter was given to recover them. Some days after the intendant came to ſee them, and found the wife ſtill unable to riſe from bed or uſe her feet, from the intenſe cold ſhe had endured, and the uneaſy poſture ſhe had been in. The ſiſter, whoſe legs had been bathed with hot wine, could walk with ſome difficulty; and the daughter needed no further remedies.

On the intendant's interrogating the women, they told him, that on the morning of the 19th of March they were in the ſtable with

with a boy of ſix years old, and a girl of about thirteen: in the ſame ſtable were ſix goats, one of which having brought forth two dead kids the night before, they went to carry her a ſmall veſſel of rye-flour gruel; there were alſo an aſs and five or ſix fowls. They were ſheltering themſelves in a warm corner of the ſtable till the church bell ſhould ring, intending to attend the ſervice. The wife related, that wanting to go out of the ſtable to kindle a fire in the houſe of her huſband, who was clearing away the ſnow from the top of it, ſhe perceived a maſs of ſnow breaking down towards the eaſt, upon which ſhe went back into the ſtable, ſhut the door, and told her ſiſter of it. In leſs than three minutes they heard the roof break over their heads, and alſo part of the ceiling. The ſiſter adviſed to get into the rack and manger, which they did. The aſs was tied to the manger, but got looſe by kicking and ſtruggling, and threw down the little veſſel, which they found, and afterwards uſed to hold the melted ſnow, which ſerved them for drink.

Very fortunately the manger was under the main prop of the ſtable, and ſo reſiſted the weight of the ſnow. Their firſt care was to know what they had to eat. The ſiſter ſaid ſhe had fifteen cheſnuts in her pocket; the children ſaid they had breakfaſted, and ſhould want no more that day. They remembered there were thirty-ſix or forty cakes in a place near the ſtable, and endeavoured to get at them, but were not able for the ſnow. They called often for help, but were heard by none. The ſiſter gave two cheſnuts to the wife, and eat two herſelf, and they drank ſome ſnow water. The aſs was reſtleſs, and the goats kept bleating for ſome days; after which they heard no more of them. Two of the goats, however, being left alive, and near the manger, they felt them, and found that one of them was big, and would kid, as they recollected, about the middle of April; the other gave milk, wherewith they preſerved their lives. During all the time they ſaw not one ray of light, yet for about 20 days they had ſome notice of night and day from the crowing of the fowls, till they died.

The ſecond day, being very hungry, they eat all the cheſnuts, and drank what milk the goat yielded, being very near two pounds a day at firſt, but it ſoon decreaſed. The third day they attempted again, but in vain, to get at the cakes; ſo reſolved to take all poſſible care to feed the goats; for juſt above the manger was a hay-loft, whence through a hole the ſiſter pulled down hay into the rack, and gave it to the goats as long as ſhe could reach it, and then, when it was beyond her reach the goats climbed upon her ſhoulders, and reached it themſelves.

On the ſixth day the boy ſickened, and ſix days after deſired his mother, who all this time had held him in her lap, to lay him at his length in the manger. She did ſo, and taking him by the hand, felt it was very cold; ſhe then put her hand to his mouth, and finding that cold likewiſe, ſhe gave him a little milk; the boy then cried, *O my father is in the ſnow! Oh father, father!* and then expired.

In the mean while the goats milk diminiſhed daily, and the fowls

fowls ſoon after dying they could no longer diſtinguiſh night from day; but according to their reckoning the time was near when the other goat ſhould kid, which at length they knew was come, by its cries: the ſiſter helped it, and they killed the kid, to ſave the milk for their own ſubſiſtence: ſo they found that the middle of April was come. Whenever they called this goat, it would come and lick their faces and hands, and gave them every day two pounds of milk, on which account they ſtill bear the poor creature a great affection.

They ſaid, that during all this time, hunger gave them but little uneaſineſs, except for the firſt five or ſix days; and their greateſt pain was from the extreme coldneſs of the melted ſnow water, which fell on them, from the ſtench of the dead aſs, goats, fowls, &c. and from lice; but more than all from the very uneaſy poſture they were confined to, the manger in which they ſat ſquatting againſt the wall, being no more than three feet four inches broad.

After the firſt two or three days they had no evacuation by ſtool. The melted ſnow-water and milk were diſcharged by urine. The mother ſaid ſhe had never ſlept, but the ſiſter and daughter declared they had ſlept as uſual.

Atteſted before the intendant by the ſaid women the 16th of May, 1755.

Extract of a letter from Portſmouth, Feb. 13, 1758.

YEſterday arrived here, with a meſſenger belonging to the admiralty, in the greateſt haſte, a perſon who was immediately introduced, by orders from above, to Admiral Boſcawen. The following particulars concerning him have tranſpired. He was ſome time ſince maſter of an Engliſh veſſel, trading from port to port in North America, particularly up the river St. Laurence; but being taken by the enemy, has been priſoner with General Montcalm and others near three years, who would not admit of any exchange for him, on account of his extenſive knowledge of all the coaſt, more particularly the ſtrength and ſoundings of Quebec and Louiſbourg. They therefore came to a reſolution to ſend him to Old France, in the next pacquet-boat, there to be confined till the end of the war. He was accordingly embarked, (the only Engliſhman) and the pacquet put on board. In their voyage he was admitted to the cabin, where he took notice one day, that they bundled up the pacquet, and put it into a canvas bag, having previouſly made it ready to be thrown over-board, upon any danger of being taken.

They were conſtrained to put into Vigo for ſome proviſions, as alſo to gain ſome intelligence of the ſtrength of the Engliſh in thoſe ſeas; there they found one or more Engliſh men of war at anchor. The priſoner thought this a proper opportunity of putting the following ſcheme in execution. One night taking the opportunity of all, but the watch, being in a found ſleep, he took the pacquet out of the bag; and having fixed it in his mouth, he ſilently let himſelf down into the bay; and to prevent noiſe by ſwimming, floated upon his back into the wake

wake of the Engliſh man of war, where he ſecured himſelf by the hawſer, and upon calling out for aſſiſtance, was immediately taken on board with the pacquet. The captain examined him, treated him with great humanity, gave him a ſuit of his own cloaths, ſcarlet trimmed with black velvet, which he appeared in, tranſcribed the pacquet, which is ſaid to be of the utmoſt importance in regard to our ſucceſs in North America, and then ſent him poſt over land with the copy of the pacquet to Liſbon, from whence he was brought to Falmouth in a ſloop of war, and immediately ſet out poſt for London. Upon his arrival in town, he was examined by proper perſons in the adminiſtration, and rewarded with a preſent ſupply; and by his own deſire, was immediately ſent to Portſmouth, to go out on board Admiral Boſcawen's own ſhip, upon the preſent expedition to North America.

A faithful narrative of the dangers, ſufferings, and deliverances of Robert Eaſtburn, and his captivity among the Indians in North America.

RObert Eaſtburn, with about thirty other traders, ſet out from Philadelphia for Oſwego, early in the ſpring of the year 1756, and on the 28th of March arrived at Captain Williams's fort, where they propoſed to take up their lodging for that night; but Captain Williams informing them that there was not convenient room for them, they paſſed the night in a building called the Indian houſe, at a ſmall diſtance from the fort.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the next day, Eaſtburn being ſtill at the Indian houſe where he had lodged, was alarmed by a negro man, who came running down the road, crying out that ſeveral of the Engliſh had been taken by the enemy, who were coming forward. Eaſtburn not thinking himſelf ſafe at the Indian houſe, joined a ſmall detachment, conſiſting of a ſerjeant and twelve men, whom Captain Williams had diſpatched to ſee if the report of the negro was true, and having marched with them about a quarter of a mile, he heard the report of a muſquet, which was inſtantly followed by the cries of a dying man. As ſoon as his firſt ſurpriſe was over, he advanced to diſcover the enemy, and ſoon perceived they were too well prepared for the reception of his party. In theſe circumſtances of imminent danger, he placed himſelf behind a large pine-tree, which he ſaw at a ſmall diſtance, and while the enemy were viewing his party, he diſcharged his piece among them, by which he wounded one and killed another; at the ſame time his party fired, but finding it impoſſible to make a ſtand againſt ſuch a ſuperiority of numbers, they retreated as ſoon as they had made their fire, and Eaſtburn's ſituation behind the tree being ſuch as made it impoſſible for him to join them, he was compelled to retreat a different way.

Some of the Indians ſeeing him go off, followed his track in a light ſnow, but it is probable he might yet have eſcaped, if he had not unfortunately fallen into a deep bog, where he was ſoon diſcovered and ſurrounded.

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He was taken out and dragged back to the main body, where he was inſtantly ſtripped of all his cloaths, except a flannel waiſtcoat without ſleeves; a rope was then put round his neck, his arms were pinioned behind him, a band was faſtened round his body, and a heavy load placed on his back; in this condition one of the ſavages ſtruck him a ſevere blow on his head, and then drove him through the woods before them.

He was ſoon after joined by 18 unhappy wretches, who had likewiſe been made priſoners by this party, which conſiſted of about 100 men: they did not purſue their route towards Capt. Williams's fort, becauſe Eaſtburn, being aſked by them concerning its ſtrength, gave them ſuch an anſwer as diſcouraged them from attempting it. They determined, however, to deſtroy another fort called Bull's fort, ſituated at the head of Wood's creek, which they ſoon effected, and, except five perſons, put every ſoul they found in it to the ſword.

After this exploit they retired to the woods and joined their main body, which conſiſted of 400 French and 300 Indians, commanded by one of the principal gentlemen of Quebec; as ſoon as they got together they threw themſelves on their knees, and returned thanks to God for their victory; an example, ſays Eaſtburn, well worthy of imitation.

They continued their march thro' the woods about four miles, and then it being dark, and ſeveral of the Indians being drunk, they encamped.

The Indians, according to their cuſtom, ſoon made a fire, and ſtrewed round it ſome branches of green hemlock to ſit upon; they then went up to Eaſtburn, and untied his arms, after which they tied the two ends of a ſtring that was faſtened to the band which went round his middle to two trees; two of them then ſat down on the green boughs, one on each ſide of him, with the ſtring that was faſtened to his band under them, to prevent his eſcape, and having covered him with an old blanket they went to ſleep.

They encamped, and reſted much in the ſame manner the night following; and the next morning, Sunday the 28th, they roſe very early and retreated haſtily towards Canada, for fear of General Johnſon, who, as they were informed, was on his march againſt them.

Eaſtburn having on this occaſion been ſent for by the commanding officer, and aſked many queſtions, the officer at length diſcovered that he was a ſmith, a circumſtance which probably induced his enemies to ſpare his life, in hopes that he might be uſeful to them, and he was adviſed to ſettle at Canada and ſend for his wife, with promiſes of great advantages, which however he refuſed. In his march he ſuffered incredible fatigue and hardſhip, travelling almoſt naked through deep ſnow, and being frequently obliged to wade through rivers, the water of which wanted but little of being as cold as ice. Under theſe ſeverities he fell ſick, and had the mortification to ſee one of his friends, who was in the ſame circumſtances, killed and ſcalped by the Indians, becauſe he was no longer able to keep pace with them: to him, however, they were more merciful, for perceiving that he could not ſwallow their coarſe food,

food, they boiled him ſome chocolate, and ſeemed pleaſed when they perceived that he eat it.

But there were other circumſtances, beſides cold, and nakedneſs, and ſickneſs, and fatigue, which made this march ſtill more dreadful to poor Eaſtburn. He was appointed to march behind an Indian, who had a large bunch of green ſcalps hanging at his back, which was increaſed as often as ſome ſtraggling wretch was overtaken, whoſe ſcalp was immediately added to the reſt. This object being perpetually before his eyes, while his ears, frequently wounded with the infernal yell which they called the dead ſhout, and which they never fail to utter when a victim falls into their hands, filled him at once with grief and horror, and aggravated the ſufferings of his body by ſuch anguiſh of mind as thoſe only can conceive who have felt.

After a march of ſeven days they arrived at Lake Ontario, where they were met by ſome French batteaus with a large ſupply of proviſions, of which they had been in ſo much want that they had ſubſiſted during ſome part of their march upon horſe-fleſh, and had even devoured a porcupine without any other dreſſing than ſufficed juſt to ſcorch off the hair and quills.

Eaſtburn, after a tedious voyage with part of this company, arrived at Oſwegotchy, an Indian town, where he hoped to continue till warm weather, but to his inexpreſſible diſappointment, he was ordered the next day to proceed 200 miles farther down the ſtream.

To aggravate this misfortune, he was appointed to go in a batteau with eight Indians, one of whom was the very man he had wounded, when he fired from behind the pine the day he was taken. He contrived to eſcape the notice of this man by wrapping himſelf up in the old blanket that had been given him to ſleep under while they were in the boat, but when they went on ſhore he was diſcovered. The Indian caſt his eyes upon him with a kind of malignant joy, and immediately taking away his blanket ordered him to dance round the fire barefoot, and ſing the priſoners ſong. With this order Eaſtburn abſolutely refuſed to comply, becauſe, as he ſays, he thought the compliance ſinful; this ſo enraged the Indian, that he endeavoured many times to puſh him alive into the fire, which he avoided by jumping over it; and his enemy being weak with his wound, and not being ſeconded by his aſſociates, at length deſiſted from his attempts; and after a painful journey, ſometimes on the water, and ſometimes on the ſnow, they came at length to the upper part of Canada. Here it was Eaſtburn's hard fortune to be quartered at a Frenchman's houſe, where his old enemy, the wounded Indian, again appeared, and related to the Frenchman the circumſtance of his refuſing to dance and ſing. Upon this the good Frenchman aſſiſted his friend the Indian to ſtrip poor Eaſtburn of his flannel veſt without ſleeves, the only garment that was then left him. It was then inſiſted both by the Frenchman and Indian that he ſhould abſolutely dance and ſing, and upon his refuſal they uſed him with great cruelty, and would probably have murdered him, if he had not been reſcued from his perſecu-

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tors by the compaſſion of ſome women, who had been witneſſes of his ill treatment.

On the 11th of April they came within ſight of the town of Conaſadanga, where they were ſoon ſurrounded by a large company of Indians, who ordered all the priſoners to dance and ſing; many complied, but Eaſtburn ſtill refuſed; he could not however avoid a very diſagreeable ceremony, which was performed immediately after the dance and ſong were ended.

The dancing and ſinging was as uſual performed in the middle of a large circle of Indians, at a conſiderable diſtance from an Indian houſe, the door of which was ſet open; as ſoon as the ſong was ended, the circle opened, and the priſoners were to run the gauntlet to this houſe; while they were running, the Indians continued a moſt vociferous ſhout, and beat them ſo violently upon the head, that many dropped down, but when they had entered the houſe they were to be beaten no more. Eaſtburn received ſeveral blows in this diabolical race, which he felt long afterwards, but he was notwithſtanding one of the firſt that entered the aſylum: he was treated with great kindneſs by the women, who gave him and his companions boiled corn and beans, and warmed them at a good fire, though ſtill he was without cloaths.

After he had continued ten days at this place, he was ſent by water with a ſmall party of Indians to another town called Cohnewago, and obliged to leave all his companions behind him. When the party that eſcorted him came near the town, they ſhouted to give notice that they had a priſoner, upon which the whole town came out to meet him; as the batteau in which he was ſitting came near the ſhore, a young Indian rudely hauled him out of it into the water, which was knee-deep, and very cold. As ſoon as he had got on ſhore he was ſurrounded by a ring of Indians to the number of 500, who ordered him again to perform the ceremony of the ſong and dance, which was to be followed by the ſame race which he had run at his former lodging; he did not, he ſays, indulge this party by dancing any more than the others, but he acknowledged that he *ſtamped*, which, as he ſays, was to prepare him for his race, and after ſome time the Indians, either miſtaking this ſtamping for dancing, or diſpenſing with their command, made way for him to run. When he ſet off, about 150 boys, who had been prepared for that purpoſe, pelted him with ſtones and dirt; but he would not have received much damage from this volley, if an Indian, grudging him his good fortune, had not ſtopped him as he was running, and held him till the boys had armed themſelves with more dirt and ſtones; by this ſecond volley he was wounded in the right eye, and his head and face were ſo covered with dirt that he could not ſee his way; he was however again delivered by ſome women, who took pity on him, waſhed his wounds, and gave him food.

The next day he was brought to the center of the town, and there delivered to three young Indians to be adopted, and ſent 200 miles farther up the ſtream, to a town called Oſwegotchy.

Theſe young men as ſoon as they had received him, told him he

he was their brother, and ſet out with him for the place of their deſtination.

When he arrived at Oſwegotchy he was adopted by an old Indian and his wife, who, becauſe he refuſed to go to maſs, employed him in hard labour, and treated him with great unkindneſs. As he conſidered himſelf to be ſuffering for conſcience ſake, he ſubmitted without murmuring, and fulfilled his taſk, however ſevere, with ſuch diligence and aſſiduity, that the reſentment of his new parents ſubſided, and they treated him like their ſon.

After he had continued ſome time in this ſituation, he ſaw at Montreal ſome Indians who were in friendſhip with the Engliſh, and had come thither with ſome complaint to the governor, and he found means by ſome of theſe Indians to ſend a letter to his friends, informing them where he was, and in what ſituation.

It happened, however, that having been ſoon after detected in a project to eſcape, he was removed from this place to Cohnewago, under a ſtrong guard; but at Cohnewago he was in a better ſituation than before, for he worked at his trade with a French ſmith, who paid him 6 livres 5 ſous per week, and he alſo obtained leave of the captain of the guard to walk where he would.

After having worked ſome time at this place, he obtained leave to go to Montreal, where he hoped to get higher wages; and ſoon after his arrival there, he entered into partnerſhip with an Engliſh ſmith, and continued to work with him till he heard that the French had made themſelves maſters of Oſwego, and ſoon after ſaw the Britiſh ſtandards and priſoners brought into the town.

Eaſtburn looked upon theſe trophies of his enemies with a heavy heart, and as he was muſing on the misfortunes of himſelf and his countrymen, he diſcovered among the priſoners his own ſon, a lad about 17 years of age; the ſon at the ſame time fixed his eyes on his father, and the emotions of both were ſuch as can better be conceived than deſcribed, eſpecially as it was impoſſible for them at that time to come near enough to ſpeak to each other, and in ſome degree uncertain whether they ſhould ever meet again.

Eaſtburn, however, ſoon after had the good fortune to obtain his ſon's liberty. The officers belonging to Oſwego would fain have had them both with them, for they were to be ſent to Philadelphia: but this was not permitted to the father, becauſe he was an Indian priſoner, and the ſon refuſed to be releaſed without him. From theſe gentlemen, however, he received many acts of kindneſs, ſome giving him money, and others cloaths, which were yet more welcome.

Eaſtburn having continued with his ſon among the French, and the French Indians, till the 22d of July, 1757, was then releaſed on a cartel, and arrived at Philadelphia after many hardſhips and delays for want of money, on the 26th of November following, where he was relieved with great liberality by thoſe to whom his merit and his ſufferings were known; for, though he was poor, he was a man of good repute, and much reſpected by his ſuperiors, particularly the reverend Mr. Tennant, who has written a

recommendatory preface to the narrative of his ſufferings, from which this account is extracted, and which was publiſhed at Philadelphia for the benefit of himſelf and his family, who were in his abſence reduced to the moſt pitiable diſtreſs.

As the burning of the Prince George man of war, Admiral Broderick's own ſhip, the fate of ſome part of the crew, and the extraordinary eſcape of ſome particulars, are moſt affecting events; we have given them in what appears to us the moſt affecting manner; in the words of thoſe who had themſelves a part in that terrible calamity.

From the Reverend Mr. Sharp, Chaplain.

Glaſgow, off Liſbon, April 20.

ON Thurſday the 13th inſt. at half an hour paſt one in the afternoon, word was paſſed into the ward-room, by the centry, that the fore part of our ſhip the Prince George, was on fire. The lieutenants ran immediately forward, and myſelf with many others, went directly on the quarter-deck, when we found the whole ſhip's crew was alarmed. The pumps were handed out, engines and buckets carried forward, and every immediate remedy applied. The admiral, with the lieutenants on watch, kept the quarter deck, from whence he ſent ſuch orders as he thought moſt expedient for the preſervation of the ſhip, and the ſouls in her. Captain Payton, and the lieutenants, on ſearch, found that the fire broke out firſt in the boatſwain's ſtore-room, to which place large quantities of water were applied, but in vain; for the ſmoke was ſo very great and hot, that the poor creatures could not get near enough to the flames for their labour to have any effect. On which Captain Payton ordered ſcuttles to be made, that the water might be poured in by that means; but there he was defeated likewiſe, for only two carpenters could be found, and they had nothing to work with for a long time but a hammer and chiſſel each. The lower gun deck ports were then opened, but the water that flowed in was not ſufficient to ſtop the violence of the flames. He ordered likewiſe the powder room to be wetted, leſt the ſhip ſhould immediately be blown up, and every ſoul periſh in an inſtant. This had the deſired effect, and for ſome minutes we had glimmering hopes. I mention the above particulars, as I was below myſelf, worked with the men as long as I could ſtand it, went up for air, and returned again inſtantly, and conſequently an eye-witneſs, therefore declare them as facts. The fire ſoon increaſed, and raged violently aft on the larboard ſide; and as the deſtruction of the ſhip was now found inevitable, the preſervation of the admiral was firſt conſulted. Captain Payton came on the quarter deck, and ordered the barge to be manned, into which the admiral entered with near forty more; for now there was no diſtinction, every man's life was equally precious. The admiral finding the barge would overſet, ſtripped himſelf naked, and committed himſelf to the mercy of the waves, and after toiling an hour he was at length taken up by a merchantman's boat. Captain Payton kept the quarter-deck

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an hour after the admiral left it, when he happily got into a boat from the ſtern-ladder, and was put ſafe on board the Alderney ſloop. I muſt be deficient even to attempt a deſcription of the melancholy ſcene that was before me; ſhriekings, cries, lamentations, bemoanings, raving, deſpair, and even madneſs itſelf preſented themſelves. It was now high time to think of taking care of myſelf. I looked from every part of the ſhip for my preſervation, and ſoon ſaw three boats off the ſtern of the ſhip. I went immediately to my cabin, and offered up my prayers to God, particularly thanking him for giving me ſuch reſolution and compoſure of mind. I then jumped into the ſea from one of the gun-room ports, and ſwam to a boat, which put me ſafe on board the Alderney ſloop. There are near 300 people ſaved, and more might have been ſaved had the merchantmen behaved like human creatures; but they kept a long way to windward the whole time; and if poſſible to their greater ſhame be it ſpoken, inſtead of ſaving the men that ſwam to their boats, they were employed in taking up geeſe, fowls, tables, chairs, and whatever elſe of the kind came near them.

From Mr. Parry, an officer, dated as above.

ABout half paſt one at noon, being in the office adjoining to the cabin, I ſaw the admiral run out, with two or three officers; on enquiring the cauſe, I was alarmed with the ſhip's being on fire forwards, and it was believed in the boatſwain's fore ſtore-room; every method was taken to extinguiſh it, but the ſmoke was ſo violent, no perſon could get near enough to find where the fire was. About half paſt two we made the ſignal of diſtreſs; but to render our ſituation more wretched, the fog came on very thick, and the wind freſhed, and it was near four before the Glaſgow and Alderney got intelligence of our condition; when they repeated the ſignal, hoiſted out their boats, and ſtood towards us; but they not knowing we had taken care to float our powder, were under ſad apprehenſions we might blow up, and therefore could not (conſiſtent with their own ſafety) give us the aſſiſtance our deplorable condition rendered us ſo much in need of. We attempted to ſcuttle the decks to let the water on the fire, but the people could not ſtand a minute without being near ſuffocated. About half paſt four the ſmoke increaſed, and the flames began to break out; the admiral then ordered the boats to be hoiſted out, got the barge out, and went off, promiſing to bring a ſhip along-ſide of us. I obſerved her ſo full, her gunwale was almoſt with the water, and, in a few minutes after, ſaw her ſink at ſome diſtance a-ſtern, and not above three or four were ſaved out of near forty, among whom it pleaſed God to preſerve the admiral. The weather was now become clear, but none of the merchantmen would come near us. Our officers behaved well, and endeavoured to keep the people to the pumps and drawing water, but they now were become quite ungovernable. About a quarter before five Captain Payton left the ſhip, and promiſed as the admiral; but was not able to accompliſh it. About five the long-

boat was endeavoured to be got out, in which were near a hundred people; but as they were hoiſting her out, one of the tackles gave way, by which ſhe overſet, and almoſt every ſoul periſhed. We were now reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. You may have ſome idea of our miſerable condition, when I tell you the ſhip began to be in flames fore and aft, ſpreading like flax; people diſtracted, not knowing what they did, and jumping overboard from all parts. I was reduced to the melancholy choice of either burning with the ſhip, or going overboard. Very few that could ſwim were taken up, and I that could not ſwim muſt have little hopes indeed. About a quarter paſt five, I went into the admiral's ſtern-gallery, where two young gentlemen were laſhing two tables together for a raft; I aſſiſted them, and one of them propoſed to make faſt the laſhing to the gallery, and lower ourſelves down to the tables, then cut the laſhing, and commit ourſelves to the mercy of Providence; we hoiſted over the tables, but being badly laſhed, one of them we loſt; as ſoon as the other was down, I propoſed to venture firſt, which they readily conſented to; there were now three boats a-ſtern, this was the time or never, down I went by the rope; but as there was a great ſwell of ſea, it was impoſſible for any one to follow me, and I was turned adrift. By the cries of the people from the ſhip to the boats, in about five minutes I was taken up, very near drowned. *

From a midſhipman, dated as above.

ON Thurſday the 13th, about half an hour paſt one in the afternoon, we were alarmed with fire in the boatſwain's fore ſtore-room, which put us all into great diſorder; and it being a very thick fog, we could not ſee one ſhip in the fleet. We kept firing guns of diſtreſs, and no ſhip appearing in ſight for an hour, we were all in the greateſt conſternation; but the fog then diſpelling, the Glaſgow hailed us, to whom we told our condition, and earneſtly begged of them to ſave our lives.

The fire ſtill increaſing, we were obliged to hoiſt out our boats, which from the confuſion were near three hours fixing to the tackles, &c. every body being engaged in preparing to ſave himſelf. The poop, ſtern, and quarter galleries, were lined with men and boys, crying out in a moſt moving manner to be aſſiſted. During this time, out of twenty-three ſail of ſhips, we had but three boats to our aſſiſtance, and thoſe would not come near the ſhip for fear of being ſunk, the poor fellows continually jumping over-board; great numbers of whom were drowned in our ſight.

We got our boats out, which never returned after going once. By this time the fire had communicated itſelf to the middle gun-deck, and

* 715 complement.
30 paſſengers to Gibraltar.
745

260 ſaved.
485 loſt.
745

nobody

nobody could go down below, every one expecting his death every minute, either by fire or water, and were taking leave of each other. Soon after going out of the admiral's cabin, I ſaw the flames coming out of the hatchway of the upper gun-deck; I returned immediately, and took my leave of the petty officers that were there, and went over the ſtarboard ſtern ladder, to ſave myſelf by ſwimming, and, thanks to the Almighty God! reached a boat, and was taken up.

I had juſt got clear of the ſhip, when the flames became general, and thoſe poor unhappy wretches that could not ſwim, were obliged to remain upon the wreck, with the fire falling down upon them. Shortly after the maſts went away, and killed numbers, and thoſe that were not killed by the maſts, thought themſelves happy to get upon them. But the ſhip rolling by reaſon of the great ſea, the fire had communicated itſelf to the guns, which ſwept them off the deck in great numbers, they being all loaded and ſhotted.

Such a terrible ſight the oldeſt men in the fleet ſay they never ſaw. Thus ended our unhappy ſhip, after burning about ſix hours and a half, who had as complete a crew, and was as well manned as any ſhip that ever ſailed from England.

Letter from the maſter of a merchantman, under convoy of Admiral Broderick.

THurſday, April 13th, Uſhant bearing Eaſt, ſixty leagues diſtance, at noon, I ſaw Admiral Broderick hoiſt a ſignal of diſtreſs; upon which I made what ſail I could, and went down on him. At one in the afternoon I could diſcern the Prince George on fire; at two drew pretty near her, but thought they might have quenched the fire. At three o'clock I ſaw plainly there was no quenching it. I was within a hundred yards of her ſtern, but durſt not venture along-ſide, the ſea being high; beſides the going off of her guns, and danger of blowing up. At four in the afternoon the admiral was taken up ſwimming by a merchant-ſhip's boat, as then the ſhips that had boats were all out, and a good many of them loſt. The weather proving bad, towards night I was within piſtol-ſhot, and there remained ſome time; and picked up four of her crew: and had not two of my men run away with my boat the night before we ſailed from St. Helen's, I am confident I could have ſaved ſixty or eighty of them at leaſt, as I was all the time nearer to them than any ſhip in the fleet. What made me venture ſo near was, that I knew my ſhip went well, and was under good command. At ſix, what a diſmal ſight! the maſts and ſails all in a blaze; hundreds of ſouls hanging by the ropes along-ſide, I could count fifty of them hanging over in the ſtern-ladder, others in the ſea on oars and pieces of wood; a melancholy ſpectacle! beſides the diſmal cries from the ſhip, which ſtill ring in my ears. Half an hour paſt ſix the flames broke out at her broad-ſide, and in leſs than five minutes every bit of her was in flames, and ſo continued till ſeven, when ſhe overſet, but did not ſink. I then ran within twenty yards of

her, but my people compelled me to go further off, for fear of ſtriking on the wreck. All I can farther ſay of it, there never was a more ſhocking ſight; pray God that I may never ſee the like again! It was very grievous to me that I could not ſave more of her men, without running the riſk of ſharing her fate. The eighteenth of April the Glaſgow, a twenty gun ſhip, hoiſted the ſignal for all maſters of merchant-ſhips to come on board, where the admiral had his flag hoiſted, to know how many people we had ſaved amongſt us, and to deliver them up. By the then liſt it appeared, that the Admiral, Captain Payton, and about two hundred and fifty-three men were ſaved.

Literary and Miſcellaneous Eſſays.

THIS head of our collection is not of ſo uniform a nature as the foregoing diviſions. But we have endeavoured at as much order in the diſpoſition of the ſeveral pieces which compoſe it, as the diverſity of the ſubjects would admit. The firſt piece we give is upon the ſubject of Taſte. It is ſaying enough in its praiſe, to ſay it is written by Monſ. de Monteſquieu, who ſo happily employed philoſophy to illuſtrate and improve the laws of all the nations of the world. So far as this piece goes, (for it is but a fragment) he employs philoſophy with equal happineſs to explain and improve the polite arts. As the piece is long, we have in ſome places abridged it. In ſome few places it may poſſibly ſeem a little obſcure. If any blame ſhould, on that account, be laid on the tranſlator, we muſt not forget that the excellent author himſelf through an extreme refinement, was not wholly free from obſcurity.

An Eſſay on Taſte.

TASTE, in the moſt general definition of it, without conſidering whether good or bad, juſt or not juſt, is that which attaches us to a thing by ſentiment; which does not hinder its being applied to intellectual things, the knowledge of which gives ſo much pleaſure to the ſoul, that it was the only happineſs that certain philoſophers could conceive. The ſoul receives her knowledge through her ideas and through her ſentiments; ſhe receives certain pleaſures thro' theſe ideas and theſe ſentiments. For although we oppoſe idea to ſentiment, yet when the ſoul ſees a thing, ſhe feels it; and there is nothing ſo intellectual, that ſhe does not ſee, or thinks ſhe ſees, and conſequently that ſhe does not feel.

Of curioſity.

Our ſoul is made for thinking; that is to ſay, for making diſcoveries. Such a being ought then to have curioſity; for as all things are in a chain, where each idea precedes one, and follows another idea, you cannot leave the ſight of one thing without having a deſire to ſee another; and if we had not this deſire of ſeeing more, we ſhould not have had any pleaſure in ſeeing what we do ſee. Thus when a part of a picture is ſhewn to us, our deſire to ſee the part which is yet concealed, is in proportion to the pleaſure we have had in what was ſhewn to us.

It is then the pleaſure we have in one object that leads us towards another. Hence it is, that the ſoul always ſeeks novelty, and is never at reſt. Thus will you be ſure to delight the ſoul, when you

make it ſee many things, or more things than ſhe expected.

From this appears the reaſon why we are pleaſed when we ſee a garden that is very regular; and why we are alſo pleaſed when we ſee a ſpot that is rough and wild. The ſame cauſe produces theſe effects.

As we love to ſee a great number of objects, we would enlarge our view, we would be in many places, we would run over more ſpace. In fine, our ſoul hates to be bound, and ſhe would as it were enlarge the ſphere of her preſence. Thus is it a great pleaſure for her, to extend her view to a diſtance. But how ſhould ſhe do it? In towns our view is bounded by houſes; it is ſo in the country, by a thouſand obſtacles: ſcarcely can we ſee three or four trees. Art comes to our aid, and diſcovers nature, who hides herſelf from us. We love art, and we love it better than nature, that is to ſay, better than nature when it is hid from our eyes. But when we find fine ſituations, when our ſight at liberty can ſee at a diſtance rivers, hills, meadows, and their diſpoſitions, which are, as one may ſay, erected for the purpoſe, ſhe is enchanted in quite a different manner, than when ſhe ſees the gardens of Le Notre; becauſe nature copies herſelf: whereas art has always a ſameneſs. It is for this reaſon that in painting we are better pleaſed with a landſcape, than with the plan of the fineſt garden in the world.

What commonly makes a great thought, is when a thing is ſaid, that makes us ſee a great number of other things; and diſcovers to us all at once, what we could not have expected to have attained but by long ſtudy.

Florus in a few words repreſents to us all the faults of Hannibal, "While," ſays he, "he might "have made advantage of the vic-"tory, he choſe rather to enjoy "it." *Cum victoria poſſetati, frui maluit.*

He gives us an idea of the whole war of Macedon, in ſaying, "To enter it, was to conquer it." *Introiſſe victoria fuit.*

He gives us an entire view of the life of Scipio, when, ſpeaking of his youth, he ſays, "This ſhall "be Scipio, who is growing up for "the deſtruction of Africa." *Hic erit Scipio, qui in exitium Africæ creſcit.* You imagine before your eyes a child, who is riſing up and growing like a giant. Finally he ſhews us the great character of Hannibal, the condition of the univerſe, and all the grandeur of the Roman people, when he ſays, "Hannibal, "driven from his country, ſought "through the univerſe an enemy "to the Roman people." *Qui profugus ex Africa hoſtem populo Romano toto orbe quærebat.*

Of the pleaſure that order gives.

It is not ſufficient to ſhew the ſoul many things; they muſt be ſhewn in order; for then we recollect what we have ſeen; and we begin to imagine what we ſhall ſee. Our ſoul congratulates herſelf on her extent, and on her penetration. But in a work where there is no order, the ſoul, at every turn, perceives that the order ſhe would eſtabliſh is diſturbed. The arrangement that the author has made, and that which we make for ourſelves, are confounded with one

one another; the ſoul retains nothing, foreſees nothing, ſhe is humbled by the confuſion of her ideas, by the inanity that is left upon her; ſhe is fatigued to no purpoſe, and can taſte no pleaſure. For this reaſon, except when the deſign is to expreſs or ſhew confuſion, they always put an order even in confuſion itſelf. Thus the painters groupe their figures. Thus thoſe who paint battles, place the thing which the eye is to diſtinguiſh, in the front, and throw the confuſion in the bottom and deepenings of their pictures.

Of the pleaſures that variety gives.

But if order is neceſſary, ſo alſo is variety. Without this the ſoul languiſhes. For things that are alike, ſeem to her to be the ſame. And if one part of a picture was diſcovered to us, reſembling another which we had ſeen, that object would be new without ſeeming ſo, and would give no pleaſure: and as the beauties of the works of art, which reſemble thoſe of nature, conſiſt only in the pleaſures that they raiſe in us; they muſt be made, as much as poſſible, capable of varying theſe pleaſures. The ſoul muſt be ſhewn things ſhe has not ſeen; ſhe muſt have ſentiments impreſſed on her different from thoſe ſhe had before.

It is thus that hiſtory pleaſes us from the variety of its accounts; romance, from the variety of its prodigies; theatrical pieces, from the variety of paſſions that they cauſe; and 'tis from hence that thoſe who know how to inſtruct us modify, as much as they can, the uniform tone of inſtruction.

A long uniformity makes every thing inſupportable; the ſame order of periods long continued, wearies in an harangue. The ſame number and the ſame cadences tires one in a long poem. If it is true, that a long alley is made from Moſcow to Peterſburgh, the traveller muſt be tired to death, ſhut up between the two ſides of that alley. And he who ſhould live for any time in the Alps, would come down diſguſted with the happieſt ſituations, and the moſt charming proſpects.

The ſoul loves variety; but we have ſaid ſhe loves it only as ſhe is made for knowledge and diſcovery. She muſt then ſee; and variety muſt not prevent her ſeeing; that is, a thing muſt be ſimple enough to be ſeen, and have variety enough to be ſeen with pleaſure.

Some things ſeem to have great variety, and have it not; and ſome ſeem uniform, and have great variety.

The Gothic architecture ſeems to have great variety; but the confuſion of its ornaments fatigues by their littleneſs; which makes it impoſſible to diſtinguiſh any one from the reſt; and their number is ſo great that it is impoſſible for the eye to reſt on any of them. So that it diſpleaſes through the very means that were choſen to make it agreeable.

A Gothic building is a kind of ænigma to the eye; and the ſoul is embarraſſed, as when ſhe is preſented with an obſcure poem.

The Grecian architecture, on the contrary, ſeems uniform; but as it has the diviſions that are neceſſary, and as many as are neceſſary to let the ſoul ſee clearly ſo much as ſhe can without fatigue, and yet enough to employ her, ſhe has that variety which makes her look on it with pleaſure.

The

The Grecian architecture which has few and great diviſions, imitates great things. The ſoul receives a certain dignity that reigns throughout.

Of the pleaſures that ſymmetry gives.

I have ſaid that the ſoul loves variety: yet in moſt things ſhe likes to ſee a ſort of ſymmetry; this ſeems a contradiction. I explain it thus.

One of the principal cauſes of the pleaſures of the ſoul in ſeeing objects, is the eaſe with which ſhe diſcovers them; and the reaſon why ſymmetry is ſo pleaſing to the ſoul, is, that it ſaves her trouble, that it eaſes her, and, as one may ſay, cuts off half the work.

From whence we may draw a general rule.—Wherever ſymmetry is uſeful to the ſoul and may aſſiſt her functions, it is agreeable to her; but wherever it is uſeleſs it becomes diſtaſteful, becauſe it takes away variety. Therefore things that we ſee in ſucceſſion ought to have variety; for our ſoul has no difficulty in ſeeing them; thoſe on the contrary that we ſee at one glance, ought to have ſymmetry. Thus at one glance we ſee the front of a building, a parterre, a temple; in ſuch things there is always a ſymmetry, which pleaſes the ſoul by the facility it gives her of taking the whole object at once.

As the object that is to be ſeen at one glance ought to be ſimple, ſo it ought to be one, and the parts ſhould all refer to the main object; it is for this too that ſymmetry is agreeable, it unites all the parts into one whole.

It is in nature that every whole ſhould be finiſhed; and the ſoul that ſees the whole, will not that any part ſhould be imperfect, and this again makes ſymmetry ſo lovely; there muſt be a ſort of equal weight and ballance; and a building with one wing, or with one wing ſhorter than the other, is as far from being finiſhed, as a body with one arm, or with one arm too ſhort.

Of contraſts.

The ſoul loves ſymmetry—ſhe loves contraſts alſo; this requires explanation. For example.——If nature demands that painters and ſculptors ſhould preſerve a ſymmetry in the parts of their figures, ſhe requires too on the other hand, that they ſhould make a contraſt in their attitudes. One foot ſet like the other; one member placed juſt like the other, are inſupportable; the reaſon of which is, that this ſymmetry makes the attitudes almoſt always alike, as we ſee in the Gothic figures, which are by that means all alike. Thus there remains no longer any varieties in the productions of art. Moreover nature has not ſo formed us; ſhe has given us motion, ſhe has not fixed us in our actions and our manners like Pagods; and if men thus bound up and conſtrained are inſupportable, what muſt ſuch productions of art be?

The attitudes then muſt be contraſted, eſpecially in works of ſculpture, which from its natural coldneſs, admits of no fire by force of contraſt and ſituation.

But as I have ſaid, that the variety which they have endeavoured to put into the Gothic, has given it an uniformity, ſo it often happens that the variety which they have endeavoured at by means of the contraſt, is become a ſymmetry and a vicious uniformity.

This is perceivable, not only in certain works of ſculpture and painting; but alſo in the ſtyle of ſome writers, who in every phraſe contraſt the beginning with the end, by a continual antitheſis, ſuch as St. Auguſtine, and other of the later Roman writers; and ſome moderns, as St. Evremont. The turn of phraſe always the ſame, and always uniform, is extremely diſpleaſing. This perpetual contraſt becomes a ſymmetry, and that affected oppoſition becomes uniformity.

The mind finds ſo little variety there, that when you have ſeen one part of the phraſe, you always gueſs the other: you ſee words that are oppoſed to one another, but oppoſed in the ſame manner; you ſee a turn in the phraſe, but it is always the ſame.

Many painters have fallen into the fault of making contraſts every where, and without art, ſo that when you ſee one figure, you gueſs immediately at the diſpoſition of the one that is near it. This continual diverſity became ſomething like it: whereas nature, who throws things into diſorder, never ſhews any affectation of continued contraſt; not to ſay that ſhe does not put all bodies in motion, and in a forced motion too. She is more varied than that; ſhe leaves ſome at reſt, and gives others different ſorts of motion.

Of the pleaſures of ſurprize.

That diſpoſition of the ſoul which always inclines her to different objects, makes her taſte all the pleaſures that come from ſurprize; which is a ſenſation pleaſing to the ſoul, both from the view itſelf, and from the quickneſs of the action; for ſhe ſees or feels a thing that ſhe did not expect, or in a manner ſhe did not expect.

A thing may ſurprize us, not only as it is marvellous, but alſo as new, and even as unexpected. And in this laſt caſe, the principal ſentiment is joined to an acceſſary ſentiment, founded on the thing's being new, or unexpected.

It is from hence that the game of hazard affects us; it lets us ſee a continual ſucceſſion of unexpected events.

It is from hence too, that theatrical pieces pleaſe us; they ſhew themſelves by degrees, they conceal the events till they happen; always preparing for us new cauſe of ſurprize, and often ſtrike us in letting us ſee them ſuch as we might have foreſeen them.

Surprize may be produced by the thing, or by the manner of perceiving it; for we ſee a thing as greater or ſmaller, than it really is, or different from what it is, or we ſee the thing itſelf, but with an acceſſary idea that ſurprizes us, ſuch as the difficulty of making it: or the perſon who made it; or the time when it was made; or the manner in which it was made; or ſome other circumſtance that is joined to it.

Suetonius deſcribes the crimes of Nero with a coldneſs that ſurprizes us, in making us almoſt believe that he does not feel the horror of what he is relating; all at once he changes his ſtyle, and ſays, "The "univerſe having ſuffered this mon-"ſter for 14 years, at laſt gave him "up." *Tale monſtrum per quatuordecim annos perpeſſus terrarum orbis, tandem deſtituit.* This produces in the mind different ſorts of ſurprize; we are ſurprized at the change of the author's ſtyle; at the diſcovery of his

his different way of thinking; at his manner of telling in ſo few words, the event of ſo great a revolution, ſo that the mind finds a great number of different ſentiments that concur to ſhake her, and to compoſe a pleaſure for her.

Of the different cauſes which may produce a ſentiment.

It muſt be remarked, that a ſentiment is not commonly produced in our ſoul by one ſingle cauſe. It is, if I may venture upon the term, a certain doſe, which at once produces ſtrength and variety. Genius conſiſts in ſtriking many organs at once; and if the ſeveral writers are examined, perhaps it will be ſeen, that the beſt, and thoſe who have pleaſed moſt, are thoſe who have excited in the ſoul the greateſt number of ſenſations, at one and the ſame time.

We love play becauſe it ſatisfies our avarice; that is to ſay, our deſire of having more: it flatters our vanity by the idea of preference that fortune give us, and of the attention that others pay to our ſucceſs. It ſatisfies our curioſity, in giving us a ſpectacle. In ſhort, it gives us the different pleaſures of ſurprize.

Of delicacy.

Delicate people are thoſe who, to every idea, or to every taſte, join many acceſſary ideas, or many acceſſary taſtes. Groſs people have but one ſenſation; their ſoul can neither compound nor diſſolve; they neither add any thing to, nor take any thing away from what nature gives; whereas delicate people, who are in love, by compoſition form almoſt all the pleaſures that are to be found in love. Polixene and Apicius carry to their tables, taſtes that are unknown to us vulgar eaters: and thoſe who judge the works of wit with taſte, have and make to themſelves an infinity of ſenſations that other men are ſtrangers to.

The *Je ne ſcai quoi*, in perſons and in things, is often an inviſible charm, a natural grace, that cannot be defined, and which we have been forced to call the *Je ne ſcai quoi*. I take it to be an effect principally founded on ſurprize; we are touched by being more pleaſed with a perſon than we at firſt expected to be; and we are agreeably ſurprized to find thoſe faults overcome, which our eyes pointed out to us, but which our hearts no longer acknowledge. This is the reaſon why ugly women are very often poſſeſſed of the graces, and that it is but ſeldom that beautiful women have them. Graces are oftener found in the wit than in the face; for a fine face is ſeen at once, and ſcarce any of it is concealed; but wit ſhews itſelf by little and little, juſt when it chuſes, and juſt as much as it chuſes; it can conceal itſelf, and make its appearance give that ſort of ſurprize which conſtitutes the graces.

The graces are not ſo much in the features of the face, as in the manners; for the manners are every inſtant new, and may every moment create ſurprize.

Progreſs of ſurprize.

What makes the greateſt beauty, is when a thing ſurprizes but moderately at firſt, but keeps up that ſurprize, increaſes it, and at laſt leads to admiration. The works of Raphael ſtrike but little at firſt ſight; but an extraordinary expreſ-

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ſion, a ſtrong colouring, an uncommon attitude of a worſe painter, ſeizes us at the firſt glance, becauſe it is what we have not been uſed to ſee. Raphael may be compared to Virgil, and the painters of Venice with their forced attitudes to Lucan: Virgil, more natural, ſtrikes leſs at firſt, to ſtrike the more forcibly afterwards; Lucan ſtrikes more at firſt, and affects us leſs afterwards.

The exact proportion of the famous church of St. Peter, makes it not appear at firſt ſo great as it really is; for we do not ſee immediately where to fix ourſelves to judge of its greatneſs. If it was leſs in breadth, we ſhould be ſtruck with the length; if it was ſhorter, we ſhould be ſtruck with its breadth; but as we continue our examination it grows upon the eye, and the aſtoniſhment increaſes. It may be compared to the Pyrenees, where the eye that thinks it ſees all at firſt, diſcovers mountain behind mountain, and loſes itſelf more and more.

It often happens that our ſoul feels a pleaſure when ſhe has a ſentiment that ſhe cannot herſelf unfold, and that a thing ſeems to her abſolutely different from what it is, which gives her a ſentiment of ſurprize, which ſhe cannot get out of. This is an example of it. It is known that Michael Angelo, ſeeing the Pantheon, which was the greateſt temple at Rome, ſaid he would make one like it, but that he would place it in the air. Upon this model then he made the dome of St. Peter; but he made the pillars ſo maſſive, that that dome, which is like a mountain over one's head, appears light to the eye that conſiders it. The mind at the time remains uncertain, between what ſhe ſees, and what ſhe knows, and remains ſurprized to ſee a maſs at once ſo vaſt, and ſo light.

Of the beauties which reſult from a certain embarraſſment of the ſoul.

The ſoul is often ſurprized from not being able to reconcile what ſhe now ſees, with what ſhe has ſeen. There is a great lake in Italy called Lago Maggiore. It is a little ſea, whoſe ſhores ſhew nothing but what is entirely ſavage. Fifteen miles within the lake are two iſles of a quarter of a mile round, called the Barromes, which, in my opinion, is of all the world the ſpot the moſt delightful; the ſoul is aſtoniſhed in the romantic contraſt, from a pleaſing recollection of the wonders of Romana, where having paſſed by rocks and a dry country, you find yourſelf in a fairy land. Contraſts always ſtrike us, becauſe the two things always heighten one another.

Theſe ſorts of ſurprizes make the pleaſure that is found in all oppoſitions, in all antitheſes, and ſuch like figures. When Florus ſays, "*Sora & algidum!* who would believe it had been formidable to us! Saticula and Corniculum were once provinces. We bluſh for the Borilians and Virulani, but we triumphed over them. In ſhort, Tibur our ſuburb, Preneſte where our houſes of pleaſure are, were once the objects of the vows we made at the Capitol." This author, I ſay, ſhews us at once the grandeur of the Romans, and the littleneſs of their beginnings, and theſe two things here raiſe our wonder.

It may be here remarked, how wide the difference is between the antitheſis of ideas, and the antitheſis of expreſſion. The antitheſis of expreſſion is never concealed; that

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of ideas is. One has always the ſame dreſs, the other changes when you pleaſe. The one is varied, the other is not.

The ſame Florus, in ſpeaking of the Samnites, ſays, "Their towns "were deſtroyed, that it is at this "day difficult to find the ſubject of "four and twenty triumphs." *Ut non facile appareat materia quatuor et viginti triumphorum.* And by the ſame words that mark the deſtruction of that people, he lets us ſee the greatneſs of their courage and their firmneſs.

One of the things which pleaſes us moſt, is the ſimple, but it is alſo the moſt difficult ſtyle, becauſe it is preciſely between the noble and the mean; and is ſo near the mean, that it is very difficult to keep always on the brink of it without ſometimes falling into it.

The muſicians have owned, that the muſic which is eaſieſt ſung is moſt difficult to compoſe: a ſure proof that our pleaſures, and the art which gives them, lie between certain boundaries.

When a thing is ſhewn us with certain circumſtances or acceſſaries which aggrandize it, it appears noble to us. This is more particularly obſervable in compariſons, where the mind ſhould always gain and never loſe; for the compariſon ſhould always add ſomething, to ſhew it in more grandeur; or, if it is not grandeur that is required, more fine or more delicate.

When a thing is to be ſhewn fine, the ſoul would rather ſee a manner compared with a manner; an action with an action; than a thing with a thing; as an hero to a lion, a woman to a ſtar, a nimble man to a ſtag.

Michael Angelo is the maſter who has thrown ſomething noble into all his ſubjects. In his famous Bacchus, he has not, like the Flemiſh painters, ſhewn a tottering figure, and which is as it were in the air; that would be unworthy the majeſty of a god; he paints him firm on his legs: but he ſo happily gives him the gaiety of drunkenneſs, and ſuch a joy in ſeeing the liquor run that he pours into his cup, that there is nothing ſo admirable.

In the Paſſion, that is in the gallery at Florence, he has painted the Virgin ſtanding, who looks upon her crucified Son, without grief, without pity, without regret, without tears. He ſuppoſes her inſtructed in the great myſtery, and thereby makes her ſupport with grandeur the ſight of that death.

Julio Romano, in his chamber of giants at Mantua, where he repreſents Jupiter throwing down his thunder on them, lets us ſee all the gods affrighted; but Juno is near Jupiter, with an aſſured air ſhe points out to him a giant, againſt whom he ought to launch his thunder; by this he gives her an air of grandeur, that the other gods have not. The nearer they are to Jupiter, the more aſſured they are; and that is very natural, for in a battle, the fear ceaſes near him who has the advantage.

After this general theory of Taſte, and application of ſome of the moſt ſtriking rules, in the practice of one of the moſt agreeable of all arts, that of laying out gardens, will not prove diſagreeable to the reader. It will not be the leſs agreeable, that the obſervations are drawn from a country, which while it is ſo remote from us in ſituation, manners, and cuſtoms, preſerves ſo ſtrong a conformity

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in this article, with the beſt ideas, which the improvement of taſte has introduced amongſt us in England. This piece, we may venture to ſay, is much the beſt which has ever been written on this ſubject.

Of the art of laying out gardens among the Chineſe, by Mr. Chambers.

THE gardens, ſays he, which I ſaw in China, were very ſmall; nevertheleſs from them, and what could be gathered from Lepqua, a celebrated Chineſe painter, with whom I had ſeveral converſations on the ſubject of gardening, I think I have acquired ſufficient knowledge of their notions on this head.

Nature is their pattern, and their aim is to imitate her in all her beautiful irregularities. The firſt conſideration is the form of the ground, whether it be flat, ſloping, hilly, or mountainous, extenſive, or of ſmall compaſs, of a dry or marſhy nature, abounding with rivers and ſprings, or liable to a ſcarcity of water; to all which circumſtances they attend with great care, chuſing ſuch diſpoſitions as humour the ground, can be executed with the leaſt expence, hide its defects, and ſet its advantages in the moſt conſpicuous light.

As the Chineſe are not fond of walking, we ſeldom meet with avenues or ſpacious walks, as in our European plantations. The whole ground is laid out in a variety of ſcenes, and you are led, by winding paſſages cut in the groves, to the different points of view, each of which is marked by a ſeat, a building, or ſome other object.

The perfection of their gardens conſiſts in the number, beauty, and diverſity of theſe ſcenes. The Chineſe gardeners, like the European painters, collect from nature the moſt pleaſing objects, which they endeavour to combine in ſuch a manner, as not only to appear to the beſt advantage ſeparately, but likewiſe to unite in forming an elegant and ſtriking whole.

Their artiſts diſtinguiſh three different ſpecies of ſcenes, to which they give the appellations of pleaſing, horrid, and enchanted. Their enchanted ſcenes anſwer, in a great meaſure, to what we call romantic, and in theſe they make uſe of ſeveral artifices to excite ſurprize. Sometimes they make a rapid ſtream, or torrent, paſs under ground, the turbulent noiſe of which ſtrikes the ear of the new comer, who is at a loſs to know from whence it proceeds. At other times they diſpoſe the rocks, buildings, and other objects that form the compoſition, in ſuch a manner, as that the wind paſſing through the different interſtices and cavities, made in them for that purpoſe, cauſes ſtrange and uncommon ſounds. They introduce into theſe ſcenes all kinds of extraordinary trees, plants, and flowers, form artificial and complicated echoes, and let looſe different ſorts of monſtrous birds and animals.

In their ſcenes of horror, they introduce impending rocks, dark caverns, and impetuous cataracts ruſhing down the mountains from all ſides; the trees are ill formed, and ſeemingly torn to pieces by the violence of tempeſts; ſome are thrown down, and intercept the courſe of the torrents, appearing

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as if they had been brought down by the fury of the waters; others look as if ſhattered and blaſted by the force of lightning: the buildings are ſome in ruins, others half-conſumed by fire, and ſome miſerable huts diſperſed in the mountains ſerve at once, to indicate the exiſtence and wretchedneſs of the inhabitants. Theſe ſcenes are generally ſucceeded by pleaſing ones. The Chineſe artiſts, knowing how powerfully contraſt operates on the mind, conſtantly practiſe ſudden tranſitions, and a ſtriking oppoſition of forms, colours, and ſhades. Thus they conduct you from limited proſpects to extenſive views; from objects of horrer to ſcenes of delight; from lakes and rivers, to plains, hills, and woods; to dark and gloomy colours they oppoſe ſuch as are brilliant, and to complicated forms ſimple ones; diſtributing by a judicious arrangement, the different maſſes of light and ſhade, in ſuch a manner as to render the compoſition at once diſtinct in its parts, and ſtriking in the whole.

Where the ground is extenſive, and a multiplicity of ſcenes are to be introduced, they generally adapt each to one ſingle point of view: but where it is limited, and affords no room for variety, they endeavour to remedy this defect, by diſpoſing the objects ſo, that being viewed from different points, they produce different repreſentations; and ſometimes by an artful diſpoſition, ſuch as have no reſemblance to each other.

In their large gardens they contrive different ſcenes for morning, noon, and evening; erecting at the proper points of view, buildings adapted to the recreations of each particular time of the day: and in their ſmall ones (where, as has been obſerved, one arrangement produces many repreſentations) they diſpoſe in the ſame manner, at the ſeveral points of view, buildings which, from their uſe, point out the time of day for enjoying the ſcene in its perfection.

As the climate of China is exceeding hot, they employ a great deal of water in their gardens. In the ſmall ones, if the ſituation admits, they frequently lay almoſt the whole ground under water; leaving only ſome iſlands and rocks: and in their large ones they introduce extenſive lakes, rivers, and canals. The banks of their lakes and rivers are variegated in imitation of nature; being ſometimes bare and gravelly, ſometimes covered with woods quite to the water's edge. In ſome places flat, and adorned with flowers and ſhrubs; in others ſteep, rocky, and forming caverns, into which part of the waters diſcharge themſelves with noiſe and violence. Sometimes you ſee meadows covered with cattle, or rice grounds that run out into the lakes, leaving between them paſſages for veſſels; and ſometimes groves, into which enter, in different parts, creeks, and rivulets, ſufficiently deep to admit boats; their banks being planted with trees, whoſe ſpreading branches in ſome places, form arbours, under which the boats paſs. Theſe generally conduct to ſome very intereſting object; ſuch as a magnificent building; places on the top of a mountain cut into terraſſes; a caſine ſituated in the midſt of a lake; a caſcade; a grotto cut into a variety of apartments;

ments; an artificial rock; and many other such inventions.

Their rivers are seldom straight, but serpentine, and broken into many irregular points; sometimes they are narrow, noisy, and rapid; at other times, deep, broad, and slow. Both in their rivers and lakes are seen reeds, with other aquatic plants and flowers; particularly the lyen hoa, of which they are very fond. They frequently erect mills, and other hydraulic machines, the motions of which enliven the scene. They have also a great number of vessels of different forms and sizes. In their lakes they intersperse islands; some of them barren, and surrounded with rocks and shoals; others enriched with every thing that art and nature can furnish most perfect. They likewise form artificial rocks; and in compositions of this kind the Chinese surpass all other nations. The making them is a distinct profession: and there are at Canton, and probably in most other cities of China, numbers of artificers constantly employed in this business. The stone they are made of comes from the southern coasts of China: it is of a blueish cast, and worn into irregular forms by the action of the waves. The Chinese are exceeding nice in the choice of this stone, insomuch that I have seen several tael given for a bit no bigger than a man's fist, when it happened to be of a beautiful form and lively colour. But these select pieces they use in landscapes for their apartments; in gardens they employ a coarser sort, which they join with a blueish cement, and form rocks of a considerable size. I have seen some of these exquisitely fine, and such as discovered an uncommon elegance of taste in the contriver. When they are large they make in them caves and grottos, with openings, through which you discover distant prospects. They cover them in different places with trees, shrubs, briars, and moss; placing on their tops little temples, or other buildings, to which you ascend by rugged and irregular steps cut in the rock.

When there is a sufficient supply of water, and proper ground, the Chinese never fail to form cascades in their gardens. They avoid all regularity in these works, observing nature according to her operations in that mountainous country. The waters burst out from among the caverns and windings of the rocks. In some places a large and impetuous cataract appears; in others are seen many lesser falls. Sometimes the view of the cascade is intercepted by trees, whose leaves and branches only leave room to discover the waters, in some places, as they fall down the sides of the mountain. They frequently throw rough wooden bridges from one rock to another, over the steepest part of the cataract; and often intercept its passage by trees and heaps of stones, that seem to have been brought down by the violence of the torrent.

In their plantations they vary the forms and colours of their trees; mixing such as have large and spreading branches with those of pyramidical figures, and dark greens with brighter, interspersing among them such as produce flowers, of which they have some that flourish a great part of the year. The weeping willow is one of their favourite trees, and always among

among thoſe that border their lakes and rivers, being ſo planted as to have its branches hanging over the water. They likewiſe introduce trunks of decayed trees, ſometimes erect, and at other times lying on the ground, being very nice about their forms, and the colour of the bark and moſs on them.

Various are the artifices they employ to ſurprize. Sometimes they lead you through dark caverns and gloomy paſſages, at the iſſue of which you are, on a ſudden, ſtruck with the view of a delicious landſcape, enriched with every thing that luxuriant nature affords moſt beautiful. At other times you are conducted through avenues and walks, that gradually diminiſh and grow rugged, till the paſſage is at length entirely intercepted and rendered impracticable, by buſhes, briars, and ſtones; when unexpectedly a rich and extenſive proſpect opens to view, ſo much the more pleaſing, as it was leſs looked for.

Another of their artifices is to hide ſome part of a compoſition by trees, or other intermediate objects. This naturally excites the curioſity of the ſpectator to take a nearer view; when he is ſurprized by ſome unexpected ſcene, or ſome repreſentation totally oppoſite to the thing he looked for. The termination of their lakes they always hide, leaving room for the imagination to work; and the ſame rule they obſerve in other compoſitions wherever it can be put in practice.

Though the Chineſe are not well verſed in optics, yet experience has taught them that objects appear leſs in ſize, and grow dim in colour, in proportion as they are more removed from the eye of the ſpectator. Theſe diſcoveries have given riſe to an artifice, which they ſometimes put in practice. It is the forming proſpects in perſpective, by introducing buildings, veſſels, and other objects, leſſened according as they are more diſtant from the point of view; and that the deception may be ſtill more ſtriking, they give a greyiſh tinge to the diſtant parts of the compoſition, and plant in the remoter parts of theſe ſcenes trees of a fainter colour, and ſmaller growth, than thoſe that appear in the front, or foreground; by theſe means rendering what in reality is trifling and limited, great and conſiderable in appearance.

The Chineſe generally avoid ſtraight lines; yet they do not abſolutely reject them. They ſometimes make avenues, when they have any intereſting object to expoſe to view. Roads they always make ſtraight, unleſs the unevenneſs of the ground, or other impediments, afford at leaſt a pretext for doing otherwiſe. Where the ground is entirely level, they look upon it as an abſurdity to make a ſerpentine road; for they ſay, that it muſt either be made by art, or worn by the conſtant paſſage of travellers: in either of which caſes it is not natural to ſuppoſe men would chuſe a crooked line, when they might go by a ſtraight one.

What we call clumps, the Chineſe gardeners are not unacquainted with; but they uſe them ſomewhat more ſparingly than we do. They never fill a whole piece of ground with clumps; they conſider a plantation as painters do a picture, and groupe their trees in the ſame manner as theſe do their figures, having

having their principal and ſubſervient maſſes.

This is the ſubſtance of what I learnt during my ſtay in China, partly from my own obſervation, but chiefly from the leſſons of Lepqua. And from what has been ſaid it may be inferred, that the art of laying out grounds after the Chineſe manner is exceedingly difficult, and not to be attained by perſons of narrow intellects: for though the precepts are ſimple and obvious, yet the putting them in execution requires genius, judgment, and experience, ſtrong imagination, and a thorough knowledge of the human mind; this method being fixed to no certain rule, but liable to as many variations as there are different arrangements in the works of the creation.

Deſcription of Lough-lane, or the lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland. From Mr. Smith's ingenious account of that county, lately printed at Dublin.

THE mountain of Mangerton, which ſtands ſouth-eaſt of Lough-lane, is eſteemed one of the higheſt in this kingdom: by the experiment of the barometer, its altitude was found to be one thouſand and twenty yards, perpendicular, above the lake of Killarney, which is conſiderably higher than the ſea; for that lake in diſcharging itſelf, runs a courſe of ſome miles, and forms what is called the river Lane, before it joins the ocean. The mountains called the Reeks, which lie to the weſtward of Mangerton, ſeem, by the eye, to be rather higher than that mountain; but hills which are conical, and terminated in points, appear higher at a diſtance, than thoſe mountains which have a large ſurface on their tops: as ſteeples, which are terminated by ſpires, ſeem to be higher than thoſe covered with domes, the points of the former being, as it were, more hid, and loſt in the atmoſphere, than the other. They are ſteeper than Mangerton, and have more terrible precipices, and declivities; ſo that it was in a manner impoſſible to determine the height by the barometer. On the weſt ſide of that mountain, is a large and deep hole, filled with water, which they call the Devil's punch-bowl: it overflows, and makes an agreeable caſcade, down the ſide of the mountain, in view of Mucruſs-houſe, the ſeat of Edward Herbert, Eſq; by opening a large cut on the ſide of this baſon, there would be a broader, more conſtant, and nobler ſupply of water, which might afford a beautiful cataract for the greateſt part of the year. This water ſupplies the mills for the iron works, and then falls into Lough-lane, which beautiful lake I am now about to deſcribe. One of the beſt proſpects which it affords, is on a riſing ground, near the ruined cathedral of Aghadoe: not but there are many other fine views of it from every other ſide, but few of them take in ſo many particulars as may be obſerved from that ſtation. For from hence is to be ſeen, one of the moſt delicious landſcapes in Ireland: and perhaps, few countries in Europe afford better. But this is ſuch a maſterpiece, that even the Pouſſins, Salvator Roſa, or the moſt eminent painter in that way, might here furniſh himſelf with ſufficient matter,

not only to form one, but ſeveral entertaining proſpects. From this eminence a ſurvey may be taken of the greateſt part of this beautiful lake; and likewiſe of that ſtupendous amphitheatre of mountains which are ranged along the oppoſite ſhore. Towards the ſouth-eaſt, ſtands the above-mentioned mountain, called Mangerton, whoſe feet the lake waſhes, and whoſe ſummit is generally loſt in the clouds, it being, from the above recited experiment, juſtly eſteemed one of the higheſt mountains in Ireland. More towards the center lake, is an high mole, called Turk, whoſe ſides, down to the verge of the water, are beautifuliy cloathed with groves, of various kinds of trees. One part of this hill ſlopes away like a promontory, terminating in the lake, forming one ſide of a canal, which is a paſſage into the upper lake; as doth the point of another mountain called Glenna, the other ſide of this ſtrait, which is adorned alſo with foreſt trees. As a fine contraſt to this verdure, at the back of theſe mountains ſtand others, ſhaped into pyramids, being only naked rocks of a vaſt height. The grandeur and magnificence of theſe mountains, not only entertain and ſurprize the ſpectator, but he muſt be alſo agreeably amuſed, in contemplating the infinite variety of beautiful colouring they afford. For, in one part may be ſeen the gayeſt verdure, blended with ſcarlet fruit, and ſnowy bloſſoms, well known properties of the arbutus; and in other places, the moſt elegant variety of brown and yellow tints, cauſed by other kinds of trees and ſhrubs, appears: all theſe are intermixed with rock work; and to ſoften the whole, a deep, ſmooth, and noble baſon of water, extends itſelf beneath this ſcenery. But to give the reader an adequate idea of this place, would require the pencil of ſome excellent painter, rather then the pen of any proſe writer. To the weſt of Glenna, ſtands the lofty pike called Tomiſh, variegated half way to its top, with a waving foreſt; and down whoſe ſides, eſpecially after rains, run very conſiderable cataracts into the great lake. There are many other hills ſtill running more weſt, as far as the eye can trace for many miles; the neareſt and moſt ſurprizing for their loftineſs, are the Reeks already mentioned, whoſe tops reſemble ſo many pinacles or rather ſpires loſt in the clouds. The water is light and pure, and notwithſtanding the great variety of minerals, which ſurround this lake, it doth not ſeem to be impregnated with any of them. The ancient verſes of Ninius, who wrote in the ninth century, and which Mr. O-Flaherty, in his Ogygia, alſo cites, make mention of them.

Mamonia ſtagnum, Lochlenius undique Zonis
Quatuor ambitur: prior eſt ex ære, ſecunda
Plumbea, de rigido conflatur tertia ferro:
Quarta renidenti palleſcit linea ſtanno.

As for copper, few mines in Europe have produced ſuch quantity of ore, as that work lately diſcovered, near Mucruſs; having afforded, in the ſpace of a year after its working, three hundred ſeventy-five tons of ore, which produces from an ounce of the general ſample, five penny weight, eight

eight grains of copper, being conſiderably more than a fourth part of pure metal of a very fine quality; and the Briſtol company, to whom the proprietors of this work ſold it, muſt have extracted a greater proportion of copper, as it is well known from the laws of attraction, that a large portion of ore will yield more on the aſſay, than a ſmall quantity. Lead ore hath been alſo diſcovered near this lake; and the adjacent mountains all abound with iron. As to tin ore, there hath been no diſcovery made yet to any purpoſe; although I do not queſtion, but it will be alſo found, for I have picked up ſmall ſpecimens of ore, which contain ſome tin, at no great diſtance from this lake; and thus far are the above ancient verſes verified. O-Flaherty alſo takes notice, that pearls have been found in this lake, "*Et in eo ſtagno margaritæ multæ reperiuntur, quas ponunt reges in auribus ſuis.*" But becauſe of the great depth of the lough, they are not ſo frequently found in it, as in the river Lane which runs out of it. As one ſide of this lake conſiſts of the above-mentioned range of formidable hills, ſo the oppoſite ſide is adorned with a level and beautiful country, with the town of Killarney, and the habitations and improvements of ſeveral gentlemen, at different diſtances. But before I deſcribe theſe, it will be neceſſary to mention ſomewhat of the ſeveral iſlands, which lie beautifully ſcattered over the lake; as alſo of the ſurpriſing echoes that it affords. The moſt noted of theſe iſlands is that of Roſs, which is rather a peninſula, being only ſeparated by a ſmall cut through a moraſs, from the main land, over which is a bridge. On it ſtands an ancient caſtle, formerly the ſeat of O-Donaghoe Roſs, which hath a new barrack adjoining to it. This place hath been, for ſome years paſt, a military garriſon, having a governor appointed for it, upon the eſtabliſhment. Before the caſtle, are a few old diſmounted iron guns, which give it ſomething of the air of a fortification. The caſtle had been flanked with round turrets, which, together with its ſituation, rendered it a place of ſome ſtrength. In the wars of 1641, it ſurrendered to Ludlow, who was attended in the expedition by Lord Broghill and Sir Hardreſs Waller; and was the laſt place that held out in Munſter againſt the Engliſh parliament. The greateſt part of this iſland is covered with wood; and it is no diſagreeable ſpot, for ſuch gentlemen of the army quartered here, who are fond of fiſhing, hunting, or fowling. The iſland of Innis-fallen, is next to Roſs in quantity of land; in it are the ruins of a very ancient religious houſe, founded by St. Finian, ſurnamed the Leper, who flouriſhed towards the middle of the ſixth century. He is the patron ſaint of theſe parts, and to him the cathedral of Aghadoe is alſo dedicated. The remains of this abbey are very extenſive, although the walls in many places are levelled to the ground; its ſituation was extremely romantic and retired. Upon the diſſolution of religious houſes, the poſſeſſions of this abbey were granted to Captain Robert Collam. This iſland contains about twelve acres, and hath ſeveral very pleaſant coves, agreeably wooded, for landing upon it. It yields ſo great a profuſion of ſweet herbage, that the kine which are put into it to fatten, thrive ſo prodigiouſly, that

their fat becomes a kind of rich marrow, in a very ſhort time. The more fleſhy parts are in a manner marbled with fat, but their tallow is too ſoft to make candles, tho' it is proper enough for ſoap. On the eaſt ſide of the iſland, the walls of an old chapel have been lately repaired by ſome gentlemen, who frequently uſe it as a banqueting-houſe. There are beſides timber trees, the remains of ſeveral fruit trees, as plumbs, pears, &c. which have outlived the deſolation that hath ſeized on the cells of thoſe recluſes who firſt planted them. Many of theſe trees had fruit ripe on them when I was in the iſland; the plumbs in particular, being of a large red kind, were very fine. Here are alſo the fruit of the ſorbus or ſervice tree, likewiſe the arbutus, and other ſhrubs, which were all planted by the monks, tho' the neighbouring inhabitants will have them to be the ſpontaneous production of the ſoil. In ſhort, it is a beautiful, romantic wilderneſs, decorated, at preſent, with theſe plantations, and its venerable ruins, which are no ſmall addition to the beauties of Lough-lane. Rabbit-Iſland ſtands to the weſt of Innis-fallen, and is chiefly remarkable for its quarries of good lime-ſtone. An infinite number of iſlands of a ſmaller ſize, ſpangle and adorn this lake, moſt of which are covered with the arbutus, and ſeveral other beautiful ſhrubs. One of them from a fancied repreſentation, reſembles, at ſome diſtance, the figure of an horſe, in a drinking poſture; another is called O-Donaghoe's priſon; and a third his garden. Moſt of them are of marble, cloathed with ever-green ſhrubs, growing out of the crevices of the rocks. Some of the iſlands in the upper lake are of ſuch a ſtupendous height, that they reſemble, at a diſtance, ſo many lofty towers ſtanding in the water, and being many of them crowned with wreaths of arbutus, repreſent the ruins of ſtately palaces. Their edges are ſo much worn by the daſhing of the water againſt their ſides, and by frequent rains waſhing away the earth, and time hath ſo disjointed many of the marble rocks, that ſeveral of them hang in a moſt ſurprizing and tottering manner, and repreſent a rude kind of confuſed architecture, almoſt without foundations. In others of them, the waters have worn paſſages ſufficiently large for boats to go through theſe tottering arches, which in ſome places (though they are of an immenſe weight) are only upheld by very ſlender pillars.

The arbutus which cloaths theſe iſlands, gives even the haggard winter the beautiful appearance of ſpring, for in that melancholy ſeaſon, this tree puts on its higheſt bloom; which rarely growing in other places, is more likely to be admired by ſtrangers in this. The preparation of charcoal, for the iron works, hath been the occaſion of a great deſtruction of this beautiful tree in other parts of the country: and it is ſaid, that even here, it ſuffered much by an accidental fire that laid waſte a great part of a foreſt. Its growth, upon rocks of marble, where no earth appears, and ſo high above the ſurface of the water, renders it a matter of both ſurprize and pleaſure *.

This

* The arbutus, ſaith Sir Thomas Molineux, (in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 227) is not to be found any where, of ſpontaneous growth, nearer to

This tree is extremely agreeable in every different circumſtance of vegetation, for it hath, at one and the ſame time, ripe and green fruit upon its branches, which, as they approach to ripeneſs, from green become yellow, and at length terminate in a fine ſcarlet colour, reſembling in form a field ſtrawberry, though in ſize that of the beſt garden kind.

The bloſſoms grow in cluſters of ſmall white bells, not unlike thoſe of the lilly of the valley; and in ſuch great abundance, as, in that reſpect alone, to be equal in beauty to the lauruſtinus, and in other reſpects, much ſuperior to it; for the agreeable verdure of the leaves, not much unlike the bay, the ſcarlet hue of the tender part of the ſtalk, and all the different ſtages of vegetation, at one and the ſame time, from the knitting fruit to perfect ripeneſs, cannot but be exceeding agreeable to the curious obſerver.

Upwards of forty iſlands in this lake are covered with an intermixture of theſe trees and other ſhrubs; beſides, at leaſt a fourth part of the aſcent of the mountains, the verges of whoſe baſes, like that of Mangerton, and others abovementioned, are waſhed by the water of this lake.

Thus having mentioned what was remarkable of the mountains which ſurround it, and of the lake itſelf, and its iſlands, I ſhall beg leave to apply the following lines of the poet, whoſe deſcription of the lake Pergus is no ill picture of Lough-lane.

———*Non illa plura cajiſtros*
Carmina Cignorum labentibus audii in undis.
Silva coronat aquas, cingens latus omne; ſuiſque
Frondibus, ut velo, Phœbeos ſubmovet ignes.
Frigora dant rami, Tyrios humus humida flores,
Perpetuum ver eſt.

Ovid. Metam. Lib. V.

The principal inhabitants of theſe lofty mountains, except a few woodmen, kept in theſe foreſts by the lord of the ſoil, are great herds of red deer; the chace of which affords a much higher gratification to the ſportſmen than in moſt other places. And when a ſtag is hunted near this lake, nothing is more agreeably ſurpriſing, than the repeated echoes: it being ſcarce poſſible to diſtinguiſh the real clangor of the French horns, or the true cry of the dogs, from the numberleſs reverberations of them among the rocks and mountains.

The echoes which are cauſed by this ſport, reverberate the ſound

to Ireland than the moſt ſouthern parts of France, Italy, and Sicily; and there too, it is never known but as a frutex or ſhrub; whereas in the rocky parts of the county of Kerry, about Lough-lane, and in ſome of the rocky mountains adjacent, where the people of the country call it the cane apple, it flouriſhes naturally to that degree as to become a large tall tree. Petrus Bellonius obſerves, that it doth ſo in mount Athos in Macedonia, and Juba is quoted by Pliny, as mentioning it as a thing extraordinary, that the arbutus grows to an high tree in Arabia. Dr. Molineux adds, that the trunks of the trees of Ireland have been frequently four feet and a half in circumference, or 18 inches diameter; and that the trees grow to about nine or ten yards in height, and in ſuch plenty, that many of them have been cut down to melt and refine the ore of ſilver and lead mines diſcovered near Roſs caſtle.

in a manner not to be deſcribed, nor believed by any but by thoſe who have heard them; the whole duration of a ſingle ſound being near a minute; and yet the repercuſſions are innumerable, and the variety inconceivable. But the reader may from this imagine, that a moſt ſurpriſing muſical effect muſt ariſe from the variety of notes iſſuing from the throats of a large pack of buck-hounds, enlivened by the chearing ſhouts of the ſportſmen, and the noiſe of the horns.

From the mountains the ſtag often flies to the ſoil for refreſhment, where he is ſometimes taken by perſons who attend in boats to caſt a rope over the horns; or the poor animal is purſued to ſome iſland, where he is killed; or being refreſhed by ſwimming, is hunted again to the mountains; in all, and every of which places, particularly towards the upper lake, the echoes are prodigious grand.

But the moſt aſtoniſhing ſounds are thoſe made by the diſcharge of cannon, placed in a proper ſituation, upon the points of ſome particular iſlands, which may beſt anſwer to the concave ſides of the mountains. When the piece is firſt exploded, there is no return of any particular ſound for near a minute; but then a loud clap of thunder, which laſts for ſeveral ſeconds, enſues; and after a ſhort pauſe, a ſecond, and ſo on, for ſeveral repetitions; like volleys of ſmall arms, which are alternately anſwered from the neighbouring mountains and vallies, and at length die away, with a noiſe reſembling that of the waves of the ocean beating againſt a concave ſhore. Nothing would be more pleaſant than the ringing of a peal of bells, placed in a ſmall iſland in this lake, which would ſeem to be more numerous than all thoſe of a great city, by being anſwered by numberleſs imaginary bells from the neighbouring rocks. But this, with ſeveral other methods of improving the natural beauties of the lake, particularly the placing tame ſwans on it, and other embelliſhments, is ſubmitted to its owner: who, by adding, if poſſible, to its native elegancy, might render it more pleaſing to travellers, who may be induced, out of curioſity, to viſit it, and which would be of great advantage to the adjacent town of Killarney.

There have been but few countries in Europe that have not contrived means to draw a concourſe of people to viſit them, whoſe very travelling and intercourſe increaſe wealth and trade; and are a ſecret motive to induce inhabitants to come and ſettle in them.

A river falls from the upper into the lower lake, diſcharging itſelf between the mountains of Glenna and Turk, between which hills is one of the moſt romantic glins that can be conceived. The trees on both ſides ſeem to overſhadow this paſſage, which is a kind of watry defile for ſome miles in length, and admits of a conſiderable variety, being deep and ſmooth in ſome places, and in others rocky and ſhallow; at which laſt, the paſſengers diſembark, and the boat is forced by ſtrength of men's arms, under a kind of arch. The uſing of ſails is here dangerous, on account of the mountain ſqualls, their ſides hanging directly over the river, which, in this place, is almoſt too narrow even for oars. The ſtupendous rock, called the Eagle's Neſt, noted alſo for a fine echo, is commonly a place of refreſhment to paſſen-

paſſengers, who here enjoy the grateful ſhade of the arbutus, yews, hollies, and many other trees, that cover the rocks in this canal, ſeveral of which hang dreadfully over its ſides; and, no doubt, had a perſon ſufficient leiſure, thoroughly to ſearch up the ſides of this glin, and the adjacent places, which would require vaſtly more time, labour and expence, than the encouragement given to works of this nature will afford, abundance of curious diſcoveries might certainly be made here in the botanical way, eſpecially in the adjacent foreſts.

The boatmen have given imaginary names of theſe rocks, as to one the Man of War; a rock, which in ſome ſort repreſents the hull of a large veſſel, the maſt and rigging of which is no other than a large branching yew at the top. Having, at length, paſſed this long and narrow ſtrait, the upper lake is diſcovered, which is ſurrounded on all ſides with mountains of an amazing height, beautified alſo with woods. For here, according to Milton,

——— Over head up grow
Inſuperable height of loftieſt ſhade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A ſylvan ſcene; and as the ranks aſcend
Shade above ſhade, a woody theatre
Of ſtatelieſt view———
Luxuriant: Mean while murmuring waters fall
Down the ſlope hills, diſperſt, or in a lake,
——Unite their ſtreams:
Paradiſe Loſt, Book IV.

This upper lake is an oblong ſquare, extending north and ſouth, but is not a third of the area of the lower lake. The rocks and iſlands are here inhabited by eagles, oſpreys, hawks, and other birds of prey; as are the foreſts on the adjacent mountains with red deer.

In certain ſeaſons very conſiderable water-falls and caſcades tumble from the mountains into this upper lake, which with the echoes, and delightful ſcenery of the proſpect, are alſo the chief entertainment of this place, as in the lower lake. In one of theſe iſlands travellers generally take a repaſt, for few people go ſo far into theſe wilds without laying in proviſions before-hand. The manner of returning is, either back through the ſame ſcene, or on horſeback over the mountain, on a new road, which was made by ſubſcription of the principal gentlemen of the county.

Towards the ſouthern part of the lake, ſituated on a kind of peninſula, ſtands Mucruſs, the ſeat of Edward Herbert, Eſq; a ſituation where nature, in her native attire, very little aſſiſted by art, outdoes every thing that human fancy, ſupported with the higheſt expence, hath yet performed; for whether we firſt reflect on the delightful proſpects that this ſeat affords, as the lofty mountains hanging over the lake, wooded almoſt to their ſummits; caſcades pouring down from ſeveral of them, particularly that already noticed from Mangerton, which ſends down a roaring torrent not far diſtant; the beautiful expanſe of water which waſhes the verge of this gentleman's gardens and improvements, ſcattered over with iſlands, ſo wooded as to repreſent ſeveral well-cultivated ſpots; alſo a particular lake called Mucruſs lake, divided by that peninſula from the great one; and on the oppoſite ſhore, a level, well im-

improved country: I ſay, whether we take in at one view all this inchanting ſcenery, or ſtop to admire the particular beauties of the ſeat itſelf, we ſhall find ſufficient matter for pleaſure and admiration. The natural appearance of this place, before it was adorned by any improvement, was that of a luxuriant garden, where a great variety of trees and ſhrubs, the produce only of a more favourable clime, flouriſhed ſpontaneouſly, as the arbutus, juniper, yew, buckthorn, ſervice, and others, found growing among the crevices of marble rocks; the ſeeds, and original plantation of which I ſuſpect to have been laid here, many centuries ago, by the monks of the adjacent abbeys; where, meeting with a ſoil and climate favourable to their preſervation and propagation, they have wonderfully flouriſhed ever ſince, without any aſſiſtance from art.

Theſe natural gardens, therefore, wanted little aſſiſtance to beautify them, except an incloſure towards the land, and the lopping away part of their luxuriance, to form avenues and walks through them, beſides the addition of ſuch exotics as have been but of late years introduced into Ireland; among which there have been planted a conſiderable number of vines, which are now ſpreading their branches, and crawling up ſeveral ſloping rocks of variegated marble.

It was, indeed, an handſome compliment which was paid to this place, by a late Right Rev. Prelate *, whoſe high taſte in the beauties of art and nature, as well as goodneſs of heart, and ſolid learning, all the world equally admired and acknowledged; who being aſked what he thought of this ſeat, immediately anſwered, that the French Monarch might poſſibly be able to erect another Verſailles, but could not with all his revenues lay out another Mucruſs.

The gardens of this ſeat extend to the ruins of an ancient friery called Irrelagh, i. e. on the lough, founded by Donald, ſon of Thady Mac Carty, in the year 1440, for Minorites, or conventual Franciſcans, and repaired by him in 1468, the year of his death. It was again re-edified in the year 1602, but ſoon after ſuffered to go to ruin. The walks are ſurrounded by a venerable grove of aſh-trees, which are very tall, and in ſome places grow ſpontaneouſly, from the ruins of the abbey. The choir, nave, and ſteeple ſtill remain entire, in which are ſeveral decayed tombs. The cloyſters are likewiſe entire, in which are ſeveral Gothic arches of ſolid marble, which incloſe a ſmall ſquare, in the cenrer of which ſtands one of the talleſt yew-trees I have ever ſeen; its ſpreading branches, like a great umbrella, overſhadow the niches of the whole cloyſter, forming a more ſolemn and aweful kind of covering to it than originally belonged to the place. The ſteeple was ſmall, and capable of containing only a ſingle bell; and it is ſupported by a Gothic arch or vault. The bell was, not many years ago, found in the adjacent lough, and by the inſcription, was known to have belonged to this priory, which from the time of its foundation, hath been the cemetery of the Mac Carty-Mores, and

* Dr. Berkley, the late Biſhop of Cloyne.

and other families. Upon the diſſolution of religious houſes, the revenues and ſcite of this abbey were granted to Captain Robert Collam, who aſſigned them to Biſhop Croſbie.

The town of Killarney is a ſmall thriving place, being conſiderably improved ſince the minority of its preſent owner, the Lord Viſcount Kenmare, who hath encouraged ſeveral inhabitants to ſettle in it, and hath erected ſome houſes for linen manufacturers, about a mile from the town. There are already four new roads finiſhed to this town, one from the county of Cork, which leads to that city; a ſecond from Caſtle-Iſland, which proceeds towards Limerick; the third is that to the river of Kenmare beforementioned; and a fourth is lately made to Caſtlemain; from which laſt place new roads have been carried to Tralee and Dingle. The neighbourhood of the mines affords employment for ſeveral people, and will conſequently cauſe a conſiderable ſum of money to be ſpent in it. A new ſtreet, with a large commodious inn, are deſigned to be built here; for the curioſities of the neighbouring lake have of late drawn great numbers of curious travellers to viſit it, and, no doubt, many more will go thither to partake of the diverſions and amuſements of that place, when they can be aſſured of being commodiouſly and cheaply entertained.

The principal ornament of Killarney is the ſeat and gardens of Lord Kenmare, planted with large nurſeries of fruit and timber trees. His lordſhip propoſes to enlarge a canal, which runs through his gardens, and to make it communicate with the lake, which will not only render them more beautiful, but will alſo add to the convenience of water-carriage to and from the lake. Not far from the houſe is a large and pleaſant park, well wooded, and ſtocked with deer, which he hath alſo in plenty in the foreſts of the adjacent mountains.

The natural hiſtory of Hartz Foreſt, in his majeſty's German dominions. Written in German by H. Ebrens, M. D.

Of the cavern at Scharzfeld.

THE cavern at Scharzfeld is well worth ſeeing, being caves remarkable for ſeveral rarities; the country people call it the Dwarf-holes. It is ſituated in the Lower Hartz, in the county of Hohnſtein, in a wood not far from the caſtle of Scharzfeld. Whoever wants to ſee this cavern, goes to the village of Scharzfeld to look out for a guide. Then you proceed through a wood and a thicket, and coming near the cavern, you muſt get down by the knots and branches of a large tree with ſome trouble and danger, to come to the mouth of it. When you are on the ground, there appears to your view a large cleft in a rock, about fourteen feet high: the inſide of it is lined all about with a thick and ſhining *Drop-ſtone*. Now you advance a pretty way forwards, and muſt creep a conſiderable length, till you come into the ſecond cave, which for height and bigneſs is not inferior to the firſt. From hence you creep again with ſome trouble into the third, and from thence to the fourth cave, and ſo on; and in this manner, ſome guides ſay, one may go five or ſix Engliſh miles under ground, without coming to the end.

The

The cold is very intenſe in this cavern, and rather greater than in the Baumans cave. To let in ſome light, there are ſeveral round and ſquare holes in the roof, ſome of which are ſtopped up with ſtones and other rubbiſh. The common people imagine the dwarfs went in and out of theſe openings, but it is more probable they were made for air-holes. There are ſuch numbers of paſſages and turnings, that it is almoſt impoſſible to count them; ſome running forwards, ſome ſideways, and others acroſs, all communicating with one another in the manner of a labyrinth, for which reaſon it is very difficult to find one's way out of it again without a guide. Moſt of theſe paſſages are as clean as if they were ſwept with a broom, and ſome are filled up with rubbiſh by thoſe that dug there, either for ore, or the foſſile unicorn.

The *Drop-ſtone* is found in ſeveral of theſe caves, although the top of the mountain where the cavern is, be a dry lime-ſtone. The water drops continually from the roof, ſo thick that it ſeems as if it rained; and when theſe drops fall on your cloaths, and grow dry upon them, they turn to white ſpots, and a white powder like chalk comes from it.

It is reported, that once, on the eve of St. Peter and Paul, twenty-five perſons bound themſelves by oath to each other to go into this cavern, and not to come out of it again till they had viewed all the curioſities therein, and found out the end; therefore they provided themſelves with a number of candles, a ladder, and ſtrings, and proviſion for ſeveral days.

When they were advanced about nine hundred fathoms, they found many curioſities, large places like palaces, all ſorts of figures formed by the *Drop-ſtone*; alſo ſome ſprings, running waters, quantities of human bones, ſome of a gigantic ſize. Then creeping again through other narrow paſſages, they came into ſpacious places, where twenty-five could walk a-breaſt. Thus they went on till they could go no farther; by following the thread which they had tied to the entry of the cavern, they found their way back again without difficulty; but by the coldneſs of the place, and many frights, they were become ſo pale, and their countenances ſo altered, that their friends hardly knew them again.

Here is alſo found the foſſile unicorn, but not near in ſuch quantity as formerly, becauſe the peaſants, who uſed to dig for it, and to ſell it to the apothecaries and druggiſts, have almoſt exhauſted the place. This foſſile is of different ſhapes; ſometimes 'tis formed like a ſtraight horn, a ſcull, a jaw-bone, a ſhoulder-blade, and a back-bone, a rib, a tooth, a thigh-bone, and all other ſorts of bones both of men and beaſts; and there is ſome found like an unſhapen lump or maſs of ſtone, having no reſemblance to any bone at all.

There have been great diſputes among the learned about this foſſile: ſome, conſidering that there are pieces ſo exactly like true bones, affirm they muſt really have been part of ſome animal; and, that thoſe of an anomalous form are of the mineral kind. But others reply, that upon examination they cannot find that great likeneſs to bones as their adverſaries are pleaſed

to

to fancy: in particular they ſay, that thoſe bones of the foſſile unicorn, which are called the jaw-bone, have ſuch apophyſes as are never to be met with in the natural way; and that ſome being like no bone at all, they ſcruple not to conclude the whole to be a *luſus naturæ*, or an accidental produce of nature. Moreover, they add, that granting ſome to be like true bones, it cannot be inferred from thence that they were really ſo; becauſe elſe it would follow, that the figures repreſented in ſome pieces of ſlate, and the *Cornua Ammonis*, were once real; which are now allowed on all hands to be ſtones of a particular kind.

Conringius, in his diſſertation *De antiquo Helmiadiſt ſtatu*, thinks the foſſile unicorn were petrified bones. And Otto de Querick, in his *Experimenta Magdeburgica*, maintains the ſame opinion. That there had been ſuch animals as unicorns, he pretends to corroborate by the following fact: he ſays, that anno 1663, in a lime-pit near Quedlinburg, there was found an entire ſkeleton of an unicorn, which had fixed to its forehead a long bone, or horn, as thick as a man's thigh-bone, and was preſented to the Abbeſs of Quedlinburg; and, that theſe bones had been conveyed to this place in the general flood, is proved ſufficiently by the various bones dug up in moſt parts of the world. The *Theatrum Europæum*, part V. mentions, that anno 1645 the Swedes dug up, near Crems in Auſtria, a giant's ſkeleton, whoſe head was as big as a middle-ſized table, and one tooth weighed five pounds and a half, and the bone of his arm as big as a man's middle. Eckſtormius alſo confirms it, with the author of the *Topographia of Brunſwick*, that one time there was found in the Baumans cave an human ſcull of a gigantic ſize.

But the bigneſs of ſome of theſe bones, ſeems to argue that they could not be human, and therefore 'tis probable they either have increaſed under ground, or elſe are a *luſus naturæ*: for the talleſt man we know of, was Og of Baſan, whoſe bed is ſaid, in Deuteronomy, chap. iii. to have been eighteen feet long: now, allowing the bed to be but one foot longer than the man, he was ſeventeen feet high. But if the head and tooth found by the Swedes had belonged to a regularly-proportioned man, he muſt have exceeded Og by a vaſt deal; for the tooth is ſaid to have weighed five pounds and a half, and ſuppoſing that of a common man to weigh half an ounce, which is too much, then the giant muſt have had a height anſwerable to 176 times the bulk of a middle-ſized man.

Others cannot comprehend how theſe ſuppoſed bones ſhould have been brought together in ſuch quantities into theſe caverns; nor will they be ſatisfied with the reaſons ſome naturaliſts give for their manner of petrifaction; wherefore Sennertus, in his *Epitome Scientia naturalis*, lib. v. cap. 4. Schræder, in his *Pharmacopœia medica*, and Laurentius Bauſchius, in his *Schediamſa Curioſum de Unicornu foſſili*, and others, count it among the minerals.

Kircher, in his *Mundus ſubterraneus*, lib. viii. c. 8. makes this diſtinction betwixt bones of a mineral produce, and petrified ones; he ſays, the firſt are ſolid throughout, but the latter hollow. Which obſervation I have found not to be infal-

infallible, having ſeen ſome bones of the mineral kind that were concave, as if they had formerly contained marrow.

Thus has this controverſy been canvaſſed pro and con; but as I have had the opportunity of examining great quantities of this foſſile, particularly in my father's cabinet, who had various pieces of it, I have found moſt of that dug about the Hartz to be of a mineral kind.

This being taken for granted, we are next to conſider the matter it is compoſed of. Some think with Libavius, Part 3. Singular. l. 18. c. 17. that it is a bituminous earth; and others ſay it is a kind of agate petrified: but to me it ſeems moſt probable that it is made of a clay, or fattiſh earth, called in Latin *Marga*, or *Marl*, which is very plentiful in this country, and ſerves to manure the ground, inſtead of dung. According to the figure this earth lies in underground, when the petrifying water comes to it, and cauſes it to grow hard, ſo it remains, and thus becomes ſometimes a well-ſhapen bone, and often a lump of matter of no diſtinct form at all. This formation is not perfected at once; for it is obſerved, that ſome pieces lying in a place where there is room for increaſe, will grow to a monſtrous ſize.

This foſſile hath ſeveral names, viz. *Unicornu minerale*, *Ebur foſſile*, *Oſteites*, *Monoceros vulgi*, *Lithomarga alba*, &c. The moſt common term it is known by, is *Unicornu foſſile*; but I can ſee no reaſon why it ſhould rather be called *Unicorn* than any other animal, ſince it is found of all ſorts of forms, and thoſe pieces reſembling the horn of an unicorn but very rarely to be met with.

It is moſt commonly of a light grey, black, or yellowiſh colour, and very ſeldom perfectly white: ſometimes it is as hard as a ſtone, and othertimes ſoft like clay, and grows harder the longer it is expoſed to the air. It has commonly neither ſmell nor taſte, yet ſometimes I have found it with a ſcent like that of quinces; which probably might proceed from a bituminous ſubſtance mixed with the petrifying water. It is introduced in the *Materia Medica*, and the whiteſt and melloweſt is reckoned the beſt for that purpoſe. The common people try it by putting it into cold water; and that which cauſes moſt bubbles to riſe, they count for the beſt ſort. The reaſon of the riſing of theſe bubbles is, becauſe as this foſſile is full of pores, wherein air is contained, the water getting into them, drives out the air, which being ſpecifically lighter than the water, riſes in the form of thoſe bubbles to the ſurface.

The common people looked formerly upon it as a medicine of extraordinary efficacy, thinking it to be the true unicorn; but ſince it is come to be common, it hath loſt much of its repute. It operates very like the Terra ſigillata, abſorbs, adſtringes, and promotes perſpiration, (Vide Franciſc. Joel, Pract. tom. 5.) and is one of the ingredients of the Bezoardic powder deſcribed by D. Ludovici in *Pharmacopœia moderno ſæculo applicanda*, and produces a very good effect, unleſs a ſymptomatic coſtiveneſs forbid its uſe. Externally it ſerves in puſtulary eruptions and eroſions about the pudendum and fundament in children, and in eye-waters. Laſtly, D. Hoffman, in his *Clavis Schræderiana*, admoniſhes

niſhes people to try the foſſile unicorn firſt upon a dog, before it is made uſe of in medicine, becauſe he thinks it is ſometimes of a poiſonous nature; which however is never obſerved in any found in or near Hartz foreſt.

From Mr. Groſſe's voyage to the Eaſt Indies.

Account of a very remarkable Iſland near Bombay in the Eaſt Indies.

OVer-againſt the caſtle of Bombay, about the diſtance of five miles, lies the very ſmall, but famous, iſland of Elephanta. It can at moſt be but about three miles in compaſs, and conſiſts of almoſt all hill: at the foot of which as you land, you ſee, juſt above the ſhore, on your right, an elephant, coarſely cut out in ſtone, of the natural bigneſs, and at ſome little diſtance not impoſſible to be taken for a real elephant, from the ſtone being naturally of the colour of that beaſt. It ſtands on a platform of ſtones of the ſame colour. On the back of this elephant was placed ſtanding, another young one appearing to have been all of the ſame ſtone, but has been long broken down. Of the meaning, or hiſtory of this image, there is no tradition old enough to give any account.

Returning then to the foot of the hill, you aſcend an eaſy ſlant, which about half way up the hill brings you to the opening or portal of a large cavern hewn out of a ſolid rock, into a magnificent temple: for ſuch ſurely it may be termed, conſidering the immenſe workmanſhip of ſuch an excavation; and ſeems to me a far more bold attempt, than that of the pyramids of Egypt. There is a fair entrance into this ſubterraneous temple, which is an oblong ſquare, in length about 80 or 90 feet, by 40 broad. The roof is nothing but the rock cut flat at top, and in which I could not diſcern any thing that did not ſhow it to be all of one piece. It is about ten feet high, and ſupported towards the middle, at equi-diſtance from the ſides, and from one another, with two regular rows of pillars of a ſingular order. They are very maſſive, ſhort in proportion to their thickneſs, and their capital bears ſome reſemblance to a round cuſhion, preſſed by the ſuper-incumbent mountain, with which they are alſo of one piece. At the further end of this temple are three gigantic figures, the face of one of them is at leaſt five feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth. But theſe repreſentations have no reference or connection, either to any known hiſtory, or the mythology of the Gentoos. They had continued in a tolerable ſtate of preſervation and wholeneſs, conſidering the remoteneſs of their antiquity, until the arrival of the Portugueſe, who made themſelves maſters of the place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry, not ſuffering any idols but their own, they muſt have been at even ſome pains to maim and deface them, as they now remain, conſidering the hardneſs of the ſtone. It is ſaid they even brought field-pieces to the demolition of images, which ſo greatly deſerved to be ſpared for the unequalled curioſity of them. Of this Queen Catherine of Portugal was, it ſeems, ſo ſenſible, that ſhe could not conceive that any traveller would return from that ſide of India, without

out viſiting the wonders of this cavern; of which too the ſight appeared to me to exceed all the deſcriptions I had heard of them. About two-thirds of the way up this temple, on each ſide, and fronting each other, are two doors or outlets, into ſmaller grots or excavations, and freely open to the air. Near and about the door-way, on the right hand, are alſo ſeveral mutilated images, ſingle and in groupes. In one of the laſt, I remarked a kind of reſemblance to the ſtory of Solomon dividing the child, there ſtanding a figure with a drawn ſword, holding in one hand an infant with the head downwards, which it appears in act to cleave through the middle. The outlet of the other on the left hand, is into an area of about 20 feet in length, and 12 in breadth, at the upper end of which, as you turn to the right preſents itſelf a colonnade covered at top, of 10 or 12 feet deep, and in length anſwering to the breadth of the area; this joins to an apartment of the moſt regular architecture, an oblong ſquare, with a door in perfect ſymmetry; and the whole executed in quite a contrary taſte and manner from any of the oldeſt or beſt Gentoo buildings any where extant. I took particular notice of ſome paintings round the cornices, not for any thing curious in the deſign, but for the beauty and freſhneſs of the colouring, which muſt have laſted ſome thouſands of years, on ſuppoſing it, as there is all reaſon to ſuppoſe it, cotemporary with the building itſelf. The floor of the apartment is generally full of water, its pavement or ground-work not permitting it to be drawn off, or to be ſoaked up. For it is to be obſerved, that even the cavern itſelf is not viſitable after the rains, until the ground of it has had time to dry into a competent hardneſs.

The reader too will pleaſe to obſerve, that in the dimenſions I have ventured to give, I am far from warranting the exactneſs, any further than to the beſt of my groſs gueſs by the eye; and if any one ſhall hereafter, on a perſonal ſurvey, or on a competent draught of it, think I have exaggerated its importance, I hope he will only pity my miſapprehenſion, and acquit me of any deſign of impoſing on him, by dealing in the marvellous, nothing being more certain, than that I have ſaid no more of it, than as it ſtruck me at the ſight of it, and ſtill remains on my memory.

This place too being ſo near Bombay, affords the Engliſh inhabitants, not only an eaſy opportunity of gratifying their curioſity, in viſiting ſo remarkable a ſpot, but occaſionally a very agreeable party of pleaſure. Sometimes, in their way thither, they dine at Butcher's Iſland, which is two miles nearer to Bombay, on account of the conveniency of the officer's houſe to receive them, an enſign's guard being kept there. Others again prefer carrying their proviſions with them, and dine in the cave itſelf, than which in the very ſultrieſt days of the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler pleaſanter retreat. For though the air be almoſt on fire round you, you are no ſooner entered the cave, than you are refreſhed with a ſenſible coolneſs; the three openings above-mentioned not only furniſhing ſufficient light, but a thorough draught of air, that does not ſo much convey freſhneſs into the cave, as it receives it from conſtant temperature, preſerved

ſerved to it by its impenetrability to the ſun, from the thickneſs of the mountainous maſs above it. And even the light that comes into it through the portals has loſt, by the way, all the force of thoſe fiery particles to which it gives ſo great an activity. For, it is obſerved in India, as well as in all hot countries, that the excluſion of light is in ſome meaſure an excluſion of heat, and that but darkening an apartment only, ſenſibly cools. This rule too admits of no exception, except in places where the ſoil and ſituation are of ſuch a nature, as to continue the heat even after the actual preſence of the ſun is withdrawn; as in Gambroon on the coaſt of Perſia, for example, where a high maſſive hill behind it, to which it is a kind of focal point, and the bituminous quality of the earth, are circumſtances that do not allow of the air's cooling between the ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe.

But, aſking pardon for this digreſſion, and reſuming my preſent ſubject, I am to obſerve that, for the reſt, this iſland contains nothing more that is worthy of notice. There are not above two or three huts upon it; which is not ſurpriſing, conſidering the little land there is to cultivate, and that there is no water on it, but what is ſaved from the rains. The growth of the hill itſelf is only underwood, and graſs, which in the dry ſeaſon is often ſet on fire, and will continue burning for three or four days; which has this benefit, of fertilizing any cultivable ſpots on it, and of the ſalts being waſhed down by the rains into the lower grounds, a practice that is much followed in all thoſe countries; which they call burning the land.

An Eſſay on the Quantity or Meaſure of Engliſh Verſe. The Examples from Milton.

I. *The meaſure of Engliſh Heroics, and of the Iambic.*
II. *The ſyllaba hypercatalectica, or redundant ſyllable.*
III. *Of the Trochee.*
IV. *Of the Spondee.*
V. *Of the Pyrrhic.*
VI. *Of very ſhort Syllables.*
VII. *Of the Anapæſt.*
VIII. *Of the Dactyle.*
IX. *Of Aphæreſis.*
X. *Many like feet in the ſame verſe.*
XI. *Many different feet in the ſame verſe.*

I. *The meaſure of Engliſh Heroics, and of the Iambic.*

THE Engliſh Heroic verſe is an Iambic of five feet, ſometimes pure, as,

Hĭs ōnlў Sōn, ŏn eārth hĕ fīrſt bĕhēld
ăboūt hĭm āll thĕ sānctĭtīes ŏf heāv'n,

ĭn heāv'n ŏr eārth, ŏr ūndĕr eārth ĭn hēll
Thĭs ōne, thĭs eāsў chārge ŏf āll thĕ treēs, &c.

Sometimes nearly ſo, as

Tŏ thēir defēnce whŏ hōld ĭt, hēre pĕrhāps
Preſcrīb'd, nŏ bārs ŏf hēll, nŏr āll thĕ chaīns
ămōng thĕ grōves, thĕ foūntains ānd thĕ flōwers
Mў ōnlў Sōn, and ōn mў hōlў hīll
Rĕ-ēntĕr heāv'n, ŏr elſē in ſomē mīld zōne
Hĭs āngĕr, and pĕrhāps thus fār rĕmōv'd
Thĕ dārk, unbōttom'd īnfinīte ăbўſs.
Outſhōne thĕ weālth ŏf ōrmŭs, ānd ŏf īnd.

From theſe laſt inſtances, where the ſyllables not marked are by derivation, nature, or poſition, long, yet in the ſound and meaſure of the verſe are ſhort, I obſerve, that the quantity of Engliſh ſyllables is not meaſured by the rules of Latin and Greek Proſody, but by the tone of the voice, or accent, which generally riſes at every ſecond ſyllable, and therefore I call *long*; the intermediate ſyllables, over which we haſten to come at it, I call *ſhort*, whatever their quantity may be with reſpect to conſonants, vowels, or diphthongs; thus,

While ſmoōth ădōnis frōm his nātive rŏck,

is a very muſical Engliſh Iambic, though four out of the five ſhort ſyllables are naturally long; *while* and *tive* by the final *e*, and *nis* and *his* long by poſition. Indeed an Engliſh Iambic may be juſt meaſure, and yet have never a ſyllable in it ſhort, according to the rules of Proſody, as,

Wĭth floōds ănd whīrlwĭnds ōf tĕmpēſtŭŏus firē.

And the proſodeal ſhort ſyllables may become long in the Engliſh meaſure, as,

Qūiĕt thŏ ſād	B. II.
Bў prāy'r th' ŏffēndēd dēitў t'ăppeāſe	II.
Lămēnt nŏt ēve, bŭt pātiĕntlў rĕsīgn	II.
Oŭr sēcŏnd ādăm īn thĕ wīldĕrnēſs	II.

II. *Of the ſyllable hypercatalectica, or redundant ſyllable.*

A redundant ſyllable is often added at the end of an Iambic with grace in blank verſe, as,

ŏf heāv'n rĕceīv'd ŭs fāllĭng, ānd thĕ thūnder.

In rhyme it grows offenſive, or burleſque, as it creates a double jingle.

Perhaps many Alexandrines may be beſt accounted for from ſuch redundant ſyllables. [See § VI. of very ſhort ſyllables.]

III. *Of the Trochee.*

The moſt common and muſical variation of this meaſure is by ſubſtituting a Trochee inſtead of an Iambic.

1mo loco Mўſtĭcāl dānce, whĭch yōndĕr ſtārrў ſphēre	5.
Ceāſe ĭ tŏ wāndĕr whēre thĕ mŭsĕs hāunt	3.

Nor

Nor is this always accidental, but often by choice, as,

——————that God's own ear
Lĭstĕns dĕlĭghtĕd———————— 5.

Wherever a foot ends at the pauſe, a Trochee will follow gracefully, as,

2do loco	Thūs sāid, Nātivĕ ŏf heāv'n, fŏr ōthĕr plāce	5.
	ŭndēck'd, sāve wĭth hĕrsēlf, mŏre lōvelў fair	5.
	Hĭs seēd, whēn ĭs nŏt sēt, shăll brūiſe mў heād	10.
3tio	ĭn mўſtĭc dānce, nōt wĭthŏut sōng, rĕſoŭnd	5.
	Faīrĕſt ŏf ſtārs, lāſt ĭn thĕ trāin ŏf nīght	5.
	Wīth thĕ fĭxt ſtārs, fīxt ĭn thĕir ōrb thăt flīēs	5.
4to	Thēſe ăre thў glōrĭŏus wŏrks, pārĕnt ŏf goŏd	5.
	Eāch ĭn thĕir crўſtăl fluĭce; hē ĕre thĕy fēll	5.
	ănd chōrăl sўmphŏnĭēs, dāy wĭthŏut ēnd	5.
	Nōw ŏn thĕ pōlăr wĭnds, nōw wĭth quĭck fān	5.
5to	Spōil'd prĭncĭpālĭtiēs ănd pōw'rs, trĭŭmph'd	10.

A Trochee is not common in this place; in moſt caſes where a word, which in ordinary pronunciation is a Trochee, ends the verſe, Milton throws the accent on the laſt ſyllable, which makes it an Iambic; and indeed I believe it is ſo in this very verſe, for I remember elſewhere he accents trĭŭmph after the Latin.

A Trochee is not ſo harmonious if no comma or ' pauſe precedes, as,

ĭn thĕir trīplĕ dĕgreēs, rēgiŏns tŏ whīch	5.
Lāw ănd ēdĭct ŏn ūs, whŏ wĭthoŭt lāw	5.
ănd thōu Moōn ĭn thĕ vāle ōf ājă ōn	2.
Thăt whēn faĭr mōrnĭng fīrſt ſmīles ŏn thĕ wōrld	5.
Drĕw āftĕr hĭm thĕ thĭrd pārt ŏf heāv'n's hōſt.	5.

I meet with a line of Mr. Pope's in the eighth Odyſſey, where perhaps it may be allowable, as exemplifying the ſpring he mentions,

None in the leap ſpring with ſo ſtrong a bound, v. 103.

but then we are forced to ſtop at *leap*, where there is no comma.

IV. *Of the Spondee:*

This foot is admitted into every one of the five places; as,

1mo	Thūs theў ĭn heāv'n; ăbōve thĕ ſtārrў ſphēre	3.
	Smoōth, eāsў, ĭnŏffēnsĭve dōwn tŏ hēll	10.
2do	ăccoūnt mē mān ĭ fŏr hĭs sāke wĭll leāve	
	ăt ſūch bōld wōrds, voūch'd wĭth ă dēed sŏ bōld	5.
	Tāſtes nŏt wēll joĭn'd ĭnēlĕgānt, bŭt brĭng	5.
	ănd yē fīve ōthĕr wāndrĭng fīrēs thăt mōve	5.
3tio	ă cloūdў ſpō', dōwn thĭthĕr prōne ĭn flīght	5.
	ănd faĭthfŭl nōw prōv'd fālſe: bŭt thĭnk nŏt hĕre	6.
	Rĕſērv'd hĭm tŏ mōre wrāth: fŏr nōw thĕ thoūght	6.
4to	ănd rĕſt căn nĕvĕr dwēll, hŏpe nĕvĕr cōmes	1.
	Whĭle dāy ărĭſĕs, thăt ſweēt hoŭr ŏf prīme	5.
	ĭn cūrls ŏn ēithĕr chēek plāy'd, wĭngs hĕ wōre	3.
	ĭſſŭĭng frŏm mē; ŏn yoūr joĭnt vigŏr nŏw	10.

5to Sīlĕnce, yĕ trōublĕd wāves; ănd thoū, deēp, peāce 7.
Nŏr lāwfŭl tō rĕvēal; yēt fŏr thȳ goōd 5.
Sō ſcēntĕd thĕ grīm feātŭre ănd ūp tūrn'd 10.

The Spondee is often produced by the emphaſis falling on a ſyllable that ſhould regularly be ſhort, as,

ăccoūnt mē mān, ī fŏr hīs sāke wĭll leāve
Taſtēs nŏt wēll joīn'd ĭnēlĕgānt———

Often, when the emphaſis placed on a ſhort ſyllable lengthens that foot into a Spondee, it ſhortens the preceding foot into a Pyrrhic, as,

Fīnds nō ăccēptănce nŏr cān fīnd; fŏr hōw 5.
ĭ ōffĕr, ŏn mē lēt thĭne āngĕr fāll 3.
Hĭs ōthĕr hālf ĭn thĕ greāt zōne ŏf heāv'n 5.

V. *Of the Pyrrhic.*

This foot alſo is found in every of the five places:

1mo ĭn hĭs ōwn ſtrēngth, thĭs plāce măy līe ĕxpōs'd 2.
ŏn thĕ prōud crēſt ŏf Sā:ăn, thăt nō sīght 6.

Unmuſical when not ballanced by a Spondee, as,

Bȳ thĕ wātĕrs ŏf līfe, whĕre-e'ĕr thĕy sāte 10.

2do Dĭſpērſe ĭt, ăs nōw līght dĭſpēls thĕ dārk 5.
Hāppĭnĕſs ĭn hĭs pōw'r lēft frēe tŏ wīll 5.
Sprĭngs līghtĕr thĕ grēen ſtālk, frŏm thēnce thĕ leāves
Evē eāsĭlȳ măy faĭth ădmīt, thăt āll 11.

3tio Cŏnvērſe wĭth ādăm ĭn whāt bōw'r ŏr ſhāde 5.
Fīnds nŏ ăccēptănce nŏr cān fīnd; fŏr hōw 5.
ŏf eāſȳ thōrōwfāre. Thērefŏre, whĭle ī 10.

4to Fŏrthwīth bĕhōld thĕ ēxcĕllēnce, thĕ pōw'r 6.
Bȳ prāy'r th' ŏffēndĕd dēĭtȳ t' ăppeāſe 11.

5to Hĭs dāngĕr, ānd frŏm whōm, whăt ēnĕmȳ 5.
Hād tŏ hĕr cēntĕr ſhōok. Whăt wōndĕr, whĕn
Millions ——— ——— ———
Bȳ Evē, thŏ āll ūnwēetĭng, sēcŏndĕd 10

The Pyrrhic is generally ballanced by a Spondee, unleſs in the fifth place, or at the pauſe, where a Trochee follows; otherwiſe unmuſical, perhaps it is falſe quantity, as in Paradiſe Regained,

Wĭth thēm frŏm blīſs tŏ thĕ bōttŏmlĕſs deēp.

Or perhaps, if any quick motion, or remarkable ſhortneſs was to be deſcribed, it might be introduced; but I can recollect no inſtances.

(Mr. Pope, when very young, wrote ſuch a verſe,

"So imperceptible was the motion.")

VI. *Of very ſhort Syllables.*

The Spondee increaſed, and the Pyrrhic leſſened, the quantity of the meaſure in the verſe; but when mixt and ballanced in the ſame verſe, it was reduced to true time. The Anapæſt and Dactyle have each of them an

an exceſs of a ſhort ſyllable, unleſs we meaſure them by muſical times, thus,

Iambic. Trochee. Spondee. Pyrrhic. Anapæſt. Dactyle.



Quinctilian mentions ſyllables that are *brevibus breviores*, and this I think is the caſe in the Engliſh Anapæſt and Dactyle, in which we are apt to cruſh the two ſhort ſyllables into one, which has produced the Syncope, ſo commonly marked in our verſe, for which, I think, juſt occaſion is not ſo frequent; the ſyllables might generally be pronounced diſtinct, though quick, and wrote full.

ănd flōw'rĭng ōdŏrs, cāſsĭă, nārd, ănd bālm. 5.

Why is flow'ring ſyncopated? if to avoid the redundant ſyllable that would make an Anapæſt, why is not caſſia ſyncopated into caſs'a? if the reaſon is, that *ſia* is pronounced as two *very ſhort* ſyllables, which will not hurt the quantity; for the ſame reaſon we may, and, I think, ought to read,

ănd flōwĕrĭng ōdŏrs, cāſsĭă, nārd ănd bālm.

How would the following verſes look or ſound, if we were to crowd the two ſhort ſyllables into one?

Nŏ ĭngrātefŭl foōd, ănd foōd ălīke thŏſe pūre
N' ĭngrātefŭl foōd, &c.
Twō ōnlў whŏ yēt bў sōv'reĭgn gīft pŏſsēſs
Twō ōnl', whŏ yēt, &c.

If in theſe and many other caſes we muſt write and pronounce the ſyllables diſtinctly, why not in many others where we generally uſe the Syncope? thus,

ănd dīctatĕs tō mĕ ſlumb'rĭng, ōr ĭnſpīres 9.
Hĕrōĭc deēd, chīef māſt'rў tō dĭſſēct 9.
ĭn bīllŏws, leāve ĭ'th'mīdſt ă hōrrĭd vāle 1.

Why is not the Anapæſt admitted here as well as in the foregoing inſtances?

And dictates to mĕ ſlūmbĕrĭng, ōr ĭnſpires
Heroic deed, chīef māſtĕrў tō dĭſſēct
ĭn bīllŏws, leāve ĭn thĕ mīdſt ă hōrrĭd vāle.

e in *ed* the participle, and the præter tenſe, may ſtill ſuffer Syncope, as we frequently leave it out in proſe and diſcourſe: but heaven, and ſpirits, and powers, &c. which are generally wrote in verſe, heav'n, and ſp'rits, and pow'rs, &c. are often two ſyllables, as,

ăs māy cŏmpōrt wĭth hēavĕn; ānd tŏ tāſte 5.
Spīrĭts ŏdōroŭs brēathes, &c.

and may generally be conſidered as ſuch, and wrote full in moſt inſtances, thus,

Bāne, ănd ĭn hēavĕn mŭch wōrſe wŏuld bē mў ſtāte 9.
Sĭng, hēavĕnlў mūſe, thăt ōn thĕ sēcrĕt tōp 1.
ō mўrĭăds ōf ĭmmōrtăl ſpīrĭts, ō pōwĕrs!

To my ear this verſe would have been truer had it been yĕ pōwĕrs; otherwiſe we muſt ſay that a redundant ſyllable muſt be left at the end of a pauſe, as well as of a verſe: or elſe in this, as well as perhaps in the following and ſome like inſtances, ſpirit makes but one ſyllable.

Tŏ ſprītŭăl nātŭres; ōnlў thīs ĭ knōw 5.
Mў līkenĭng ſprītŭăl tō cōrpŏrĕăl fōrms 5.

unleſs we admit feet of four ſyllables, which I think we muſt in the two following verſes,

Cŏmes thūndĕrĭng bāck wĭth drēadfŭl rēvŏlūtiŏn 10.
Fŏr Sōlĭtūde sŏmetīmes ĭs bēſt Sŏcĭĕtў.

Perhaps the two laſt ſyllables in theſe verſes are *very ſhort* ones, and amount to no more than the hypercataleƈtica or redundant one at the end of a verſe, and muſt not be conſidered as Alexandrines.

VII. *Of the Anapæſt.*

This foot is admitted into every one of the five places; and is the moſt muſical after the Iambic and Trochee, but is leaſt ſo in the firſt ſeat, as,

1mo ŏphĭūsā, bŭt ſtīll grēatĕſt, hē thĕ mīdſt 10.
ĭs hĭs wrāth, āisŏ? Bē ĭt, mān ĭs nŏt sō 10.
Tŏ ĕvāngĕlīze thĕ nātĭŏns thēn ŏn āll 12.

The reſt are more harmonious, as,

2do ŏf mānў ă cōloŭr'd plūme, ſprīnklĕd wĭth gōld 3.
Sō ſāying ā nōblĕ ſtrōke hĕ līftĕd hīgh 6.
ŏf mĕrcў ănd jūſticĕ īn thў fāce dĭſcĕrn'd 3.
Alrēadў ĭn pārt, thŏ hīd ĭn gloōmĭĕſt ſhāde 10.
Stoōd tŏ ĕntĕrtaīn hĭs guēſt frōm hēavĕn, nŏ vēil 5.

3tio ĭn ēmŭlātĭŏn ōppŏsīte tŏ hēavĕn 2.
ŏf bīrds ŏn ēvĕrў boūgh; sŏ mūch thĕ mōre 5.
Neăr thāt bĭtūmĭnŏus lāke whĕre Sōdŏm flām'd 10.
ănd ſcoūrg'd wĭth mānў ă ſtrōke thĕ ĭndīgnănt wāves 10.
ŏf ūnŏrīginăl nīght, ănd chāŏs wīld 10.

4to Lămēnt nŏt ēve, būt pātĭĕntlў rĕſign 10.
Thrōws hĭs ſteēp flīght ĭn mānў ăn āĕ ў wheēl 3.
Thĕ eārth tŏ yīeld ūnsāvŏrў foōd pĕrhāps 5.

5to Hўpōcrĭsў, thĕ ōnlў ēvĭl thăt wālks 3.
Bў dāy ă cloūd, bў nīght ă pīllăr ŏf fire 12.
Thĕ bīrd ŏf Jōve ſtoōp'd frŏm hĭs āĕrў toūr 11.
Hūrl'd heādlŏng flāming frŏm thĕ ĕthērĕăl ſkў. 1.

VIII. *Of the Dactyle.*

This is uſed, I think, only in the firſt four places.

1mo Mўrĭăds thŏ brīght: īf hē whŏm mūtŭăl leāgue 1.
Mānў ă dārk leāgue rĕdūc'd ĭn cārefŭl wātch 10.
Shādŏwў sēts ōff thĕ fāce ŏf thīngs ĭn vāin 5.
Fōllŏwĭng ābōve thĕ ŏlўmpĭăn hīll ĭ sōar 7.
Tīmelў ĭntĕrpōsĕs, ānd hĕr mōnthlў roūnd 3.

With

2do With ĭmpētŭoŭs rĕcōil, ănd jārrĭng ſoūnd 2.
ănd Tīrēsĭăs ănd Phīneŭs, prōphĕts ōld 3.
ānd cŏrpōrĕăl tŏ ĭncŏrpōrĕăl tūrn 5.
3tio Mōre jūſtlў, ſēat wōrthĭĕr ŏf gōds ĭs būilt
4to ĭn sīght ŏf Gōd's hīgh thrōne glōrĭŏuſlў brīght 3.
Bĕfōre thў fēllŏws, ămbītĭŏus tŏ wĭn 6.
ămmōnĭăn Jōve ŏr Cāpītŏlĭne wăs ſēen 9.
ōvĕr thĕ vēxt ăbўſs, fōllŏwĭng thĕ trāct 10.
Fŏr thāt coĕlēſtĭăl līght. Bē ĭt ſŏ, ſince Hē 1.

In the fifth place I recollect no inſtance, but can conceive it in two caſes;

1. After three Iambics and a pauſe, then a Trochee and a Dactyle;
2. After four Iambics and a pauſe, then a Dactyle.

IX. *Aphæreſis.*

A word, which is an Iambic in ſound, muſt ſuffer Aphæreſis, rather than be ſhortened to make the two firſt ſyllables of an Anapæſt.

Bēaſt nōw wĭth bēaſt' găn wār, ănd fōwl wĭth fōwl 10.

X. *Many like feet in the ſame verſe.*

A verſe will admit not only one, but ſometimes two, and ſometimes three Trochees; thus,

2. Troch. Miniſtring ſpīrĭts, trāin'd ŭp in feaſt and ſong 6.
3. Troch. Shōots ĭnviſible vīrtuĕ, e'ēn tŏ the deep 3.

And likewiſe two or three Spondees;

2. Spond. ānd thĕ dīre kīſs renew'd, and the dīre fōrm 10.
3. Spond. Rōcks, cāves, lākes, fēns, bōgs, dēns, and ſhades of death

So alſo two or three Anapæſts;

2. Anap. Celeſtĭăl, whēthĕr ămōng the thrones or named 11.
3. Anap. O'er manў ă frōzen manў ăn āĕrў ālp 2.

I believe never more than two Pyrrhics, becauſe they generally require to be mixt with Spondees, and would therefore leave no Iambic in the verſe.

Nor do I recollect more than two Dactyles,

Lĭttlĕ ĭnfērĭŏr by my adventure hard. 10.

XI. *Many different feet in the ſame verſe.*

This has already appeared in ſeveral of the foregoing inſtances, and ſometimes leave only two, ſometimes only one Iambic in a verſe: thus under obſervation X we had a Dactyle, and two Trochees; a Trochee, and two Spondees; and in the following, a Pyrrhic, a Spondee, a Trochee,

ănd cōuntrў whĕrēof hēre neēds nŏ ăccoūnt 4.

Sometimes only one Iambic is left; thus we had obſervation X three Trochees and a Dactyle; and in the following, one Trochee, one Spondee, two Anapæſts.

Thrōws hĭs ſteēp flīght ĭn mānў ăn āĕrў wheēl 3.
Two Spondees, one Pyrrhic, one Trochee,
Drēw āftĕr hĭm thĕ thīrd pārt ŏf hēav'n's hōſt 5.
Two Trochees, one Pyrrhic, one Spondee,
Prōſpĕroŭs ŏr ādvērſe, sō ſhălt thoŭ lēad 11.
And many other varieties needleſs to note.

From the Gentleman's Magazine.

Staffordſhire, Sept. 24, 1757.

THE Roman numerals, though found to be greatly inferior in point of utility to the Arabic characters, by which all operations in arithmetic are now uſually performed, are yet retained in uſe in ſome caſes; but I much queſtion, whether it be generally known, or at leaſt agreed upon, how they originally received their value.—The reaſon why M and C ſhould ſignify the one a hundred, and the other a thouſand, is very obvious, they being the initial letters of *Mille* and *Centum*. But why does D ſtand for five hundred, L for fifty, X for ten, and V for five? The ſolution of this difficulty, to me appears to be this; the old antique way of writing the letter M was thus,



or rather thus, 

which being cut in two in the middle, by a perpendicular line, leaves two D's, each of which expreſſes juſt half the value of M. The like reaſoning will hold good in regard to the letter L, for if the  be horizontally diſſected, the lower part makes an L, two of which are equal to C.—As to the letter V, I think it may be accounted for thus; the words *quinque*, *quiſquis*, *quoniam*, and many others, beginning with q, were anciently written with C, as may be ſeen in the old copies of Plautus, and other authors; now as they had already made uſe of C to repreſent a hundred, it could not again be uſed here, therefore it is probable they took the next letter, which happens to be U, or V, as it was formerly written. This being admitted, the X may be eaſily made out, by joining the V's together, the poſition of the lower being only inverted. Theſe, Mr. Urban, are my conjectures upon this ſubject; if you think they have any degree of probability in them, or may excite others to give us a better rationale, you are at liberty to make uſe of them as you think proper.

PHILARITHMUS.

Mr. URBAN,

YOUR correſpondent, Philarithmus, has endeavoured to ſhew how the Roman numeral letters received their value; and tho' his hypotheſis is ingenious, yet I think I can ſhew that he is radically miſtaken, by proving, that there is great reaſon to believe the Romans never expreſſed any numbers by letters, except as the characters which they uſed to expreſs numbers, became letters by accident.

In the firſt place, however, I am ready to acknowledge, that the Greeks, and other eaſtern nations, did

did uſe their letters for numerical characters; but from the manner in which they uſed them, I draw my firſt argument, to prove that letters were not thus uſed by the Romans. Every letter in the alphabet was uſed to denote ſome number by the Greeks and Orientals, and each letter denoted a leſs or greater number, as it was nearer or more remote from the firſt letter in their alphabetical order, and no letter, which in the order of the alphabet ſtands after another, ever denoted a number leſs than the letter that ſtands before it. Now, if the Romans, who derived their letters originally from the Greeks, had derived alſo their numeration by letters, it is in the higheſt degree probable, that theſe particulars would have been the ſame in both: but as not one third of the Roman letters are numerals, ſo neither is the numeral value of thoſe that are ſo, more or leſs, according to their place in alphabetic order; for D and C, which are among the firſt letters of the alphabet, and M and L, which are in the middle, are of much greater numeral value than X and V, which are near the end.

But it has been ſuppoſed that the Romans uſed M to denote 1000, becauſe it is the firſt letter of *Mille*, which is Latin for 1000; and C to denote 100, becauſe it is the firſt letter of *Centum*, which is Latin for 100. Your correſpondent alſo ſuppoſes, that D being formed by dividing the old M in the middle, was therefore appointed to ſtand for 500, that is, half as much as the M ſtood for when it was whole; and that L being half a C, was, for the ſame reaſon, uſed to denominate 50. But what reaſon is there to ſuppoſe, that 1000 and 100 were the numbers which letters were firſt uſed to expreſs? And what reaſon can be aſſigned why D, the firſt letter in the Latin word *decem*, ten, ſhould not rather have been choſen to ſtand for that number than for 500, becauſe it had a rude reſemblance to half an M? But if theſe queſtions could be ſatisfactorily anſwered, there are other numeral letters, which have never yet been accounted for at all. I think theſe conſiderations render it probable, that the Romans did not, in their original intention, uſe letters to expreſs numbers at all; the moſt natural account of the matter ſeems to be this:

The Romans probably put down a ſingle ſtroke I for one, as is ſtill the practice of thoſe who ſcore on a ſlate, or with chalk; this ſtroke I they doubled, trebled, and quadrupled, to expreſs 2, 3, and 4: thus, II. III. IIII. So far they could eaſily number the minums, or ſtrokes, with a glance of the eye, but they preſently found, that if more were added, it would ſoon be neceſſary to tell the ſtrokes one by one: for this reaſon, when they came to 5, they expreſſed it by joining two ſtrokes together in an acute angle, thus V, which will appear the more probable, if it be conſidered, that the progreſſion of the Roman numbers is from 5 to 5, *i. e.* from the fingers on one hand to the fingers on the other.

Ovid has touched upon the original of this in his *Faſtorum*, lib. iii. and Vitruv. lib. c. 1. has made the ſame remark.

After they had made this acute angle V. for five, they added ſingle ſtrokes to it to the number of 4, thus, VI. VII. VIII. VIIII. and then as the minums could not be further multiplied without confuſion,

ſion, they doubled their acute angle, by prolonging the two lines beyond their interſection thus X, to denote two fives, or ten. After they had doubled, trebled, and quadrupled this double acute angle thus, XX. XXX. XXXX. they then, for the ſame reaſon which induced them firſt to make a ſingle angle, and then to double it, joined two ſingle ſtrokes in another form, and, inſtead of an acute angle, made a right angle L, to denote fifty. When this 50 was doubled, they then doubled the right angle thus Ⅼ, to denote 100, and having numbered this double right angle four times, thus, ⅬⅬ. ⅬⅭⅬ. ⅬⅬⅬⅬ; when they came to the fifth number, as before, they reverted it, and put a ſingle ſtroke before it thus, ⅠⅬ, to denote 500; and when this 500 was doubled, then they alſo doubled their double right angle, ſetting two double right angles oppoſite to each other, with a ſingle ſtroke between them, thus ⅭⅠↃ to denote one thouſand: when this note for 1000 had been four times repeated, then they put down ⅠↃↃ for 5,000, ⅭⅭⅠↃↃ for 10,000, and ⅠↃↃↃ for 50,000, ⅭⅭⅭⅠↃↃↃ for 100,000, ⅠↃↃↃↃ for 500,000, and ⅭⅭⅭⅭⅠↃↃↃↃ for one million.

That the Romans did not originally write M for 1000, and C for 100, but ſquare characters, as they are written above, we are expreſsly informed by Paulus Manutius; but the corners of the angles being cut off by tranſcribers for diſpatch, theſe figures were gradually brought into what are now numeral letters. When the corners of ⅭⅠↃ were made round, it ſtood thus ⅭⅠↃ, which is ſo near the Gothic ɯ, that it ſoon deviated into that letter; ſo ⅠↃ having the corner made round ſtood thus ⅠↃ. and then eaſily deviated into D. Ⅼ alſo became a plain C by the ſame means; the ſingle rectangle which denoted 50, was, without alteration, a capital L; the double acute angle was an X; the ſingle acute angle a V conſonant, and a plain ſingle ſtroke, the letter I. and thus theſe ſeven letters, M, D, C, L, X, V, I, became numerals.

And as a further proof of this hypotheſis, let it be conſidered, that ⅭⅠↃ and ⅠↃ are ſtill uſed for 1000 and 500, inſtead of M and D; and this mark ɯ, or this ɯ, denote 1000, which may be eaſily derived from this figure ⅭⅠↃ, but cannot be deviations from, or corruptions of the Roman letter M.

I am, Mr. Urban, yours,
and Philarithmus's
very humble Servant,
A. B.

An account of ſeveral wonderful particularities diſcovered on opening a hive that had a few days before received a young ſwarm.

From Dr. Swammerdam's Book of Nature, or Hiſtory of Inſects.

HAppening to be in the country on the 25th of July, I obſerved a great ſwarm of bees, which, on its hanging to an elm, I ordered to be received into a hive; but in a little time they all left this new habitation, and fled back to the elm, where they hung entangled by each others legs. The female bee had not dropt from the hive with the others: I was therefore obliged to have recourſe to another ſhaking; when having brought the female into the hive, all the reſt followed.

On

On the 26th of July the weather was tolerably good, with a bright ſunſhine; the 27th cloudy; the 28th and 29th rainy: on the 30th, on examining the hive, I found where it ſtood, a piece of a honey-comb, which had fallen thither, either becauſe it had not been ſtrongly enough faſtened to the top of the hive, or becauſe too many bees had lighted upon it at one time. This piece of a comb contained 418 cells of the working bees, ſome were building, and others were finiſhed, and there were alſo ten eggs ſticking to the wax by one of their ends. All the forenoon of the 31ſt it was rainy, and about mid-day very cloudy and windy, with ſome rain. In the evening I ordered the hive to be taken into my chamber, in order to examine what the bees had done in the ſpace of theſe ſix days.

But as I was afraid of being ſtung in this enterprize, I reſolved to have all the bees killed before I went to handle or inſpect them; for this reaſon I fumigated them with a bundle of lighted matches rolled up in linen rags, to ſuch a thickneſs, that it would juſt fit in the upper opening of the hive. All my endeavours to kill theſe bees this way were however to no purpoſe; for after plying them with this ſume. from eight o'clock to eleven, lighting the matches from time to time, as they went out, the bees continued alive; but they ſeemed grievouſly complaining of, and reſented the injury offered them, with the moſt horrid noiſe and loudeſt buzzings.

The next morning all was quiet again, ſo I removed the hive, at the bottom of which I found ſome hundreds of bees lying dead upon the ground; but the greateſt part of them were ſtill alive, and ſome of them were beginning to fly away. I therefore reſolved to fumigate the hive a ſecond time, and I gave its inhabitants liberty to eſcape while it was doing. For fear of being ſtung on this occaſion, I took a half pint bottle, and having rolled ſome ſoft paper about the neck of it, thruſt it into the opening of the hive, taking care afterwards to ſtop all gaps between the door and opening of the hive, and the neck of the bottle, with more paper of the ſame kind. As ſoon as the ſulphureous vapour began to fill the hive, the bees in the greateſt hurry and confuſion, and with the moſt dreadful buzzing, ruſhed to the number of 1898, in a manner all at once into the bottle, which I then removed to ſubſtitute another in its place; and by repeating the operation in this manner, I at laſt ſo thoroughly accompliſhed my purpoſe, that not the leaſt noiſe could be heard in the hive.

Having then turned the hive upſide down, I found the queen lying dead, in appearance, upon the ground, and ſome of the others which had fallen upon the ground, killed downright, and wet all over; whilſt ſome other bees that had remained in the upper part of the hive were quite dry, and when put into the bottles flew about as briſkly as if they had not received the leaſt harm.

I next poured ſome water upon the priſoners I had in the bottle; by this means they were all drowned in a very ſhort time. I then made my examination, and found the ſwarm conſiſted of 5669 bees, and was therefore a very good one, according to the judgment I had formed of it on its firſt appearance.

ance. Nevertheleſs, as the ſeaſon was very far advanced, and the ſpot the bees lighted upon very ill furniſhed with materials for making honey, I thought it worth while to ſacrifice them to the curioſity I had of knowing what work ſuch a number could perform in ſo ſhort a time, and withal in ſo unfavourable weather.

Among this great multitude, there was but one female bee. The greateſt number of them were working bees, which are neither males nor females; and there were beſides theſe and the female bee already mentioned, only 33 male bees, prepoſterouſly called by the vulgar hatching bees; for the young bees are hatched by the mere heat of the ſummer, and that which is cauſed by the perpetual hurry and motion of the old bees flying about, or working in the hive. It is very remarkable, that the bottle into which the firſt 1898 bees, driven out of the hive, had been received, was thoroughly heated by the perpetual motion of theſe impriſoned creatures, and the warm vapours which exhaled from their bodies.

The number of waxen cells begun and finiſhed, including thoſe of the comb I had found on the ground on my firſt examining the hive, amounted to 3392: they were all of the ſame ſize and form, and were intended only for neſts to hatch the working bees. In 236 of the cells ſome honey had been ſtored up, but it had been afterwards made uſe of, as very little could be then gathered abroad. It was no difficult matter to diſtinguiſh the cells thus made uſe of from the others, for they had received a yellow tincture from the honey depoſited in them; whereas thoſe which had not as yet been employed this way were of a ſhining white.

There were alſo 62 of theſe cells, in which the bees had already begun to lay up their ordinary food or bread called erithace. This ſubſtance was of a changeable colour, between a yellow and a purpliſh red; but perhaps this tinge might be owing to the fumigation; the whiteneſs of the unemployed wax was in ſome parts alſo impaired by the ſame means; coloured and covered beſides with black ſpots.

In 35 cells I found as many eggs fixed in them at one end; ſo that including the eggs found in the comb, which had fallen to the ground as already mentioned, there were 45 eggs in all. There were beſides in 150 of the cells ſo many new-hatched worms, but theſe lay almoſt inſenſible and motionleſs. They were of different ſizes. All theſe worms were ſurrounded with that kind of food which the moſt expert obſervers of bees think is honey thrown up by the old ones, out of their ſtomachs. This kind of honey is white, like a ſolution of gum tragacanth, or ſtarch diſſolved in water, and is almoſt inſipid; it ſhews nothing remarkable on being viewed by the microſcope. In the worms themſelves I could perceive pulmonary tubes of a ſilver whiteneſs, running moſt beautifully on each ſide through their little tranſparent bodies.

I examined attentively the wax cemented by way of foundation to the top of the hive, but I could find no difference between that and the other wax of which the cells conſiſt. They appear both to have the ſame nature and properties. I could not, however, but admire this

this ſtrong union or faſtening; this ſubſtance being juſt ſpread upon the hive like a cruſt, and conſequently faſtened to it by a very ſmall portion of its ſurface; whereas the reſt of the wax hung perpendicularly from this foundation, without any lateral or other ſupport whatſoever, as if a wooden bowl were fixed to a plain ceiling by a ſmall part of its circumference.

This hive contained the rudiments of a great many more ſuch combs of wax, of an oval form, and full of cells on each ſide; the empty ſpaces left between the combs, for the bees to paſs and repaſs, did not exceed half an inch in breadth; ſo that it is plain the comb I found open upon the ground, and in which I reckoned 418 cells, had been torn from its foundation by its own weight, and that of the bees walking upon it. Hence it appears with what good reaſon thoſe who keep bees, place ſticks croſs-ways in their hives, that the combs may have the more ſupport: and accordingly we obſerve that in theſe hives, the bees themſelves on each ſide ſuſpend their combs to theſe ſticks.

Conſidering the great multitude of bees employed in building the waxen cells, which I have been juſt examining, there is no great reaſon to be ſurpriſed at their having done ſo much work that way, though the time they had to do it in was ſo ſhort, and the weather ſo unfavourable. But it is really more aſtoniſhing to think how a ſingle female could lay ſo many eggs in the ſame ſmall interval, and withal depoſit every egg in a ſeparate cell, and there firmly faſten it. We muſt alſo allow ſome time for laying the perpendicular foundations. It is, moreover, very ſurpriſing how theſe eggs ſhould ſo ſpeedily turn to worms, and how thoſe worms ſhould grow ſo very ſuddenly to their ſtate of change. But I muſt now conclude, and I ſhall do it with the following account of what the hive I have been deſcribing contained.

33 males.
1 female.
5635 working bees.
3392 wax cells, for the uſe of the working bees.
45 eggs.
150 worms.
62 cells containing bees bread.
236 cells in which honey had been laid up.

An account of an extraordinary ſhower of black duſt, that fell in the iſland of Zetland, Oct. 20, 1755. Being the extract of a letter from Sir Andrew Mitchell, of Weſtſhore, Bart. to John Pringle, M. D. F. R. S.

IN compliance with your deſire, I made particular enquiry, whether at or about the time the earthquake happened at Liſbon, Nov. 1. 1755, any uncommon phænomena were obſerved to appear in the iſlands of Orkney or Zetland, as ſuch had happened about that time in other parts of Scotland. From Orkney I was informed, that nothing particular had happened, only, that about the time mentioned, the tides were obſerved to be much higher than ordinary. I received from Zetland a letter, dated May 28, 1756, from Mr.

Mr. William Brown, maſter of the grammar-ſchool at Scalloway in that country, a ſenſible and obſerving man; wherein he writes verbatim as follows: "Bleſſed be God, notwithſtanding the great devaſtations that have been made in other parts of the world by earthquakes, we have been entirely free from any diſaſter of that nature: Nor has any thing extraordinary happened in this country ſince you left it, only on Monday, October 20th laſt, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, the ſky being very hazy, as it uſes to be before a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, there fell a black duſt over all the country, though in greater quantities in ſome places than in others. It was very much like lamp-black, but ſmelled ſtrongly of ſulphur. People in the fields had their faces, hands, and linen, blackened by it. It was followed by rain.—Some people aſſign the cauſe of it to ſome extraordinary eruption of Hecla. But I ſhall trouble you no more about it, as no doubt ſome of your friends have written to you of it ſome time ago."—

In June, 1756, I returned to Zetland; and upon further enquiry, found what Mr. Brown had written me was atteſted by Mr. Mitchell, parſon of the pariſh of Tengwall, and by ſeveral gentlemen of credit and reputation, who had ſeen and obſerved the ſame phænomenon in different parts of the country at the time above-mentioned.

Mr. Brown having omitted to mention how the wind did blow at the time the black duſt was obſerved, I made particular enquiry about that circumſtance, and found it was from the S. W. which does not ſeem to favour the opinion, that the duſt proceeded from an eruption of mount Hecla, which lies about N. W. from Zetland, unleſs it may be ſuppoſed that a north wind happening juſt before, had carried this duſt to the ſouthward, and the ſouth-weſt wind immediately following had brought it back to the northward. But in this caſe, would not this black duſt have been obſerved in Zetland at its firſt travelling to the ſouthward? Upon enquiry, I did not hear it was.

The method of cultivating madder in England, from many experiments, made in the courſe of thirty years on the culture of that uſeful plant. Extracted from a treatiſe lately publiſhed on that ſubject, by Philip Miller, F. R. S.

THIS piece is dedicated to Lord Folkſtone, preſident of the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. The author, in his preface, imputes the total neglect of cultivating madder in England, for a great number of years, to the many diſputes occaſioned about aſcertaining the tithes upon it; a neglect the Dutch availed themſelves of, by whom it is cultivated with the utmoſt diligence, and almoſt monopolized. This ingredient is ſo very eſſential in dying of cloth and ſtaining of linen, that neither can be carried on without it, and the Dutch have received from us, for many years

years paſt, upon an average, more than 180,000l. per ann. for that commodity. In England there is ground better adapted to the growth of madder, than the beſt land they have in Holland, and it may be raiſed at leſs expence. The legiſlature have been ſo well convinced, therefore, of the national utility of raiſing madder, as to paſs two laws, in the laſt ſeſſion, to aſcertain the tithes for 14 years; and the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, &c. have offered a handſome premium to promote the planting thereof.

The root of the cultivated madder, (our author ſays) is compoſed of many long fibres larger than a gooſe quill; they are taper and much branched, of a brown colour on the outſide, but clear, tranſparent, and of an orange colour within, having a tough ſlender pith in the middle, of a bright yellow colour, of a ſweetiſh taſte, mixed with a little bitter; from theſe ariſe many four-cornered ſtalks, which grow from four to ſix or ſeven feet high, according to the goodneſs of the land; they are armed with ſhort herbaceous ſpines, and at each joint are garniſhed with five or ſix ſpear-ſhaped leaves, about three inches long, and almoſt one broad in the middle, drawing to a point at each end; their upper ſurfaces are ſmooth, but their mid-rib on the under ſide is armed with ſhort, crooked, herbaceous ſpines, which faſten to the clothes of thoſe who rub againſt them. The leaves are placed in whorls round the ſtalks, ſpreading out every way like the points of a ſtar. From the ſide of the ſtalk, at each joint, come out the footſtalks which ſupport the flowers; they are oppoſite on each ſide the ſtalk, and branch into ſeveral diviſions, having a few ſmall leaves at bottom, in ſhape like the other; there are ſometimes three of theſe at the ſame joint, and at others but two. The flowers are ſmall, of a bright yellow colour, and have but one petal or leaf, which is cut into four parts, which ſpread open. Theſe appear in July, and are ſometimes ſucceeded by ſmall, rough, burry ſeeds, growing by pairs, which never ripen in this country. The ſtalk or haulm of this plant decays in autumn, and new ſhoots ariſe in the ſpring; the roots ſend out many ſide fibres to a good diſtance, and theſe alſo put out ſhoots, whereby the plants propagate greatly.

The country where this plant grows naturally is ſuppoſed to be the Levant. I was informed by a gentleman, who brought over ſeveral ſpecimens of the plant to the late Sir Hans Sloane, that he gathered them between Scanderoon and Aleppo, where he ſaw the plants growing wild without culture.

Mr. Miller next gives a curious account of the culture, &c. of this plant, as practiſed by the Dutch, with drawings, viz. plan of the cold ſtove, ſection of the kiln-room and kiln, plan and ſection of the drying tower, and plan and ſection of the pounding-houſe. His method of cultivating it in England, take in his own words, as follows.

" The land upon which I have found madder thrive beſt, is a ſoft ſandy loam, and if it has been in tillage ſome years, it will be better than that which is freſh broken up.

up. This ſhould have at leaſt a depth of two feet and a half, or three feet of good earth, that the roots may run down without obſtruction, and muſt be quite clear from couch, or the roots of any bad weeds; for as the roots of madder ſhould remain three years in the ground, ſo where there are any of thoſe weeds which ſpread and multiply at their roots, they will intermix with the madder roots, and in three years will have taken ſuch poſſeſſion of the ground as to greatly weaken the madder, and render it very troubleſome to ſeparate when the madder is taken up.

The ground ſhould be ploughed deep before winter, and laid in very high rough ridges to mellow; and if it is not too ſtrong, there will be no neceſſity for ploughing again, till juſt before the time of planting the madder, when the land ſhould be ploughed as deep as the beam of the plough will admit; and there ſhould be men following the plough in the furrows, who ſhould dig a full ſpit below the bottom of the furrow, and turn it up on the top. By preparing the ground of this depth, the roots of the madder will ſtrike down and be of greater length, in which the goodneſs of the crop chiefly conſiſts. The land being thus prepared and made level, will be fit to receive the plants. The beſt time for planting the madder, is about the middle or latter end of April, according as the ſeaſon is more or leſs forward, which muſt be determined by the young ſhoots; for when theſe are about an inch and a half, or two inches above ground, they are in the beſt ſtate for planting. When the ſhoots are longer, they are very apt to droop upon being moved, eſpecially if the ſeaſon ſhould prove warm and dry, and if their tops wither and decay the roots will be greatly weakened.

In the taking up of theſe ſhoots for planting, the ground ſhould be opened with a ſpade, that they may be ſeparated from the mother plants with as much root as poſſible; for if the roots are broken off, they will not ſucceed. Theſe plants ſhould be drawn up no faſter than they are planted, for if they lie long above ground, they will ſhrink, and their tops wither, and then they often miſcarry; therefore if they are brought from a diſtant place, the ſlips ſhould be taken off as ſoon as they begin to ſhoot, for the leſs top they have the better they will bear carriage; there ſhould be great care taken in the packing of them up for carriage; eſpecial regard ſhould be had not to pack them ſo cloſe, or in ſo great quantity, as to cauſe them to heat, for that will ſoon ſpoil them; but if they are a little withered by lying out of the ground, their roots ſhould be ſet upright in water for a few hours before they are planted, which will ſtiffen and recover them again.

In the planting of madder, there are ſome who make the rows but one foot aſunder, others one foot and a half, ſome two feet, and others who allow them three feet diſtance; I have made trial of the three laſt diſtances, and have found when the roots have been left three years in the ground, that three feet diſtance row from row is the beſt; but if they are taken up in two years, two feet aſunder may

may do very well; and the diſtance in the rows, plant from plant, ſhould be one foot, if to ſtand two years, or a foot and a half if to ſtand three.

If there is no danger of the ground being too wet in winter, the plants may be planted on the level ground; but if, on the contrary, the ground ſhould be raiſed in ridges where each row of plants is to be ſet, that their roots may not reach the water in winter, for if they do, it will ſtop their downright growth; and this is the reaſon why the Dutch who plant madder in the Low Countries, between Helvoetſluys and the Brill, raiſe their ridges ſo high as two or three feet, but in Zealand, where the ground is drier, they do not raiſe the beds more than four or five inches above the intervals, that the wet may drain off from the beds where the madder is planted.

The method of planting the madder on level ground is as follows, viz. The ground being made ſmooth, a line is drawn croſs it to mark out the rows, that they may be ſtraight for the more convenient cleaning, and for the better digging or ploughing the ground between the rows; then with an iron-ſhod dibble, holes are made at the diſtance which the plants are to ſtand from each other. The depth of the holes muſt be in proportion to the length of the roots of the plants, which muſt be planted the ſame depth in the ground which they had been while they were upon the mother plants, for if any part of the root is left above ground, the ſun and wind will dry it, which will retard the growth of the plants; and, ſhould any part of the green be buried in the ground it will not be ſo well, tho', of the two, the latter will be leſs prejudicial, eſpecially if there be not too much of the green buried. When the plants are put into the holes, the earth ſhould be preſſed cloſe to them to ſecure them from being drawn out of the ground, for crows and rooks frequently draw the young plants out of the ground, before they get new roots, where there is not this care taken; ſo that in two or three days, I have known half the plants, on a large piece of land, deſtroyed by theſe birds.

If there happens to be ſome ſhowers of rain fall in a day or two after the plants are planted, it will be of great ſervice to them, for they will preſently put out new roots, and become ſtrong, ſo that, if dry weather ſhould afterwards happen, they will not be in ſo much danger of ſuffering thereby, as thoſe that are later planted. There are ſome who, from a covetous temper of making moſt uſe of the ground, plant a row of dwarf peas, or kidney-beans, between each row of madder, and pretend that hereby the land is kept cleaner from weeds; but I am very certain the crop of madder is injured thereby much more than the value of thoſe things which grow between the rows, as I have experienced; therefore I adviſe thoſe perſons who plant madder, never to ſow or plant any thing between the rows, but to keep the madder quite clean from weeds, or any other kind of vegetable.

In order to keep the ground thus clean, it ſhould be ſcuffled over with a Dutch hoe, as ſoon as the young weeds appear in the

ſpring, when a man can perform a great deal of this work in a day, and if it is done in dry weather, the weeds will die as faſt as they are cut down; whereas, when the weeds are left to grow ſo long as to get ſtrength, they are not ſo ſoon deſtroyed, and the expence of hoeing the ground then will be more than treble what it might be performed for early in the ſeaſon; beſides, there will be danger of cutting down ſome of the weaker plants with the weeds, if the perſons employed to perform this work are not very careful, therefore it is much cheaper as alſo better for the madder, to begin this work early in the ſpring, and to repeat it as often as the weeds render it neceſſary; for by keeping the ground thus conſtantly clean, the madder will thrive the better, and the expence in the whole year will be leſs, for when weeds are ſuffered to grow large, they are not eaſily ſubdued.

During the firſt ſummer, the only culture which the madder requires, is that of keeping it clean in the manner before directed, and, when the ſhoots or haulm of the plants decay in autumn, they ſhould be raked off the ground; then the intervals between the rows ſhould either be dug with a ſpade, or ploughed with a hoeing plough, laying up the earth over the heads of the plants in a roundiſh ridge, which will be of great ſervice to the roots. The Dutch cover the haulm of their madder with earth, leaving it to rot upon the ground; this perhaps may be neceſſary in their country to keep the froſt out of the ground; but, as I have never found that the ſevereſt winters have ever injured the madder roots in England, ſo there is not the ſame neceſſity for that practice here.

The following ſpring, before the madder begins to ſhoot, the ground ſhould be raked over ſmooth, that the young ſhoots may have no obſtruction, and, if there ſhould be any young weeds appearing on the ground, it ſhould be firſt ſcuffled over to deſtroy the weeds, and then raked over ſmooth; after this the ſame care muſt be taken in the following ſummer, as in the former, to keep the ground clean from weeds, and, if it is performed by the hoe-plough, the earth of the intervals ſhould be thrown up againſt one ſide of the ridges, which will earth up the roots, and greatly increaſe their ſtrength; but, before the ground of one interval is ſo hoed, the haulm of the plants ſhould be turned over to the next adjoining interval, and, if they are permitted ſo to lie for a fortnight or three weeks, and then turned back again on thoſe intervals which were hoed, obſerving firſt to ſcuffle the ground to deſtroy any young weeds, which may have appeared ſince the ſtirring of the ground, then the alternate intervals ſhould be ploughed in like manner, turning the earth up againſt the oppoſite ſides of the roots; by this method the intervals will be alternately ploughed, and the plants earthed up, whereby the ground will be kept clean and ſtirred, which will greatly promote the growth of the roots, and by this method the ſuperficial ſhoots will be ſubdued, and the principal roots greatly ſtrengthened. The following autumn the ground ſhould be cleared of the haulm and weeds, and the earth raiſed in ridges over the roots, as in the foregoing year.

The

The third ſpring the roots will furniſh a great ſupply of young plants, but, before theſe appear, the ground ſhould be cleaned and raked ſmooth, that the ſhoots may have no obſtruction to their coming up; and, when the young plants are fit to take off, it ſhould be performed with great care, always taking off thoſe which are produced at the greateſt diſtance from the crown of the mother-plants, firſt, becauſe thoſe are what rob them moſt of their nouriſhment, and the wounds made by ſeparating them from the old roots are not near ſo hurtful as thoſe near the crown, for the ſtripping off too many of the ſhoots there will retard the growth of the plants.

The culture of the madder in the third ſummer muſt be the ſame as the ſecond, but, as the roots will then be much ſtronger, the earth ſhould be laid up a little higher to them at the times when the ground is cleaned and ploughed, and, if all the diſtant ſuperficial ſhoots, which come up in the intervals, are hoed or ploughed off, it will be of ſervice to ſtrengthen the larger downright roots, and, as the haulm will now be very ſtrong and thick, the frequent turning it over, from one interval to another, will prevent its rotting, for if it lies long in the ſame poſition, the ſhoots, which are near the ground, where there will be always more or leſs damp, and being covered with the upper ſhoots, the air will be excluded from them, which will cauſe them to rot, for the ſhoots of madder are naturally diſpoſed to climb upon any neighbouring ſupport, and in places where they have been ſupported, I have ſeen them more than ten feet high, but the expence of ſtaking the plants to ſupport their ſhoots would be much too great to be practiſed in general, therefore the other method of turning the haulm over, from one interval to the other, will be found of great uſe, for hereby it is kept from decaying, and by ſo doing the ſun is alternately admitted to each ſide of the roots, which is of more conſequence to the growth of the madder than moſt people conceive; and from many repeated trials I have found, that where the haulm has decayed or rotted in ſummer, it has greatly retarded the growth of the roots. There have been ſome ignorant pretenders who have adviſed the cutting of the haulm in ſummer, in order to ſtrengthen the roots, but whoever practiſes this, will find, to their coſt, the abſurdity of this method, for I have fully tried this many years ago, and have always found that every other root, upon which this was practiſed, was at leaſt a third part ſmaller than the intermediate roots, whoſe haulm was left entire. The occaſion of firſt making this experiment was, becauſe the plants had been ſet too near each other, and the ſeaſon proving moiſt had increaſed the number and ſtrength of the ſhoots, ſo that they became ſo thick, as that many of them began to rot; to prevent which, I cut off the ſhoots of every other plant to give room for ſpreading the others thinner, but ſoon after this was done, the plants produced a greater number of ſhoots than before, but they were weaker, and the effect it had upon the roots was as before related, and ſince then I have frequently repeated the experiment on a few roots, and

have always found the effect the ſame.

As ſoon as the haulm of the madder begins to decay in autumn, the roots may be taken up for uſe, becauſe then the roots have done growing for that ſeaſon, and will then be plumper, and leſs liable to ſhrink, than if they are dug up when the plants are growing; for I have always found that the roots of every kind of plant, which are taken out of the ground during the time of their growth, are very apt to ſhrink, and loſe much of their weight in a ſhort time.

When the ſeaſon for digging up the madder roots is come, it ſhould be done in the following manner, viz. A deep trench ſhould be dug at one ſide of the ground next to the firſt row of madder, to make a ſufficient opening to receive the earth, which muſt be laid therein in digging up the row of roots, ſo that it ſhould be at leaſt two feet broad, and two ſpits, and two ſhovelings deep, and ſhould be as cloſe as poſſible to the roots, without breaking or cutting them in doing it; then the row of roots muſt be carefully dug up, turning the earth into the trench before mentioned. In the doing of this there ſhould be to every perſon who digs, two or three perſons to take out the roots, that none may be loſt, and as much of the earth ſhould be ſhaken out of the roots as poſſible; and after the principal roots are taken up, there will be many of the long fibres remaining below, therefore, in order to get the roots as clean as poſſible, the whole ſpot of ground ſhould be dug of the ſame depth as the firſt trench, and the pickers muſt follow the diggers to get them all out to the bottom. As the digging of the land to this depth is neceſſary, in order to take up the roots with as little loſs as poſſible, it is a fine preparation for any ſucceeding crop; and I have always found that the ground, where madder has grown, produced better crops of all kinds than land of equal goodneſs, which had not the like culture.

After the roots are taken up, the ſooner they are carried to the place of drying, the finer will be their colour, for if they lie in heaps, they are apt to heat, which will diſcolour them, or if rain ſhould happen to wet them much, it will have the ſame effect, therefore no more roots ſhould be taken up than can be carried under ſhelter the ſame day.

The firſt place, in which the roots ſhould be laid to dry, muſt be open to admit the air, but covered on the top to keep out the wet. If a building is to be erected new, ſuch as the tanners have for drying their ſkins will be as proper as any, for theſe have weather-boards from top to bottom, at equal diſtances, to keep out the driving rain, but the ſpaces between being open, admit the air freely; and if inſtead of plank floors or ſtages above each other, they are laid with hurdles or baſket-work, upon which the roots are laid to dry, the air will have freer paſſage to the under-ſide of the roots, which will dry them more equally.

In this place they may remain three or four days, but the roots ſhould be turned over once or twice, that every part may dry equally, by which time the earth, which adhered to the roots, will be ſo dry as eaſily to rub off, which

ſhould

ſhould be done before the roots are removed to the cold ſtove; for the ſlower the roots are dried, the leſs they will ſhrink, and the better will be the colour of the madder; and the cleaner the roots are from earth, the better the commodity will be for the uſe when prepared.

Wherever there are any large barns or other buildings, whoſe ſides are open to admit the air, there will be no occaſion for erecting buildings for this purpoſe; becauſe theſe will anſwer full as well; but if there are different ſtages of hurdles erected in theſe buildings, at three or four feet above each other, to lay the roots upon them, the hurdles being open, will admit the air to the under ſide of the roots, whereby they will dry more equally than when they are ſpread on a cloſe floor, and hereby a much greater quantity of roots may be dried under the ſame roof. During the time they remain here, the doors and all other apertures of the building ſhould be kept conſtantly open, for the greater quantity of free air is admitted to the roots, the better they will dry; and the ſlower they dry at firſt, the leſs of their weight will be diminiſhed, and the colour will be the better; but they muſt be guarded from wet, which will be very prejudicial to the colour. When the roots have lain in this place ſo long as to dry their outſides ſufficiently to rub off the dirt which adhered to them, then they ſhould be carried to the kiln to be farther dried; and as there are in moſt parts of England kilns already built for drying of malt and hops, they may be uſed for drying of madder; but if there were ventilators fixed to theſe kilns, for blowing a ſufficient quantity of air through the rooms where the madder-roots are drying, in the manner directed by the Reverend Dr. Hales for drying of malt and hops, it will be found a much better method than that which is practiſed by the Dutch, and will ſave a great expence of fuel.

When the outſide of the roots have been ſufficiently dried in this cold ſtove or kiln, they ſhould be removed to the threſhing-floor, which may be the ſame as in a common barn where corn is threſhed. The floor of this ſhould be ſwept, and made as clean as poſſible; then the roots ſhould be threſhed to beat off their ſkins or outſide coverings; this is the part which is prepared ſeparately from the inner part of the root, and is called mull, which is ſold at a very low price, being the worſt ſort of madder, ſo cannot be uſed where the permanency or beauty of the colours are regarded; theſe huſks are ſeparated from the roots, pounded by themſelves, and are afterwards packed up in ſeparate caſks, and ſold by the title of mull. If this is well prepared, and not mixed with dirt, it may be ſold for about fifteen ſhillings per hundred weight, at the price which madder now bears, and this, as is ſuppoſed, will defray the whole expence of drying the crop.

After the mull is ſeparated from the roots, they muſt then be removed to the kiln again, which muſt now have a greater heat than before, where they muſt be dried with care, for if the heat is too great, the roots will dry too faſt, whereby they will loſe much in weight, and the colour of the madder will not be near ſo bright: to avoid which, the roots ſhould be

frequented turned, while they remain in this ſtove, and the fires muſt be properly regulated, and a ſufficient quantity of freſh air blown through the kiln, which will drive out the foul air occaſioned by the perſpiration of the roots, which will be found very uſeful in preſerving their colour. If ſome trials are made by fixing a good thermometer in the room, the neceſſary heat may be better aſcertained than can be done any other way, but this will require to be greater at ſome times than at others, according as the roots are more or leſs ſucculent, or the weather more or leſs cold or damp, but it will always be better to have the heat rather leſs than over hot, for though the roots may require a longer time to dry with a ſlow heat, yet the colour will be better.

When the roots are properly dried in this ſtove, they muſt be carried to the pounding-houſe, where they muſt be reduced to powder; but whether it is neceſſary to ſeparate the kraps from the gemeens as is now practiſed by the Dutch, the conſumers of madder will be better judges than myſelf.

The expence in erecting of the pounding-houſes in Holland is very great, ſo need not be built here, for any common building will ſerve for this purpoſe, where there is room to fix up the apparatus for pounding the roots; the blocks for this purpoſe ſhould be like thoſe uſed in Holland, as ſhould alſo be the ſtampers, which are bound round at bottom with thick iron bands, framed like the points of a ſtar; for if the ſurface of the ſtampers are ſmooth and even, the madder will adhere to them ſo cloſely, as to render it impoſſible to pulverize the roots properly. The ſtampers may be ſo contrived as to be worked by water, where there is conveniency, or perhaps by wind; but if it is done by horſes, as in Holland, there need not ſo great an apparatus, for no doubt many of our mechanics, when they ſee the Dutch plans, can make great improvements to them."

Mr. Millar, at the cloſe of his performance, anſwers ſuch objections as have been made againſt retrieving the cultivation of madder in England, and gives a ſhort abſtract of the two acts mentioned above; and we hope, for the honour and intereſt of this country, a ſpirit of emulation will be exerted to recover ſo valuable a branch of agriculture.

The ſtrange effects of ſome effervescent mixtures. In a letter from Dr. James Mounſey, Phyſician of the Ruſſian army, and F. R. S. to Mr. Henry Baker, F. R. S. Communicated by Mr. Baker.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

Moſcow, Sept. 20. 1756.

MR. Butler, a paper-ſtainer, trying to make ſome diſcoveries for the better fixing of colours, was put in great danger of his life by the following experiments.

Having put into one gallipot a quarter of an ounce of verdegris, and into another pot two leaves of falſe gold-leaf, to each he poured about a ſpoonful of aqua-fortis. They began immediately to ferment, eſpecially the gold-leaf. He was very aſſiduous in ſtirring them, to make the ſolution perfect. Having nothing elſe at hand, he did this

this with a pair of ſmall ſciſſars, at arms length, carefully turning away his face, to prevent the fumes from entering his lungs. He was called away, about other buſineſs, before he had quite ended his proceſs, and ſoon after waſhed and ſhifted himſelf; but he had ſcarce finiſhed, before he felt a burning pain in the ring finger of his right hand, which he imputed to his having inadvertently touched the aqua-fortis. This increaſed every moment, and affected the whole hand with burning pain and ſwelling, which very ſoon ſubſided: but then it flew into the left hand, and a few minutes afterwards, into the inſides of his legs, as if ſcalding water had been thrown on them. His ſtockings being immediately pulled of, there appeared a great many red ſpots, as large as ſixpences, ſomething raiſed above the ſkin, and all covered with very ſmall bliſters.

In about two hours after the accident, I firſt ſaw him: he was very uneaſy, complaining of pain, and great anxiety, at the pit of the ſtomach, as if a burning hot iron was laid on it; ſo he expreſſed himſelf. His pulſe was regular, but ſlower and weaker than natural: he had a nauſea, and complained of a very coppery ſmell and taſte. I ordered him ſome alcaline volatile medicines, and to drink ſmall ſack-whey. He vomited once, and had four or five ſtools, and then his ſtomach grew eaſy. But the ſcene ſoon began again with lancing pains in the left eye. He continued the ſame medicines, drank plentifully of the whey, and was kept in a breathing ſweat, by which he found ſome eaſe at night: but whenever the ſweating leſſened, the burning pains returned in broad flakes, changing from one part of the body to the other; ſometimes with ſhootings in his eye, and ſometimes along the penis, but he had no heat of urine. His pulſe continued regular, but weak; and in ſeveral places of his body ſuch kind of ſpots ſtruck out as thoſe in his legs.

Monday, the third day in the morning after ſleeping well, his pulſe was ſomewhat raiſed, and he continued eaſy till about eleven o'clock, when the burning pains returned, ſhooting from place to place; but always ſo ſuperficial, that he could not diſtinguiſh whether it was in or under the ſkin. Rubbing the part affected with one's hand gave eaſe; but when the ſweating went off, and the burnings and ſhooting became inſufferable, I always put him into a bath of hot water, with ſome wood aſhes, kept ready in the room, which gave him great relief. This afternoon he felt violent burning pain in his great toes, and ſometimes in his left hand, with ſhootings up to the ſhoulder. Once he cried out, in great pain, that his ſhoulder was burſt; for he felt ſomething fly out with a ſort of exploſion: but, examining the part, I found nothing particular. He obſerved, when the flaky burnings began, they were as if they kindled from a point, and flaſhed like lightning, as he termed it. He was very often tormented with ſuch pains on the pit of the ſtomach; and this evening had ſhootings thro' the back, with a pain in the belly. He complained of a ſtrong ſulphureous ſmell, which he ſaid, was like to ſuffocate him; though his breathing ſeemed eaſy, and his lungs no ways affected. In the night he was ſeized with great pain about the heart, and cried out violently, that his heart

was on fire; but after taking a doſe of nervous medicines, and being put into the bath, he was ſoon freed from this, and paſſed the reſt of the night tolerably well. At the time of ſuch violent attacks the pulſe continued regular, but ſtill ſlower and ſofter than uſual.

Tueſday. He complained moſt of his toes, and now and then burning pains in the fore-head.

Wedneſday. This whole day it continued moſt in the toes of the left foot; but in the evening the pain on the ſtomach returned, which lanced to the left ſide, with dartings inwardly. He became ſo uneaſy and reſtleſs, that I was obliged to add ſome opium to the other medicines; which anſwered very well.

Thurſday. The pains kept moſt in the toes of the left foot.

Friday. Nothing particular, except his feeling with ſharp pain, a ſpark (as he called it) fly out of his right cheek, in the ſame way, he ſaid, as that, which burſt on his ſhoulder, but much leſs. He perceived no pain in that part before this; nor any thing after, beſides a ſoreneſs, which laſted for ſome days. Hitherto he had been kept in a continual ſweat: his appetite was greater than his allowance; his digeſtion good; and his reſt indifferent. From this time he was not attacked with any violent ſymptoms, and could be quiet though he did not ſweat.

On Sunday he began to get out of bed, but was often ſeized with glowing pains, ſuddenly affecting different parts of the body, which ſeldom continued an hour in one part, but ſhifted from place to place: theſe he was troubled with in a leſs degree even long after he went abroad.

By care and watchfulneſs the violence of the ſymptoms were kept under; and by the uſe of antidotes for poiſons, of the nature of what he received this from, the diſeaſe was overcome, and the patient recovered his perfect health and ſtrength.

A remarkable caſe of the efficacy of the bark in a mortification. In a letter to William Watſon, M. D. F. R. S. from Mr. Richard Grindall, Surgeon to the London Hoſpital. Read before the Royal Society, Dec. 8, 1757.

Auſtin-Friars, Dec. 7, 1757.

SIR,

THE following caſe, being very ſingular, has induced me to lay it before the Royal Society. Although numerous inſtances are related in the records of medicine, of the great danger in interrupting nature in her operations, there is not one (ſo far as I know) in which more violent and extraordinary effects have been produced than in the following.

It may happen alſo, that this inſtance may be of ſervice in aſcertaining the virtue of the medicine in intermittents, when in the hands of men of judgment.

On the 28th of June, 1757, Mary Alexander, of the pariſh of Whitechapel, aged 31 years, was brought into the London hoſpital, having a mortification in both hands, which reached about an inch and an half above the wriſts. All her toes, and about an inch of one foot beyond the laſt joint, were mortified; her noſe was alſo intirely deſtroyed by a mortification; and all theſe happened at the ſame time. Upon inquiry into the cauſe of

of this misfortune, I found, that on Monday the 30th of May ſhe was ſeized with a quotidian ague, which uſually began about three o'clock in the afternoon, and laſted near two hours, which was ſucceeded by a hot fit, and then a violent ſweat. And in this manner ſhe was afflicted for ſeven days, without any material alteration; when, being informed by a neighbour of a perſon who had an infallible remedy for the cure of an ague, ſhe applied to him. He brought her two phials, containing about an ounce and half each, of a pale yellowiſh liquor; one of which he directed her to take directly, promiſing, that ſhe ſhould have no return of the fit of conſequence; and that if ſhe had any ſmall return, the ſecond bottle ſhould cure her effectually. In conſequence of which ſhe took one doſe, which was at the time the cold fit had been on about a quarter of an hour: ſhe had no ſooner ſwallowed it, but, as ſhe ſays, her ſtomach was on fire, and felt as if ſhe had ſwallowed the ſtrongeſt dram poſſible. The cold fit left her inſtantly; but ſhe was immediately ſeized with ſo violent a fever, as to make her burn and be extremely thirſty all the following night; much more than ever ſhe had been before, till the next morning, when a ſweat a little relieved her from the violent heat. When ſhe roſe in the morning ſhe was much troubled with a great itching in the hands, feet, and noſe; and, ſoon after, all thoſe parts began to feel numbed, or, as ſhe deſcribes it, as if her hands and feet were aſleep; which ſhe took but little notice of till the evening of that day, when ſhe found the nails of both hands and feet were turning black, and, at the ſame time, feeling great pain in both, as alſo in her noſe, and that they appeared of a darkiſh red colour, like the ſkin in cold weather. Upon which at nine o'clock that night, ſhe ſent for an apothecary, from whom, I have ſince been informed, the perſon before mentioned had bought the medicine, which he gave her. The apothecary was not at home; his journeyman went, and finding the woman had a difficulty of breathing, ordered her a mixture with ſperma ceti and ammoniacum, to be taken occaſionally. The apothecary did not ſee her himſelf till the 16th of June, when, finding her in a very bad condition, that her hands and feet, and noſe, were entirely black, and had many veſicles or ſmall bladders upon them, filled with a blackiſh bloody water, he opened them, and let out the fluid, and dreſſed them with yellow baſilicon: and in this manner continued treating her till the 20th of the ſame month, when finding no material alteration for the better, he ordered her a browniſh mixture of which ſhe was to take four ſpoonfuls every four hours, which, he informed me, was a decoction of the bark; and ſays, on taking this, ſhe was better, as the mortification ſeemed inclined to ſtop. But, as it was a bad caſe, he adviſed the woman to be carried to an hoſpital; and in this condition ſhe was brought in, when ſhe was immediately put into a courſe of the bark, taking a drachm of the powder every four hours; and in forty-eight hours taking it there was a perfect ſeparation of all the mortified parts. She was then ordered to take it only three times in twenty-four hours; and, purſuing this method for eight days, there

there was a very good digeſtion from the parts above the mortification.

The mortified parts became now ſo offenſive, that the poor woman preſſed me much to take off her hands, aſſuring me ſhe would go through the operations with good courage, being very deſirous to live, though in this miſerable condition.

On the 12th of July I took off both her hands; I had very little more to do than ſaw the bones, nature having ſtopped the bleeding when ſhe ſtopped the mortification. In a day or two after, I took off all the toes from both feet, and now diſcontinued the bark, the parts appearing in a healthy and healing condition; which went on ſo for five weeks, when on a ſudden, the parts began to look livid, her ſtomach failed her, and ſhe was feveriſh; but upon taking an ounce of the bark, in thirty-ſix hours her ſores began again to look well. She was not ſuffered to leave off the bark ſo ſoon this time, but continued taking it twice a day for a month. She is now almoſt well: that part of her face, from whence the noſe mortified, was healed in ſeven weeks, the ſtumps of both arms are entirely healed, and both feet are well, only waiting for one piece of bone ſcaling off, which I believe will be in a very ſhort time, and ſhe is now in good health.

The perſon who gave her this medicine is a barber and peruke-maker at Bow. I applied to him ſeveral times, to inform me what it was he had given her. The affair was talked of ſo much in his neighbourhood, and the man threatened by the woman's huſband, that for a long time I could not get him to tell me, till I told him I had been informed where he bought the medicines; and the time of the day that he had them correſponding with the time of his giving them to the woman, and that I knew it was tincture of myrrh, he at laſt told me, that he had frequently given the above quantity of an ounce and half of it in an ague, that it had never done any harm, and hardly ever failed to cure. Upon which information I carried ſome tincture of myrrh to the woman, who taſted it, and is well aſſured it is the ſame liquor the barber gave her in her ague-fit. I am, with reſpect,

Your obliged,
and obedient ſervant,
R. Grindall.

An account of the political eſtabliſhment of the Jeſuits in Paraguay.

From the Spaniſh of Don Jorge Juan, &c.

THE territories of the miſſions of Paraguay comprehended not only the province of that name, but alſo a great part of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres. The temperature of the air is good, though ſomewhat moiſt, and in ſome parts rather cold: the ſoil in many places is fertile, and produces in great abundance not only the fruits and vegetables peculiar to America, but alſo thoſe of Europe, which have been introduced there. The chief articles of their commerce are, cotton, tobacco, ſome ſugar, and the herb called Paraguay. Every town gathers annually more than 200 arrobas

of

of cotton, of a quarter of a hundred weight each, which the Indians manufacture into ſtuffs. There are alſo great quantities of tobacco produced: but the chief article is the herb Paraguay, for it grows only in the diſtricts of the miſſions, and there is a vaſt conſumption of this herb in all the provinces of Chili and Peru, eſpecially of that called Camini, which is the pure leaf, the infuſion of which is called mate, and is drank by the inhabitants of Lima twice a day in lieu of tea or chocolate: the mate, which is made by the infuſion of the ſtalk, is not ſo much eſteemed.

'Tis now about a century and a half ſince theſe miſſions were firſt ſet on foot by the Jeſuits: the bad management of the Portugueſe greatly favoured the views of theſe fathers. There was a nation of Indians called Guaranies, ſome whereof were ſettled upon the banks of the rivers Uruguay and Parana, and others an hundred leagues higher up in the country to the north weſt of Guayra: the Portugueſe frequently came upon them, and by force carried away as many as they thought proper to their plantations, and made ſlaves of them: offended by ſuch treatment the Guaranies reſolved to quit their ſettlements in the neighbourhood of the Portugueſe, and to remove into the province of Paraguay. Accordingly a migration of 12000 perſons great and ſmall enſued. Theſe the Jeſuits ſoon converted, and, having had the like ſucceſs in converting about an equal number of the natives of Tape, a diſtrict in Paraguay, they united the two nations, and laid the foundation of their future domirion. Theſe fathers ſeem to have trod in the ſteps of the firſt Incas, and to have civilized nations, and converted ſouls, in order to acquire ſubjects.

According to a very exact account, taken in the year 1734, there were then 32 towns of the Guaranies, which were reckoned to contain above 30,000 families; and as the new converts were continually increaſing, they were then about laying the foundations of three new towns. There were alſo then ſeven very populous towns inhabited by the converted Chiquito Indians, and they were preparing to build others for the reception of the new converts of that nation which were daily made.

The miſſions of Paraguay are ſurrounded on all ſides with wild or uncovered Indians: ſome of whom live in friendſhip with the towns, but others harraſs them by frequent incurſions. The father miſſionaries frequently viſit theſe Indians, and preach to them, and from theſe expeditions they ſeldom return without bringing along with them ſome new converts to incorporate with their civilized ſubjects. In the performance of this duty they ſometimes penetrate an hundred leagues into the wild uncultivated tracts, where wild Indians range, and it is obſerved that they meet with the leaſt ſucceſs amongſt thoſe nations with whom any fugitive Meſtizos, or Spaniſh criminals have taken refuge. The diligence of theſe fathers is certainly worthy the imitation of the Proteſtant clergy.

Every town has its curate, who is aſſiſted by one, and very often by two prieſts of the ſame order, according to the largeneſs and extent of the town and its diſtrict. Theſe two or three prieſts, together

ther with ſix boys, who aſſiſt them in the ſervice of the church, form a ſmall college in every town, wherein the hours and other exerciſes are regulated with the ſame formality and exactneſs as in the large colleges in the cities of Peru and Chili. The moſt troubleſome part of the duty of the aſſiſtant prieſts are the perſonal viſitations, which they are obliged to make to the Indians to prevent their giving themſelves up to idleneſs; for ſuch is the ſlothfulneſs of the Guaranies, that if they are not very carefully looked after, the ſociety would receive no benefit or advantage from them.—They alſo attend the public ſhambles, where the cattle neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of the Indians are daily ſlaughtered, and diſtribute the fleſh amongſt all the families in the town, in proportion to the number of perſons whereof each family conſiſts; ſo that all may have what is neceſſary, none what is ſuperfluous. They alſo viſit the ſick, and ſee that they are properly taken care of. They are generally employed the whole day in theſe affairs, ſo that they have ſeldom time to aſſiſt the curate in his ſpiritual functions. All the boys and girls in the pariſh go to church every day in the week (except on feſtivals and Sundays), where they are inſtructed by the curate: on Sundays the whole pariſh goes to the church to be inſtructed. The curate is beſides obliged to go to confeſs the ſick, and to adminiſter the viaticum to thoſe who deſire it, and alſo to perform all the other functions peculiar to his office.

In ſtrictneſs the curates ſhould be appointed in this manner. The ſociety ſhould nominate three perſons to the governor of Buenos Ayres (in whoſe government the miſſions of Paraguay are included) as being vice-patron of the miſſions, that he may chuſe one of them for curate; and the curates ſhould be inſtructed in the duties of their office by the biſhop: but as the provincials of the order can beſt judge who are properly qualified for the office, the governor and biſhop have ceded their rights to them, and by them the curates are always appointed.

The miſſions of the Guaranies, and the miſſions of the Chiquitos, into which the miſſions of Paraguay are divided, have each their diſtinct father-ſuperior, by whom the co-adjutors or aſſiſtant-curates of the ſeveral towns in their reſpective diviſions are appointed. Theſe ſuperiors are continually viſiting the towns to ſee that they be well governed, and to endeavour to improve and augment them: they likewiſe from time to time take care to ſend out ſome fathers of the order into the countries of the wild Indians to make new converts. The better to enable him to diſcharge theſe duties, the ſuperior of the Guaranies is aſſiſted by two vice-ſuperiors, one of whom reſides in Parana, the other upon the banks of the river Uruguay, and the ſuperior himſelf reſides in the town of Candelaria. The poſt of ſuperior of the Chiquitos is not near ſo troubleſome as that of the ſuperior of the Guaranies, for the Chiquitos are not leſs numerous, but much more docile and induſtrious than the Guaranies, ſo that they need not be continually watched and attended in order to prevent their idleneſs.

The king allows an annual ſtipend

pend of 300 pezos to each curate of the Guaranies, for the maintenance of himself and his assistants: the money is paid to the superior, who issues out monthly to each curate as much as is necessary for his subsistence, and when they want any thing extraordinary their wants are supplied upon application to him. But the Chiquitos maintain their own curates. In every town there is a plantation set apart for the maintenance of the curate, which is cultivated by the joint labour of all the inhabitants. The produce of these plantations is generally more than sufficient for the subsistence of the curates, and the surplus is sold to buy ornaments for the churches.

Nor are the curates spiritual rectors of the towns only, they are also in effect the civil governors. It is true, there are in every town of the missions a governor, regidores, and alcades, as there are in the other towns and cities under the Spanish government. But though the governor is elected by the Indians, he must be approved by the curate before he enters upon his office, nor can he chastise or punish delinquents without the curate's permission. The curate examines those who are accused of offences, and, if he finds them guilty, delivers them to the governor to be punished, according to the nature and quality of the offence committed. He sometimes orders them to be imprisoned for a few days, sometimes to fast, and when the fault is considerable to be whipped, which is the severest punishment that is ever inflicted; for the regulations and instructions of the curates have been so efficacious, that murder and such like heinous crimes are never here committed; and even before they undergo these gentle corrections, the curate discourses the offenders in a mild friendly manner, and endeavours to excite in them a due sense of their crime, and of the ill consequences that might flow from it, and to convince them that they merit a much greater punishment than is inflicted. This mild treatment prevents tumults and insurrections, and acquires the curates universal veneration and esteem. The alcades are chosen annually by the regidores. The governor, regidores, and alcades, are all Indians of the best capacities, and are, in effect, so many overseers appointed by the curate, and dignified with these empty titles.

Every town has its armoury, or magazine, in which are lodged the fire-arms and other weapons, wherewith the militia are armed when they take the field, to repel the irruptions of the Portuguese and wild Indians. The militia are very dextrous and expert in the management of their arms, and are exercised on the eves of festivals, in the squares or public places of the towns. The militia is composed of all those who are able to bear arms; they are formed into companies, which have each a proper number of officers chosen from amongst those who are most distinguished for judgment and conduct. The dress of the officers is rich, adorned with gold and silver and the device of the town to which they belong: they always appear in their uniforms on festivals, and on the days of military exercises. The governor, alcades, and regidores, have also proper robes

robes and dreſſes ſuitable to their reſpective offices, in which they appear on public occaſions.

There are ſchools in every town in which the common people are taught reading and writing, and alſo muſic and dancing, in which arts they become very ſkilful. The Jeſuits are very careful in conſulting the natural bent and genius of their ſcholars, and in directing their ſtudies and application accordingly. The lads of the moſt promiſing genius are taught the Latin tongue with great ſucceſs. In one of the court yards of every curate's houſe are the various ſhops or workhouſes of painters, or carvers, gilders, ſilverſmiths, carpenters, weavers, and clockmakers, and of ſeveral other mechanics and artizans, who daily work for the public under the direction of the coadjutors, and at the ſame time teach the youth their reſpective arts, and occupations.

The churches are large, well built, finely decorated and enlightened, and not inferior to the richeſt in Peru. Each church has a choir of muſic, compoſed of inſtruments of all ſorts, and very good voices, ſo that divine ſervice is celebrated here with as much pomp and ſolemnity as in cathedrals: nor are the public proceſſions leſs ſplendid, eſpecially that of the hoſt, which, whenever it is carried abroad, is attended by the governor, alcades, and regidores, in their robes, and alſo by the militia in a body.

The houſes of the Indians are as well built and as well furniſhed as moſt of the Spaniſh houſes in Peru. The greateſt part indeed have mud walls, others are built with brick, and ſome with ſtone, but all are covered with tiles. In every town there is a houſe where gun-powder is made, that they may never want it when they are obliged to take arms, and always have it ready to make artificial fireworks on rejoicing days; for all feſtivals are here obſerved with as great ceremony and exactneſs as in the greateſt cities. Upon the proclamation of a new king in Spain, the governors, alcades, regidores, and officers of the militia, appear dreſſed in new robes and uniforms of a different faſhion from thoſe they wore before.

There is a ſort of convent in every town, in one part whereof are confined women of an ill life, and the other part is deſtined for the reception of married women who have no family, and who retire thither when their huſbands are abſent: for the maintenance of this houſe, and for the ſupport of orphans, and of old and infirm people, all the inhabitants of the town work two days in every week, and the profits of their labour, which is called the labour of the community, are ſet apart for this purpoſe. If the produce of this labour be more than is neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, the ſurplus is laid out to buy ornaments for the churches, and cloaths for the orphans and aged, and infirm people: ſo that here are no beggars, nor any who want the neceſſaries of life. In ſhort, by the wiſe policy and prudent regulations of the Jeſuits, the whole community enjoys peace and happineſs.

The Guaranies are ſo profuſe and negligent, that the curates are obliged to take into their hands all their goods and ſtuffs as

as ſoon as they are manufactured and made ready for ſale, otherwiſe they would waſte and deſtroy them, and not be able to maintain themſelves. The Chiquitos on the contrary, are diligent and frugal, ſo that the curates have no other trouble with them than the aſſiſting them in the diſpoſal of their goods, and procuring returns for them. For this purpoſe, the ſociety keeps a factor or procurator at Santa Fie, and Buenos Ayres, to whom the merchandize of the miſſions is ſent to be diſpoſed of, and theſe factors return the value to the fathers, in ſuch ſorts of European commodities as are wanted. The goods of every town are kept ſeparate, and the royal taxes are taken out of them without any other diſcounts, or allowances, ſave the ſtipends of the curates of the Guaranies, and the penſions of the caciques. The fathers chooſe to manage the commerce of their ſubjects themſelves, leſt they ſhould contract vices by their communication with other people. In this reſpect the fathers are ſo careful, that they will not ſuffer any of the people of Peru, whether they be Spaniards, Meſtizos, or Indians, to enter into the territories of the miſſions. They ſay that the Indians are but juſt recovered from a barbarous and diſſolute way of life, and that their manners are now pure and innocent; but that if ſtrangers are ſuffered to come among them, the Indians would ſoon become acquainted with people of looſe lives; and as the Guaranies eſpecially are very prone to vice and wickedneſs, diſorder and rebellion would ſoon be introduced, the ſociety would loſe all the ſouls they have converted, and their little republic would be utterly ſubverted. However there are ſome who ſuſpect that theſe are all ſpecious pretences, and that the ſociety's real motive for prohibiting all intercourſe with ſtrangers, is the fear of rivals in the beneficial commerce of Paraguay, which is now entirely in their hands.

From the Univerſal Weekly Chronicle.

—In vitium libertas excidit & vim
Dignam lege regi. HOR.

SIR,

I Am engaged in a viſit at a friend's houſe in the country, where I promiſed myſelf much ſatisfaction. I have however been greatly diſappointed in my expectations; for on my arrival here, I found a houſe full of children, who are *humoured* beyond meaſure, and indeed, abſolutely ſpoiled by the ridiculous indulgence of a fond mother. This unlucky circumſtance has ſubjected me to many inconveniences; and as I am a man of a grave reſerved diſpoſition, has been a perpetual ſource of embarraſſment and perplexity. The ſecond day of my viſit, in the midſt of dinner, the eldeſt boy, who is eight years old, whipped off my perriwig with great dexterity, and received the applauſe of the table for his humour and ſpirit. This lad, when he has reached his fourteenth year, and is big enough to lie without the maid, is to be ſent to a ſchool in the neighbourhood, which has no other merit than that of being but ſeven miles off. Six of the children are permitted to ſit at table, who entirely monopolize the wings of fowls, and the moſt delicate morſels of every diſh; becauſe the

the mother has discovered, that her children have not *strong* stomachs. In the morning, before my friend is up, I generally take a turn upon the gravel-walk, where I could wish to enjoy my own thoughts without interruption; but I am here instantly attended by my little tormentors, who follow me backwards and forwards, and play at what they call *Running after the Gentleman*. My whip, which was a present from an old friend, has been lashed to pieces by one of the boys who is fond of horses, and the handle is turned into a hobby-horse. The main-spring of my repeating-watch has been broke in the nursery, which, at the mother's request, I had lent to the youngest boy, who was just breeched, and who cried to wear it. The mother's attention to the children entirely destroys all conversation: and once, as an amusement for the evenings, we attempted to begin reading *Tom Jones*, but were interrupted, in the second page, by little *Sammy*, who is suffered to whip his top in the parlour. I am known to be troubled with violent head-achs; notwithstanding which, another of the boys, without notice given, or any regard paid to the company, is permitted to break out into the braying of an ass, for which the strength of his lungs is commended; and a little miss, at breakfast, is allowed to drink up all the cream, and put her fingers into the sugar-dish, because she was once *sickly*. I am teazed with familiarities, which I can only repay with a frown; and pestered with the petulance of ludicrous prattle, in which I am unqualified to join. It is whispered in the family, that I am a mighty good sort of a man, but that I cannot *talk to children*. Nor am I the only person who suffers from this folly: a neighbouring clergyman, of great merit and modesty, and much acquainted in the family, has received hints to forbear coming to the house, because little *Sukey* always cries when she sees him, and has told her mamma, she can't bear that *ugly parson*.

Mrs. Qualm, my friend's wife, the mother of this hopeful offspring, is perpetually breeding; or rather her whole existence is spent in a series of great bellies, lyings-in, visitings, churchings, and christenings. Every transaction of her life is dated from her several pregnancies. The grandmother, and the man-midwife, a serious sensible man, constantly reside in the house, to be always ready on these solemn occasions. She boasts, that no family has ever sent out more numerous advertisements for nurses *with a fine breast of milk*. As her longings have of late been in the vegetable way, the garden is cultivated for this purpose alone, and totally filled with forward pease, and melon-glasses, in hopes that she may luckily long for what is at hand. She preserves, to the utmost, the prerogative of frequent pregnancy, and conscious of the dignity and importance of being often *big*, exerts an absolute authority over her husband. He was once a keen fox-hunter, but has long ago dropped his hounds; his wife having remonstrated, that his early rising disturbed the family unseasonably, and having dreamed, that he broke his leg in leaping a ditch.

I revere Mrs. Qualm as the mother, and only wish I could recommend her as the manager of children. I hope this letter may fall into her hands, to convince her how

how abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that others can be as much intereſted in her own children as herſelf. I would teach her, that, what I complain of as matter of inconvenience, may, one day, prove to her a ſevere trial; and that, early licentiouſneſs will, at laſt, mock that parental affection, from whoſe miſtaken indulgence it aroſe.

I am yours, &c.

X. Y. Z.

The IDLER.

CRedulity, or confidence of opinion too great for the evidence from which opinion is derived, we find to be a general weakneſs imputed by every ſect and party to all others, and, indeed, by every man to every other man.

Of all kinds of credulity the moſt obſtinate and wonderful is that of political zealots; of men, who, being numbered, they know not how nor why, in any of the parties that divide a ſtate, reſign the uſe of their own eyes and ears, and reſolve to believe nothing that does not favour thoſe whom they profeſs to follow.

The bigot of philoſophy is ſeduced by authorities which he has not always opportunities to examine, is intangled in ſyſtems by which truth and falſhood are inextricably complicated, or undertakes to talk on ſubjects, which nature did not form him able to comprehend.

The Carteſian, who denies that his horſe feels the ſpur, or that the hare is afraid when the hounds approach her; the diſciple of Malbranche, who maintains that the man was not hurt by the bullet, which, according to vulgar apprehenſions, ſwept away his head; the follower of Berkley, who, while he ſits writing at his table, declares that he has neither table, paper, nor fingers; have all the honour at leaſt of being deceived by fallacies not eaſily detected, and may plead that they did not forſake truth, but for appearances which they were not able to diſtinguiſh from it.

But the man who engages in a party has ſeldom to do with any thing remote or abſtruſe. The preſent ſtate of things is before his eyes; and if he cannot be ſatisfied without retroſpection, yet he ſeldom extends his views beyond the hiſtorical events of the laſt century. All the knowledge that he can want is within his attainment, and moſt of the arguments which he can hear are within his capacity.

Yet ſo it is, that an *Idler* meets, every hour of his life, with men who have different opinions upon every thing paſt, preſent, and future; who deny the moſt notorious facts, contradict the moſt cogent truths, and perſiſt in aſſerting to-day what they aſſerted yeſterday, in defiance of evidence, and contempt of confutation.

Two of my companions, who are grown old in idleneſs, are *Tom Tempeſt* and *Jack Sneaker*. Both of them men who conſider themſelves as neglected by their parties, and therefore intitled to credit, as having no motive to favour ingratitude. They are both men of integrity where no factious intereſt is to be promoted, and both lovers of truth, when they are not heated with political debate.

Tom Tempeſt is a ſteady friend to the houſe of *Stuart*. He can recount the prodigies that have appeared in the ſky, and the calamities that have afflicted the nation every year from the revolution, and is of opinion, that if the exiled family had continued to reign, there would have neither been worms in our ſhips nor caterpillars in our trees. He wonders that the nation was not awaked by the hard froſt to a revocation of the true king, and is hourly afraid that the whole iſland will be loſt in the ſea. He believes that King William burned Whitehall that he might ſteal the furniture, and that Tillotſon died an atheiſt. Of Queen Anne he ſpeaks with more tenderneſs, owns that ſhe meant well, and can tell by whom and why ſhe was poiſoned. In the ſucceeding reigns all has been corruption, malice, and deſign. He believes that nothing ill has ever happened for theſe forty years by chance or error. He holds that the battle of Dettingen was won by miſtake, and that of Fontenoy loſt by contract; that the *Victory* was ſunk by a private order; that *Cornhill* was burnt by emiſſaries from the council; and the arch of Weſtminſter-bridge was ſo contrived as to ſink on purpoſe that the nation might be put to charge. He conſiders the new road to Iſlington as an encroachment on liberty, and often aſſerts that *broad wheels* will be the ruin of England.

Tom is generally vehement and noiſy, but nevertheleſs has ſome ſecrets which he always communicates in a whiſper. Many and many a time has *Tom* told me, in a corner, that our miſeries were almoſt at an end, and that we ſhould ſee, in a month, another monarch on the throne: the time elapſes without a revolution; *Tom* meets me again with new intelligence, the whole ſcheme is now ſettled, and we ſhall ſee great events in another month.

Jack Sneaker is a hearty adherent to the preſent eſtabliſhment; he has known thoſe who ſaw the bed into which the pretender was conveyed in a warming pan. He often rejoices that the nation was not enſlaved by the Iriſh. He believes that King William never loſt a battle, and that if he had lived one year longer he would have conquered France. He holds that Charles the firſt was a papiſt. He allows there were ſome good men in the reign of Queen Anne, but the peace of Utrecht brought a blaſt upon the nation, and has been the cauſe of all the evil that we have ſuffered to the preſent hour. He believes that the ſcheme of the South Sea was well intended, but that it miſcarried by the influence of France. He conſiders a ſtanding army as the bulwark of liberty, thinks us ſecured from corruption by ſeptennial parliaments, relates how we are enriched and ſtrengthened by the electoral dominions, and declares that the public debt is a bleſſing to the nation.

Yet amidſt all this proſperity, poor *Jack* is hourly diſturbed by the dread of popery. He wonders that ſome ſtricter laws are not made againſt papiſts, and is ſometimes afraid that they are buſy with French gold among the biſhops and judges.

He cannot believe that the nonjurors are ſo quiet for nothing, they muſt certainly be forming ſome plot for

for the eſtabliſhment of popery; he does not think the preſent oaths ſufficiently binding, and wiſhes that ſome better ſecurity could be found for the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover. He is zealous for the naturalization of foreign proteſtants, and rejoiced at the admiſſion of the Jews to the Engliſh privileges, becauſe he thought a Jew would never be a papiſt.

The IDLER.

MANY naturaliſts are of opinion, that the animals which we commonly conſider as mute, have the power of imparting their thoughts to one another. That they can expreſs general ſenſations is very certain; every being that can utter ſounds has a different voice for pleaſure and for pain. The hound informs his fellows when he ſcents his game; the hen calls her chickens to their food by her cluck, and drives them from danger by her ſcream.

Birds have the greateſt variety of notes; they have indeed a variety, which ſeems almoſt ſufficient to make a ſpeech adequate to the purpoſes of a life, which is regulated by inſtinct, and can admit little change or improvement. To the cries of birds, curioſity or ſuperſtition has been always attentive, many have ſtudied the language of the feathered tribes, and ſome have boaſted that they underſtood it.

The moſt ſkilful or moſt confident interpreters of the ſylvan dialogues have been commonly found among the philoſophers of the eaſt, in a country where the calmneſs of the air, and the mildneſs of the ſeaſons, allow the ſtudent to paſs a great part of the year in groves and bowers. But what may be done in one place by peculiar opportunities, may be performed in another by peculiar diligence. A ſhepherd of Bohemia has, by long abode in the foreſts, enabled himſelf to underſtand the voice of birds, at leaſt he relates with great confidence a ſtory of which the credibility may be conſidered by the learned.

As I was ſitting (ſaid he) within a hollow rock, and watching my ſheep that fed in the valley, I heard two vultures interchangeably crying on the ſummit of the cliff. Both voices were earneſt and deliberate. My curioſity prevailed over my care of the flock; I climbed ſlowly and ſilently from crag to crag, concealed among the ſhrubs, till I found a cavity, where I might ſit and liſten without ſuffering, or giving diſturbance.

I ſoon perceived, that my labour would be well repaid; for an old vulture was ſitting on a naked prominence, with her young about her, whom ſhe was inſtructing in the arts of a vulture's life, and preparing, by the laſt lecture, for their final diſmiſſion to the mountains and the ſkies.

My children, ſaid the old vulture, you will leſs want my inſtructions, becauſe you have had my practice before your eyes; you have ſeen me ſnatch from the farm the houſhold fowl; you have ſeen me ſeize the leveret in the buſh, and the kid in the paſture; you know how to fix your talons, and how to balance your flight when you are laden with your prey. But you remember the taſte of more delicious food; I have often regaled you with the

flesh of man. Tell us, said the young vultures, where man may be found, and how he may be known; his flesh is surely the natural food of a vulture. Why have you never brought a man in your talons to the nest? He is too bulky, said the mother; when we find a man, we can only tear away his flesh, and leave the bones upon the ground. Since man is so big, said the young ones, how do you kill him? You are afraid of the wolf and of the bear; by what power are vultures superior to man? Is a man more defenceless than a sheep? We have not the strength of man, returned the mother, and I am sometimes in doubt whether we have the subtilty; and the vultures would seldom feast upon his flesh, had not nature that devoted him to our uses, infused into him a strange ferocity, which I have never observed in any other being that feeds upon the earth. Two herds of men will often meet and shake the earth with noise, and fill the air with fire. When you hear noise and see fire with flashes along the ground, hasten to the place with your swiftest wing, for men are surely destroying one another; you will then find the ground smoaking with blood and covered with carcases, of which many are dismembered and mangled for the convenience of the vulture. But when men have killed their prey, says the pupil, why do they not eat it? When the wolf has killed a sheep, he suffers not the vulture to touch it till he has satisfied himself. Is not man another kind of wolf? Man, said the mother, is the only beast who kills that which he does not devour, and this quality makes him so much a benefactor to our species. If men kill our prey and lay it in our way, said the young one, what need shall we have of labouring for ourselves? Because man will sometimes, replied the mother, remain for a long time quiet in his den. The old vultures will tell you when you are to watch his motions. When you see men in great numbers moving close together, like a flight of storks, you may conclude that they are hunting, and that you will soon revel in human blood. But still, said the young one, I would gladly know the reason of this mutual slaughter; I could never kill what I could not eat. My child, said the mother, this is a question which I cannot answer, tho' I am reckoned the most subtle bird of the mountain. When I was young I used frequently to visit the ayry of an old vulture, who dwelt upon the Carpathian rocks; he had made many observations; he knew the places that afforded prey round his habitation, as far in every direction as the strongest wing can fly between the rising and setting of the summer sun; he had fed year after year on the entrails of men. His opinion was, that men had only the appearance of animal life, being really vegetables with a power of motion; and that as the boughs of an oak are dashed together by the storm, that swine may fatten upon the falling acorns, so men are by some unaccountable power driven one against another, till they lose their motion, that vultures may be fed. Others think they have observed something of contrivance and policy

licy among thoſe miſchievous beings; and thoſe that hover more cloſely round them, pretend, that there is in every herd, one that gives directions to the reſt, and ſeems to be more eminently delighted with a wide carnage. What it is that intitles him to ſuch preeminence we know not; he is ſeldom the biggeſt or the ſwifteſt; but he ſhews by his eagerneſs and diligence that he is, more than any of the others, a friend to vultures.

The humble remonſtrance of the mob of Great Britain, againſt the importation of French words, &c.

IT is with infinite concern that we behold an inundation of French words pouring in upon us, and this at a time too when there is ſome ſort of merit in deteſting every thing that is French. In regard to ourſelves, we are daily inſulted, by ſome of the fineſt lips in the world, with the opprobrious term of *Canaille:* we cannot reſent the inſult from them, as they are too ſacred for our unhallowed hands; beſides, they are ſufficiently puniſhed, by the mirth they afford to the *Mademoiſelles*, when they attempt to pronounce the uncouth word; for *Canaille*, from Engliſh lips, ſounds *Canal.* But as moſt things are pardonable to the pride of the creation, we ſhould readily excuſe *them*, if the infection had not ſpread among the officers of our army; and as we chiefly compoſe the numerous ſquadrons that are to guard the liberties of Britain, we cannot conceive that we ought to have any more to do with their language, than we have with their religion. All our buſineſs is to beat them, and that we can do in plain Engliſh: if our officers order us to form a line, we can do it; but if they call that line a *Cordon*, we muſt be obliged to apply to the chaplain for a *Denouement* of the myſterious word.—— *Coup de main*, and *Manoeuvre*, might be excuſable in Marſhal Saxe, as he was in the ſervice of France, and perfectly acquainted with both; but we cannot ſee what apology can be made for our officers lugging them in by head and ſhoulders, without the leaſt neceſſity, as a ſudden ſtroke might have done for one, and a proper motion, for the other.——*Reconnoitre* is another favourite word in the military way; and as we cannot find out that it is much more ſignificant than *take a view*, we beg leave it may be ſent home again. We ſhould not have troubled the public with this addreſs, if we had not received a freſh inſult by the papers of Saturday laſt, in a ſuppoſed letter from Germany, where the ingenious author tells us, ſpeaking of the intended operations of war, that the general's intention remains *perdu*; which, we are informed, ſignifies *loſt*. In what ſenſe we are to underſtand this gentleman, we cannot ſay; his meaning indeed ſeems *perdu*; he may perhaps give us to underſtand, by printing the word in Italics, that the army and treaſure ſent to Germany, is all *perdu:* the word then wants a little *epaulement*, to ſupport it, or rather a little *eclairciſſement*; for, in the preſent application of it, it is dark and myſterious.

We muſt beg the gentlemen of the army pardon, if next to them we ſhould take the liberty of mentioning the barbers; a ſet of gentlemen very uſeful in their ſtation, but under no abſolute neceſſity of hanging out falſe French upon their ſigns; it may indeed become a French *friſeur*, to acquaint the public that he makes a *tete de mouton*, or ſimply a *tete*; but we are a little offended when an Engliſh tonſor under the ſign of a thing, which in ſome countries might be called a periwig, ſhall write ladies *taites*, or *tates*, or *taets*, or *taits*, or *taites*'s made here; it looks as if they meant a reflection upon the ladies of Great Britain, by acquainting the public, that their heads were made in barbers ſhops, and to be had either in Middle-row or Rag fair. Now their intended purpoſe of ſerving the community would certainly be better anſwered, if they would ſuffer their ſigns to ſpeak plain Engliſh, and inform the world that *ſheeps heads* (which we are told is the meaning of the three French words above) were ſold there, as by that means they would bid fair to ſerve gentlemen as well as ladies, who were not already provided.

Je-ne ſcai-quoy, though of French extraction, we ſhall not preſume to find fault with, becauſe it has been naturalized, and productive of infinite good in England; it has helped many an unfortunate girl to an huſband; it has indeed ſometimes parted man and wife, but has ſoon brought them together again; ſeldom fails of healing up the breaches it had made between friends; has fitted out fleets and armies, and brought them home again; has been a theme for orators in velvet and crape, and has furniſhed matter for many volumes.

Chicane, we dare not meddle with, as we are told the lawyers have taken it under their immediate protection; but as quirks and tricks are as foreign to their profeſſion, as ambition and avarice to that of a more venerable order, we ſuppoſe the charge is without foundation.

Bagatelle, or *trifle*, we ſhall leave to the ſmarts, as it would be a pity to rob them of the chief object of their ſtudy.

Pet-en-l'air, may ſuit very well with French *effronterie*; for if the ladies of that country make no ſcruple of watering their *ruelles* before the gentlemen who attend their *levees*, I ſee no reaſon why they ſhould be aſhamed of a f——t; but as no ſuch offenſive wind is ever ſuppoſed to blow from fair Engliſh b—ms, we could wiſh they had found a name of a little more delicacy for this garment.

We therefore humbly pray, that French words, as well as French dreſs and French manners, may be laid aſide, at leaſt during the continuance of the preſent war; for we are apprehenſive, ſhould their language and cuſtoms deſcend to us, we ſhould be taught by their example, on the day of battle to *f—— te le camp*.

For theſe reaſons we pray as above: and ſhall, as in duty bound, hold them in everlaſting abhorrence.

LEGION.

To

To the K—'s moſt excellent M——y.

*The humble petition of P**** E. of C****, Knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter,*

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioner being rendered by deafneſs, as uſeleſs and inefficient, as moſt of his contemporaries are by nature, hopes, in common with them, to ſhare your majeſty's royal favour and bounty, whereby he may be enabled to ſave or ſpend, as he may think proper, a great deal more than he poſſibly can at preſent.

That your petitioner having had the honour to ſerve your majeſty in ſeveral very lucrative employments, ſeems thereby entitled to a lucrative retreat from buſineſs, and to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*, that is, leiſure and a large penſion.

Your petitioner humbly apprehends that he has a juſtifiable claim to a conſiderable penſion, as he neither wants, nor deſerves, but only deſires, and (pardon, dread Sir, an expreſſion you are pretty much uſed to) inſiſts upon it.

Your petitioner is little apt, and always unwilling, to ſpeak advantageouſly of himſelf; but as ſome degree of juſtice is due to one's ſelf, as well as to others, he begs leave to repreſent, that his loyalty to your majeſty has always been unſhaken, even in the worſt of times: That particularly, in the late unnatural rebellion, when the young pretender had advanced as far as Derby, at the head of an army of at leaſt three thouſand men, compoſed of the flower of the Scotch nobility and gentry, who had virtue enough to avow, and courage enough to venture their lives in ſupport of their real principles, your petitioner did not join him, as unqueſtionably he might have done, had he been ſo inclined; but, on the contrary, raiſed, at the public expence, ſixteen companies, of one hundred men each, in defence of your majeſty's undoubted right to the imperial crown of theſe realms; which ſervice remains to this hour unrewarded.

Your petitioner is well aware, that your majeſty's civil liſt muſt neceſſarily be in a very weak and languid condition, after the various and profuſe evacuations it has undergone; but, at the ſame time, he humbly hopes, that an argument which does not ſeem to have been urged againſt any other perſon whatſoever, will not, in a ſingular manner, be urged againſt him, eſpecially as he has ſome reaſons to believe, that the deficiencies of the penſion fund will by no means be the laſt to be made good by parliament.

Your petitioner begs leave to obſerve that a ſmall penſion is diſgraceful, as it intimates opprobrious indigence on the part of the receiver, and a degrading ſort of dole or charity on the part of the giver; but that a great one implies dignity and affluence on the one ſide, on the other eſteem and conſideration; which doubtleſs your majeſty muſt entertain in the higheſt degree for thoſe great perſonages, whoſe reputable names glare in capitals upon your elemoſynary liſt.

Your petitioner humbly flatters himſelf, that upon this principle, leſs than three thouſand pounds a year will not be propoſed to him, and if made gold the more agreeable.

Your petitioner perſuades himſelf, that your majeſty will not im-

pute this his humble application to any mean intereſted motive, of which he has always had the utmoſt abhorrence.

No, Sir! he confeſſes his weakneſs—*Honour* alone is his object, *honour* is his paſſion—that *honour*, which is ſacred to him as a peer, and tender to him as a gentleman; that *honour*, in ſhort, to which he has ſacrificed all other conſiderations. It is upon this ſingle principle, that your petitioner ſollicits an *honour*, which at preſent in ſo extraordinary a manner adorns the Britiſh peerage, and which, in the moſt ſhining periods of ancient Greece, diſtinguiſhed the greateſt men, who were fed in the Prytaneum at the expence of the public.

Upon this *honour*, far dearer to your petitioner than his life, he begs leave in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure your majeſty, that in caſe you ſhall be pleaſed to grant this his moſt modeſt requeſt, he will honourably ſupport and promote, to the utmoſt of his abilities, the very worſt meaſures, that the very worſt miniſters can ſuggeſt; but at the ſame time ſhould he unfortunately, and, in a ſingular manner, be branded by a refuſal, he thinks himſelf obliged in *honour* to declare, that he will, with the utmoſt acrimony, oppoſe the very beſt meaſures which your majeſty yourſelf ſhall ever propoſe or promote.

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*To the R—t R——d the D—n and C——r of W****, the humble petition of* POSTERITY,

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners humbly apprehend your reverences are no other than truſtees for us your petitioners, in the ſame manner as your predeceſſors were truſtees for the times ſucceeding them.

That your petitioners obſerve with great concern the late immoderate increaſe of funeral monuments within your abbey and the precincts thereof, to the great encouragement of family vanity, hiſtorical falſhood, jobbing articles, and ignorant ſtatuaries; as well as to the diſgrace of national taſte, and the deſtruction of various kinds of marble, which ought to have remained in the bowels of the earth for the uſe of your petitioners, who hope to employ the art of ſculpture with more credit to their country.

That your petitioners obſerve with concern, the vaſt profuſion of money which the preſent war requires, and apprehend that when it ſhall be their turn to ſerve their country, nothing will remain for their rewards but honorary monuments; and it is with the greateſt regret they ſee the pavement and walls of your abbey already poſſeſt by names of Generals, never known but by their preferments; Poets never mentioned, but for their dulneſs; Patriots never heard of, but by their poſts; and Orators never known to pronounce a ſignificant word but the monoſyllables, aye and no. Your petitioners, therefore, apprehenſive that the revenue of fame may be as much anticipated within your abbey, as that of money is, in an adjoining chapel; and that therefore they may be reduced to the melancholy condition of neither being rewarded while living, nor remembered when dead; moſt humbly beg leave to repreſent to your reverences this their uncomfortable proſpect.

Your

Your petitioners are the more emboldened to make this application, as they are fully ſenſible and aſhamed of the cowardice and miſmanagement of their preſent predeceſſors, and are reſolved to do all they can to efface the memory of their miſdeeds, by a ſincere attachment to the ſervice of their country; and therefore your petitioners muſt be the more ſenſible of the mortification and diſgrace to which they muſt be reduced, by their being obliged to mingle their duſt, or their names, or both, with ſuch company as are already in poſſeſſion of your walls and pavements; tho' your petitioners acknowledge, that many of them are ſuch as your petitioners propoſe as models for their own conduct.

That your petitioners obſerve, with great concern, many heathen deities have been introduced within your walls, to adorn the tombs of thoſe who were ſtrangers to all heathen virtues; and as your petitioners are not aſhamed of their reſolution to live and die Chriſtians, they hope your reverences will have ſome regard to the tenderneſs of their conſciences in this reſpect, eſpecially as there is a ſufficiency of Chriſtian attributes to ſerve, if ingeniouſly and properly applied, all the purpoſes of ſculpture, in embelliſhing the monuments of the Chriſtian dead.

Your petitioners beg leave farther to repreſent to your reverences, that the wiſeſt nations of antiquity looked upon the conferring monumental honours as a public concern, and the nobleſt incitement to virtuous deeds; and that as ſoon as they ceaſed to be frugal of thoſe honours, when they proſtituted them to flattery, or ſold them for lucre, their public ſpirit fled; and tho' your petitioners have the higheſt opinion of the diſintereſtedneſs and judgment of your reverences, yet they think they cannot be too watchful in a matter that ſo highly concerns them, eſpecially (according to what your petitioners have hinted above) as this will probably be the only return our country will be able to give them for their ſervices.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

A remarkable dying ſpeech of Mr. Cuffe, Secretary to the Earl of Eſſex, who was executed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for the ſame offence which brought his maſter to the block.

I Am here adjudged to die for acting an act never plotted, for plotting a plot never acted. Juſtice will have her courſe; accuſers muſt be heard; greatneſs will have the victory; ſcholars and martialiſts (though learning and valour ſhould have the pre-eminence) in England muſt die like dogs, and be hanged. To miſlike this, were but folly: to diſpute it, but time loſt: to alter it, impoſſible: but to endure it, is manly: and to ſcorn it, magnanimity. The Queen is diſpleaſed, the lawyers injurious, and death terrible: but I crave pardon of the Queen; forgive the lawyers, and the world; deſire to be forgiven; and welcome death.

The following moſt excellent letter was wrote, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the gallant and renowned Earl of Eſſex, to his boſom-friend the Earl of Southampton.

My

My Lord,

AS neither nature nor cuſtom ever made me a man of compliment, ſo now I ſhall have leſs will than ever for to uſe ſuch ceremonies, when I have left with Martha to be *Sollicitus circa multa*, and believe with Mary *Unum ſufficit*. But it is no compliment or ceremony, but a real and neceſſary duty that one friend oweth to another in abſence, and eſpecially at their leave-taking, when in man's reaſon many accidents may keep them long divided, or perhaps bar them ever meeting till they meet in another world; for then ſhall I think that my friend, whoſe honour, whoſe perſon, and whoſe fortune is dear unto me, ſhall proſper and be happy, where-ever he goes, and whatever he takes in hand, when he is in the favour of that *God*, under whoſe protection there is *only* ſafety, and in whoſe ſervice there is *only true* happineſs to be found. What I think of your natural gifts or ability in this age, or in this ſtate, to give glory to *God*, and to win honour to yourſelf, if you employ the talents you have received to their beſt uſe, I will now tell you; it ſufficeth, that when I was fartheſt of all times from diſſembling, I ſpake truly, and have witneſs enough: but theſe things only I will put your Lordſhip in mind of.

Firſt, That you have *nothing* that you have not received.

Secondly, That you poſſeſs them not as *Lord* over them, but as an *Accomptant* for them.

Thirdly, If you employ them to ſerve this world, or your own worldly delights (which the prince of this world will ſeek to entertain you with) it is ingratitude, it is injuſtice, yea, it is perfidious treachery; for what would you think of ſuch a ſervant of yours, that ſhould convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or ſervice of your greateſt enemy; and what do you leſs than this with *God*, ſince you have *all* from him, and know that the world, and princes thereof, are at a continual enmity with him? And therefore, if ever the admonition of your trueſt friend ſhall be heard by you, or if your country, which you may ſerve in ſo great and many things, be dear unto you; if your *God*, whom you muſt (if you deal *truly* with yourſelf) acknowledge to be powerful over all, and juſt in all, be feared by you; yea, if you be dear unto yourſelf, and prefer an everlaſting happineſs before a pleaſant dream, which you muſt *ſhortly* awake out of, and then repent in the bitterneſs of your ſoul; if any of theſe things be regarded by you, then I ſay, call yourſelf to account for what is paſt, cancel all the leagues you have made without the warrant of a religious conſcience, make a reſolute covenant with your *God*, to ſerve him with all your natural and ſpiritual, inward and outward gifts and abilities, and then, he that is faithful (and cannot lie) hath promiſed to honour them that honour him; he will give you that inward peace of ſoul, and true joy of heart, which till you have, you ſhall never reſt, and which, when you have, you ſhall never be ſhaken, and which you can never attain to *any other* way than this that I have ſhewed you.

I know your Lordſhip may ſay to yourſelf, and object to me, this is but a vapour of melancholy, and the ſtile of a priſoner, and that I was far enough from it, when I lived

lived in the world as you do now, and may be so again, when my fetters be taken from me. I answer, though your Lordship should think so, yet cannot I distrust the goodness of my *God*, that his mercy will fail me, or his grace forsake me; I have so deeply engaged myself, that I should be one of the most miserable apostates that ever was: I have so avowed my profession, and called so many from time to time, to witness it, and to be watchmen over me, that I should be the holloweſt hypocrite that ever was born: but though I should perish in my own sin, and draw upon myself my own damnation, should not you take hold of the grace and mercy in *God*, which is offered unto you, and make your profit of my fearful and wretched example? I was longer a slave and servant to the world, and the corruptions of it, than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many calls, and answered some of them slowly, thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been, by *God*'s providence, violently pulled, hauled, and dragged to the marriage feast, as the world hath seen. It was just with *God* to afflict me in this world that he might give me joy in another. I had too much knowledge when I performed too little obedience, and was therefore to be beaten with double stripes: *God* grant your Lordship may feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned conversion, but that you may never feel the torments I have suffered for my too long delaying it. I had none but divines to call upon me, to whom I said, if my ambition could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble; or if my delights had been tasted by them, they could not have been so precise: but your Lordship hath one to call upon you, that knows what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of *all*. the contentments that this world can afford. Think therefore, dear Earl, that I have staked and buoyed all the ways of pleasure to you, and left them as sea marks for you to keep the channel of religious virtue; for shut your eyes never so long, they *must* be open at *last*; and then you must say with me, *there is no peace to the wicked*.

I will make a covenant with my soul, not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the night, nor my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed to my *God*, that your Lordship may believe and make profit of this plain, but faithful admonition; and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in you, and yourself successful in all you take in hand; which shall be an unspeakable comfort to

Your Lordship's cousin,
and true friend,
whom no worldly cause
can divide from you,
ESSEX.

An extraordinary sermon having appeared, intituled, Conjugal Love and Duty: *A Discourse upon* Heb. xiii. 4. *Preached at St.* Ann's *in* Dublin, Sept. 11, 1757. *By Dr.* Brett. *With a dedication to the Right Honourable Lady* Caroline Russel, *asserting the prerogative of beauty, and vindicating the privileges of the fair sex; an extract*

extract or two from the dedication, and the ſermon itſelf, we preſume will not be diſagreeable to our readers.

MADAM, there is an Italian proverb, which ſays, that *handſome girls are born married:* The meaning whereof is not what hath been vulgarly ſuppoſed, that *marriages are made in heaven:* But, that ſuch is the power of beauty over the human heart, that when they *will*, they *may*. This being ſo, the intimation to your Ladyſhip, is to look out, and provide for a change of condition. To remain ſingle, will not be long in your power, for beauty that ſtrikes every eye, will neceſſarily charm many hearts: Nature ordained it univerſal ſway, and the corruptions of nature, multiplied as they have been through a ſeries of 5000 years, have even yet been able to give it but one rival. In the human heart (I ſpeak it to their ſhame) temples have been erected to the god of wealth: Many fair victims have we ſeen bleeding at his altars; and, what is worſe, the very hand now writing to your Ladyſhip, hath ſometimes been the ſacrificer. What therefore you have to learn, is only to chuſe with diſcretion; to maintain with dignity the proffered ſovereignty which contending ſuppliants will intreat you to accept.

All the great heroes, the moſt renowned in their generations, the ſcripture worthies in particular, have had their Dalilahs, to whoſe bewitching charms they one and all yielded; reluctantly ſome, and fondly others: *Theſe* proving their wiſdom, and *thoſe* their folly, ſince *there is no inchantment againſt beauty*, nor any thing which it cannot inchant. He muſt be ſomething more, or ſomething worſe, than a man—*i. e.* a god or a devil, who hath eſcaped, or who can reſiſt its power: The gods of the heathens could not; Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, their amours are as famous as their names: So, that that ſturdineſs in human nature, wherever it is found, which can reſiſt, argues plainly how much of the devil is wrought up in the compoſition: If the native power were not ſo great as it is, ſo many arts, ſo many opportunities to ſooth and to perſuade, would make it impoſſible.

This prating old man! will he never have done? Not yet; for to you, madam, and of you I could prate for ever. Garrulity is indeed the vice of old age: The higheſt honorary tribute that youth pays to it, is patient attention: We grow fond of prating, when we are good for nothing elſe. Beſides, madam, it is, though I am ſorry to remind you of it, a vice common to both ſexes; old women can prate as well as old men; and the ſame allowance on your part, if ever you come to it, will be demanded: and, alas! young, gay, and blooming as you are, to this you will come at laſt: lovely as that form is, it will wrinkle and wither, that vermilion will be turned into paleneſs, thoſe brilliant eyes grow dim and faint: in the gazing crowd, that now ſurrounds you, notwithſtanding the blaze you make, the luſtre with which you enamel and gild the ſpot you ſtand upon; though you reanimate, give life, ſenſation, appetite, a kind of rejuveneſcence, a deſire at leaſt, a wiſh to live and be young again, to every thing you touch or look upon, the meaneſt of

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your admirers, even I, wizened and worn out by labour, age, nay worſe by diſappointments, in the courſe of a few ſuns and moons, will be as much reſpected, heeded, liſtened to. Pity indeed it is! but it muſt be ſo. What are you then to do? why briefly this, look as well into yourſelf, as at yourſelf, and thence learn how to preſerve and improve the authority which beauty gives, to make it indefectible, and, as I maintain it may, interminable.

[*From the Sermon itſelf.*]

The humour of ridiculing this rite [of marriage] was introduced, and became faſhionable, under the example of a diſſolute prince; which encouraged ſuch licentiouſneſs in the ſtage, as ſoon corrupted the general taſte, to the degree, that hardly any thing entertained, or was received there with applauſe, that was not ſalted with ſome obſcene raillery. In conſequence of which, not only the thing, but even the perſons who made it their choice were laughed at. They were objects of pity, the butts of ſneer, whom neceſſity had forced into it. A humour ſo inconſiſtent with common ſenſe, and every ſocial dear regard, could not hold long. The pulpit, which, in that univerſal degeneracy of men and manners, was not ſilent, got, in this inſtance, the better of the ſtage, and, at laſt, happily reformed it. To the honour of the preſent age, the few patrons it hath are as deſpicable, as they are diſſolute: but it may be obſerved, that the pains taken to correct it, had poſſibly met with quicker ſucceſs, had not the fair ſex, by a lewd and wanton behaviour, contributed to keep it up: without encouragement from them it could never have run to the extravagance it did: for how little ſoever ſome of them may ſuſpect or believe it, they are the only ſure guardians of men's virtue, and have more power to reform than either prieſt or magiſtrate can pretend to. If therefore the manners of the age ſhould ever take the ſame diſagreeable turn, though they may be the principal ſufferers, they muſt bear the blame of it, and the infamy too; for this reaſon, that it was always in their power to ſupport the honour and dignity due to the married ſtate, from the influence, which, few of them want to be told, they have over the affections and inclinations of mankind. I will offer no apology therefore for telling them, that if their diſcretion was equal to their charms; if they were at equal pains to embelliſh their minds, as they are to adorn their bodies, they might go near to reverſe the cuſtoms of the world, and the maxims of nature; might ſway the ſcepters of kingdoms, and be the law-givers and governors both of ſtates and families, without either wearing of arms, or changing apparel.—If modeſty, good ſenſe, and the general practice of virtue, met with proper diſtinction in female regard, men would certainly take more pains, than they uſually do, to cultivate thoſe graces; for where we court, we wiſh to be approved, and naturally purſue ſuch courſes, as we judge will beſt recommend us: But whilſt women are ſo inſenſible, and blind to their own intereſt and happineſs, as to encourage thoſe moſt, who uſe this holy inſtitute to baſe and diſhonourable purpoſes; whilſt they prefer empty and profligate rakes, to virtuous and honourable lovers, they may thank themſelves for a great ſhare of that miſery to which they

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are tied, and we ſhall in vain hope to ſee the evil of this caſe ever corrected.

The copy of the will of a citizen in Bern, in Switzerland.

AT the city of Bern in Switzerland, a man of buſineſs, by ſucceſs in his way of trade, had acquired a conſiderable real and perſonal eſtate: being grown in years, and having no family, he made a will to the following effect, viz.

"Being anxious for my fellow-citizens of Bern, (who have often ſuffered by dearth of corn and wine) my will is, that, by the permiſſion of Providence, they ſhall never for the future ſuffer again under the like calamity: to which end and purpoſe I give my eſtate, real and perſonal, to the ſenate of Bern, in truſt for the people; that is to ſay, that they receive the produce of my eſtate, till it ſhall come to the ſum of [ſuppoſe two thouſand pounds;] that then they ſhall lay out this two thouſand pounds in building a town-houſe, according to the plan by me left: the lower ſtory whereof to conſiſt of large vaults or repoſitories for wine; the ſtory above I direct to be formed into a piazza, for ſuch perſons as ſhall come to market at Bern, for diſpoſing of their goods, free from the injuries of the weather; above that I direct a council chamber to be erected, for the committee of the Senate to meet in from time to time, to adjuſt my accounts, and to direct ſuch things as may be neceſſary for the charity; and above the council-chamber as many floors or granaries as can be conveniently raiſed, to depoſit a quantity of corn for the uſe of the people, whenever they ſhall have occaſion for it. And when this building ſhall be erected, and the expence of it diſcharged, I direct the ſenate of Bern to receive the produce of my eſtate, till the ſame ſhall amount to the ſum [ſuppoſe two thouſand pounds;] and when the price of corn ſhall be under the mean rate of the laſt ten years, one fourth part, they ſhall then lay out one thouſand pounds in corn, and ſtow it in my granaries; and the ſame in wine, when under one fourth of the mean rate of the laſt ten years: and my will is, that none of the ſaid corn or wine ſhall be ſold, until the price of corn or wine ſhall exceed, at the common market, one fourth of the mean rate for the laſt ten years; and then every citizen of Bern ſhall demand daily (or proportionably weekly) as many pounds weight of wheat, and as many pints of wine, as he hath mouths in his family to conſume, and no more; and that for the ſame he pay ready money, after the mean rate that it has been at for the laſt ten years paſt, a due proportion being allowed for waſte, and that to be ſettled by the Senate; and that each houſholder ſhall be ſo ſupplied, as long as the price of corn or wine ſhall continue above the rate of one fourth more than the mean rate; and whatſoever increaſe ſhall be made of the capital, it ſhall be laid out, under the ſame reſtrictions, in adding to the ſtocks of corn and wine; which, under the bleſſing of God, will, I hope, in a certain time, reduce theſe two neceſſary articles of life to very near a fixed price, to the glory of God, and the benefit of the poor."

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This legacy has ſubſiſted near two hundred years, and has had the deſired effect at Bern.

An Engliſh merchant returning from Aleppo, by Bern, took this hint, and ſettled a ſum of money, for the uſe of the poor at Kingſton-on-Thames, for the purchaſe of coals in the ſame manner. The Right Honourable Arthur Onſlow, Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, and Nicholas Hardinge, Eſq; (lately deceaſed) were two of the truſtees, under whoſe auſpices the poor were abundantly ſupplied, and the fund greatly augmented.

About five years ago the hint was given, and ſome gentlemen in Northampton collected a ſum of money, for purchaſing fuel at prime coſt, and ſelling to the poor at the ſame rate; which anſwered perfectly well.

Method of taking off paintings in oil, from the cloths or wood on which they were originally done; and transferring them entire, and without damage, to new pieces.

THE art of removing paintings in oil, from the cloth or wood on which they are originally done, and transferring them to new grounds of either kind of ſubſtance, is of very great uſe; as not only pictures may be preſerved, where the canvas is ſo decayed and damaged, that they would otherwiſe fall to pieces, but paintings on ceiling or wainſcot, which, when taken away from the places where they were originally placed, would have little value, may be conveyed to cloths; and by being thus brought to the ſtate of pictures, become of equal worth with thoſe painted originally on canvas. The manner in which this is done is by cementing the face of the picture to a new cloth, by means of ſuch a ſubſtance as can afterwards be diſſolved and conſequently taken off by water; deſtroying the texture of the old cloth, by means of a proper corroding fluid; and then ſeparating the corroded parts of it entirely from the painting: after which, a new cloth being cemented to the reverſe of the painting in its place, the cloth cemented to the front is in like manner to be corroded and ſeparated; and the cemented matter cleanſed away by diſſolving it in water, and rubbing it off from the face of the picture. The particular method of doing this, with moſt convenience, is as follows;

Let the decayed picture be cleanſed from all greaſe that may be on its ſurface, which may be done by rubbing it very gently with crumb of ſtale bread, and then wiping it with a very fine ſoft linen cloth. It muſt then be laid, with the face downwards, on a ſmooth table covered with fan-paper, or the India-paper; and the cloth on the reverſe muſt be well ſoaked with boiling water, ſpread upon it by means of a ſponge, till it appear perfectly ſoft and pliable. The picture is then to be turned with the face upwards: and, being ſtretched in the moſt even and flat manner on the table, muſt be pinned down to it in that ſtate, by nails driven in through the edge, at proper diſtances from each other. A quantity of glue ſhould be then melted, and ſtrained through a flannel cloth, to prevent any gravel, or other impurities from lurking in it; and when it is a little ſtiffened,

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a part of it ſhould be ſpread on a linen cloth, of the ſize of the painting, where it ſhould be ſuffered to ſet and dry; and then another coat put over it: when this is become ſtiff alſo, the glue ſhould be again heated; and while it remains of ſuch heat as to be eaſily ſpread, it ſhould be laid over the face of the picture, and a linen cloth immediately put over it in the moſt even manner, and nailed down to the picture and table at the edge likewiſe. The glue ſhould not be uſed boiling hot, as that would hazard ſome of the delicate colours of the painting; and the linen cloth ſhould be fine and half worn, that it may be the ſofter, and lie the flatter on the ſurface of the picture; in order to which it is proper to heat it till the glue be ſoft and pliable before it be laid on, and to compreſs each part gently with a ball formed of a linen rag tied round with thread. The table, with the picture, cloth, &c. nailed down to it in this ſtate, ſhould be then expoſed to the heat of the ſun, in a place where it may be ſecured from rain; and there continued till the glue be perfectly dry and hard; at which time the nails ſhould be drawn, and the picture and linen cloth taken off from the table. The picture muſt now be again turned with the face downwards, and ſtretched and nailed to the table as before; and a border of wax muſt be raiſed round the edge, in the ſame manner as is directed for the copper-plates, forming as it were a ſhallow trough with the ſurface of the picture; into which trough ſhould be poured a proper corroding fluid, to eat and deſtroy the thread of the original canvas or cloth of the picture. The corroding fluid uſed for this purpoſe, may be either oil of vitriol, aqua fortis, or ſpirit of ſalt: but the laſt is preferable, as it will more effectually deſtroy the thread, when it is ſo weakened by the admixture of water as not to have any effect on the oil of the painting: whichever is uſed, it is neceſſary they ſhould be properly diluted with water; to find the due proportion of which, it is expedient to make ſome previous trials; and when they are found to be of ſuch ſtrength, as to deſtroy the texture of thread, without diſcolouring it, they are in the due ſtate. When the corroding fluid has done its office, a paſſage muſt be made through the border of wax at one end of it; and the fluid muſt be poured off, by inclining the table in the requiſite manner; and the remaining part muſt be waſhed away, by putting repeated quantities of freſh water upon the cloth. The threads of the cloth muſt then be carefully picked out till the whole be taken away: but if any part be found to adhere, all kind of violence, even in the leaſt degree, muſt be avoided in removing them: inſtead of which, they ſhould be again touched, by means of a pencil, with the corroſive fluid leſs diluted than before, till they will readily come off from the paint. The reverſe ſurface of the painting, being thus wholly freed from the old cloth, muſt be then waſhed with water, by means of a ſponge, till the corroding fluid employed be thoroughly cleanſed away: when being wiped with a ſoft ſponge till all the moiſture that may be collected by that means be taken off, it muſt be left till it be perfectly dry. In the mean time a new

new piece of canvas must be cut of the size of the painting, which now remains cemented to the linen cloth put on the face of it; and the reverse of the painting being dry, and spread over by some hot glew, purified as before, and melted with a little brandy, or spirit of wine, the new canvas must be laid on it, in the most even manner, while the glew yet remains hot, and settled to it by compression: which may be performed by thick plates of lead, or flat pieces of polished marble. Great care should however be taken in the laying them on to prevent the edge from cutting or bruising the paint; as also during the setting of the glew to take them off; and wipe them at proper intervals, to prevent their adhering to the cloth by means of the glew, which may be pressed through it. The lead or marble, by which the compressure is made, being removed when the glew is set, the cloth must be kept in the same state, till the glew be perfectly dry and hard. Then the whole must be again turned with the other side upwards, and the border of wax being replaced, the linen cloth on the face of the painting must be destroyed by means of the corroding fluid, in the same manner as the canvas was before: but greater care must be taken with respect to the strength of the corroding matter, and in the picking out the threads of the cloth; because the face of the painting is defended only by the coat of glew which cemented the linen cloth to it. The painting must then be freed from the glew, by washing it with hot water, spread and rubbed on the surface by a sponge; which should be cleansed frequently during the operation, by dipping and squeezing it in clean water. The painting may afterwards be varnished as a new picture: and if the operation is well conducted, it will be transferred to the new cloth in a perfect state.

When the painting is originally on wood, it must be first detached from the ceiling or wainscot where it was fixed; and the surface of it covered with a linen cloth, cemented to it by means of glew, in the manner before directed for the paintings on canvas. A proper table being then provided, and overspread with a blanket, or thinner woollen cloth, if laid several doubles, the painting must be laid upon it with the face downwards, and fixed steady; and the boards or wood on which it was done must be planed away, till the shell remain as thin as it can be made, without damaging the paint under it. The proceedings must afterwards be the same as was before practised in the case of the paintings on canvas, till that on the wood be in like manner transferred to a cloth or canvas.

The whole of the above operation must be managed with the greatest care, otherwise the painting will receive some damage; and so much nicety is required in the corrosion, and taking off the threads of the cloth, that it can scarcely be performed rightly, but by such as have had some experience in the matter. It is proper, therefore, for any person who would practise it in the case

of valuable paintings, to try it firſt with ſome old pictures of little value, till they find they have the right method of proceeding: and even then, in ſome inſtances, where the coats of paint lie very thin on the cloth, it is ſcarcely practicable without miſcarriage. But as in the caſe of pictures greatly decayed, or paintings on wood taken from buildings that do not admit of being commodiouſly replaced elſewhere, there can be no great loſs if a failure ſhould happen; and a conſiderable advantage may accrue, if the experiment ſucceeds; for which there is good chance if the operation be properly conducted, and the ſubject favourable; and it is very well worth while to make the trial.

POETRY.

POETRY.

WE have the advantage of beginning our collection in a year which has produced ſo many elegant pieces of poetry, that we are not under a neceſſity, in order to make this article full, of inſerting any mean performance.

MELPOMENE: *or the regions of Terror and Pity. An Ode.* *By* R. DODSLEY.

I.

QUEEN of the human heart! at whoſe command
The ſwelling tides of mighty paſſion riſe;
MELPOMENE, ſupport my vent'rous hand,
And aid thy ſuppliant in his bold empriſe.
From the gay ſcenes of pride
Do thou his footſteps guide
To Nature's awful courts, where nurs'd of yore,
Young SHAKESPEAR, Fancy's child, was taught his various lore.

II.

So may his favour'd eye explore the ſource,
To few reveal'd, whence human ſorrows charm:
So may his numbers with pathetic force,
Bid *Terror* ſhake us, or *Compaſſion* warm,
As different ſtrains controul
The movements of the ſoul,
Adjuſt its paſſions, harmonize its tone,
To feel for others' woe, or nobly bear its own.

III.

Deep in the covert of a ſhadowy grove,
Mid broken rocks where daſhing currents play;
Dear to the penſive Pleaſures, dear to Love,
And *Damon*'s Muſe, that breathes her melting lay,
This ardent prayer was made.
When lo! the ſecret ſhade,
As conſcious of ſome heavenly preſence, ſhook——
Strength, firmneſs, reaſon, all—— my' aſtoniſh'd ſoul forſook.

IV.

Ah! whither, Goddeſs! whither am I borne?
To what wild region's necromantic ſhore?
Theſe panics whence? and why my boſom torn
With ſudden terrors never felt before?
Darkneſs inwraps me round,
While from the vaſt profound
Emerging ſpectres dreadful ſhapes aſſume,
And, gleaming on my ſight, add horror to the gloom.

V.

Ha! what is He whoſe fierce indignant eye,
Denouncing vengeance, kindles into flame?
Whoſe boiſterous fury blows a ſtorm ſo high,
As with its thunder ſhakes his labouring frame.
What can ſuch Rage provoke?
His words their paſſage choak:
His eager ſteps nor time nor truce allow,
And dreadful dangers wait the menace of his brow.

VI.

Protect me Goddeſs! whence that fearful ſhriek
Of conſternation? as grim death had laid
His icy fingers on ſome guilty cheek,
And all the powers of manhood ſhrunk diſmay'd:
Ah ſee! beſmear'd with gore,
Revenge ſtands threatening o'er
A pale delinquent, whoſe retorted eyes
In vain for pity call——the wretched victim dies.

VII.

Nor long the ſpace——abandon'd to deſpair,
With eyes aghaſt, or hopeleſs fixt on earth,
This ſlave of paſſion rends his ſcatter'd hair,
Beats his ſad breaſt, and execrates his birth;
While torn within, he feels
The pangs of whips and wheels;
And ſees, or fancies, all the fiends below,
Beckoning his frightful ſoul to realms of endleſs woe.

VIII.

Before my wondering ſenſe new phantoms dance,
And ſtamp their horrid ſhapes upon my brain——
A wretch with jealous brow, and eyes aſkance,
Feeds all in ſecret on his boſom pain.
Fond love, fierce hate, aſſail;
Alternate they prevail:
While conſcious pride and ſhame with rage conſpire,
And urge the latent ſpark to flames of torturing fire.

IX. Th

IX.

The ſtorm proceeds —— his changeful viſage trace:
From rage to madneſs every feature breaks.
A growing phrenzy grins upon his face,
And in his frightful ſtare Diſtraction ſpeaks:
His ſtraw-inveſted head
Proclaims all reaſon fled;
And not a tear bedews thoſe vacant eyes———
But ſongs and ſhouts ſucceed, and laughter-mingled ſighs.

X.

Yet, yet again!——a Murderer's hand appears
Graſping a pointed dagger ſtain'd with blood!
His look malignant chills with boding fears,
That check the current of life's ebbing flood.
In midnight's darkeſt clouds
The dreary miſcreant ſhrowds
His felon ſtep——as 'twere to darkneſs given
To dim the watchful eye of all-pervading Heaven.

XI.

And hark! ah Mercy! whence that hollow ſound?
Why with ſtrange horror ſtarts my briſtling hair;
Earth opens wide, and from unhallow'd ground
A pallid Ghoſt ſlow-riſing ſteals on air.
To where a mangled corſe
Expos'd without remorſe
Lies ſhroudleſs, unentomb'd, he points the way ——
Points to the prowling wolf exultant o'er his prey.

XII.

" Was it for this, he cries, with kindly ſhower
" Of daily gifts the traytor I careſs'd?
" For this, array'd him in the robe of power,
" And lodg'd my royal ſecrets in his breaſt;
" O kindneſs ill repay'd!
" To bare the murdering blade
" Againſt my life!——may Heav'n his guilt explore;
" And to my ſuffering race their ſplendid rights reſtore."

XIII.

He ſaid, and ſtalk'd away.——Ah! Goddeſs, ceaſe,
Thus with terrific forms to rack my brain;
Theſe horrid phantoms ſhake the throne of Peace,
And Reaſon calls her boaſted powers in vain:
Then change thy magic wand,
Thy dreadful troops diſband,
And gentler ſhapes, and ſofter ſcenes diſcloſe,
To melt the feeling heart, yet ſooth its tendereſt woes.

XIV.

The fervent prayer was heard——With hideous ſound
Her ebon gates of darkneſs open flew;
A dawning twilight chears the dread profound,
The train of Terror vaniſhes from view.
More mild enchantments riſe;
New ſcenes ſalute my eyes,
Groves, fountains, bowers, and temples grace the plain,
And turtles cooe around, and nightingales complain.

XV.

And every myrtle bower and cypreſs grove,
And every ſolemn temple teems with life;
Here glows the ſcene with fond but hapleſs love,
There with the deeper woes of human ſtrife.
In groups around the lawn,
By freſh diſaſters drawn,
The ſad ſpectators ſeem transfix'd in woe,
And pitying ſighs are heard, and heart-felt ſorrows flow.

XVI.

Behold that beauteous maid! her languid head
Bends like a drooping lily charg'd with rain;
With floods of tears ſhe bathes a Lover dead,
In brave aſſertion of her honour ſlain.
Her boſom heaves with ſighs,
To Heaven ſhe lifts her eyes,
With grief beyond the power of words oppreſt,
Sinks on the lifeleſs corſe, and dies upon his breaſt.

XVII.

How ſtrong the bands of Friendſhip! yet, alas!
Behind yon mouldering tower with ivy crown'd,
Of two, the foremoſt in her ſacred claſs,
One from his friend receives the fatal wound!
What could ſuch fury move?
Ah, what but ill-ſtar'd love!
The ſame fair object each fond heart enthralls,
And he, the favour'd youth, her hapleſs victim falls.

XVIII.

Can aught ſo deeply ſway the generous mind
To mutual truth, as female truſt in love?
Then what relief ſhall yon fair mourner find,
Scorn'd by the man who ſhould her plaints remove?
By fair, but falſe pretence,
She loſt her innocence;
And that ſweet babe, the fruit of treacherous art,
Claſpt in her arms expires, and breaks the parent's heart.

XIX. Ah!

XIX.

Ah! who to pomp or grandeur would aſpire?
Kings are not rais'd above Misfortune's frown.
That form ſo graceful even in mean attire,
Sway'd once a ſcepter, once ſuſtain'd a crown.
From filial rage and ſtrife,
To ſcreen his cloſing life,
He quits his throne, a father's ſorrow feels,
And in the lap of want his patient head conceals.

XX.

More yet remained——but lo! the PENSIVE QUEEN
Appears confeſt before my dazzled ſight;
Grace in her ſteps, and ſoftneſs in her mien,
The face of ſorrow mingled with delight.
Not ſuch her noble frame,
When kindling into flame,
And bold in Virtue's cauſe, her zeal aſpires
To waken guilty pangs, or breathe heroic fires.

XXI.

Aw'd into ſilence, my rapt ſoul attends———
The POWER, with eyes complacent ſaw my fear;
And, as with grace ineffable ſhe bends,
Theſe accents vibrate on my liſtening ear.
" Aſpiring ſon of art,
" Know, though thy feeling heart
" Glow with theſe wonders to thy fancy ſhewn,
" Still may the Delian God thy powerleſs toils diſown.

XXII.

" A thouſand tender ſcenes of ſoft diſtreſs
" May ſwell thy breaſt with ſympathetic woes,
" A thouſand ſuch dread forms on fancy preſs,
" As from my dreary realms of darkneſs roſe,
" Whence SHAKESPEAR's chilling fears,
" Whence OTWAY's melting tears——
" That aweful gloom, this melancholy plain,
" The *types* of every *theme* that ſuits the TRAGIC STRAIN.

XXIII.

" But doſt thou worſhip Nature night and morn,
" And all due honour to her precepts pay?
" Canſt thou the lure of Affectation ſcorn,
" Pleas'd in the ſimpler paths of Truth to ſtray?
" Haſt thou the Graces fair
" Invok'd with ardent prayer?
" 'Tis they attire, as Nature muſt impart,
" The ſentiment ſublime, the language of the heart.

XXIV.

" Then if creative Genius pour his ray,
" Warm with inſpiring influence on thy breaſt;
" Taſte, judgment, fancy, if thou can'ſt diſplay,
" And the deep ſource of paſſion ſtand confeſt;
" Then may the liſtening train,
" Affected, feel thy ſtrain;
" Feel Grief, or Terror, Rage, or Pity move:
" Change with thy varying ſcenes, and every ſcene approve."

XXV.

Humbled before her ſight, and bending low,
I kiſs'd the borders of her crimſon veſt;
Eager to ſpeak, I felt my boſom glow,
But fear upon my lip her ſeal impreſt.
While awe-ſtruck thus I ſtood,
The bowers, the lawn, the wood,
The FORM CELESTIAL, fading on my ſight,
Diſſolv'd in liquid air, and fleeting gleams of light.

Ode for his Majeſty's Birth-Day, Nov. 10, 1758.

Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Eſq; Poet-Laureat, and ſet to muſic by Dr. Boyce, Maſter of the King's Band. The vocal parts by Meſſ. Beard, Savage, Waſs, Cowper, Barrow, and the reſt of the gentlemen and children of the chapel royal; the inſtrumental by his Majeſty's band, &c.

ARGUMENT.

About the year 963, *Ottoberto, of the family of Eſte, paſſed from Italy into Germany, with the Emperor Otho the Great. Azo, his deſcendant, in the next century, by a marriage with the daughter of Welfus Count Altdorf, inherited the dominions of that family in Suabia. Welfus, a ſon of that marriage, in the year* 1061, *received the Dukedom of Bavaria from the Emperor Henry the* IVth. *The deſcendants of Welfus became afterwards poſſeſſed of thoſe Duchies which lie between the Elbe and the Weſer (Brunſwick, Wolfenbuttle, Lunenburg, Zell, Hanover, &c.) and in the year* 1714 *George the firſt, Duke and Elector of Hanover, ſucceeded to the throne of Great Britain.*

I.

WHEN Othbert left th' Italian plain,
And ſoft Ateſtè's green domain
Attendant on Imperial ſway
Where Fame and Otho led the way,

The

The Genius of the Julian hills
(Whoſe piny ſummits nod with ſnow,
Whoſe Naiads pour their thouſand rills
To ſwell th' exulting Po)
An eager look prophetic caſt,
And hail'd the Hero as he paſs'd.
Hail, all hail, the woods reply'd,
And Echo on her airy tide
Roll'd the long murmurs down the mountain's ſide.

II.

The voice reſum'd again. "Proceed,
Nor caſt one ling'ring look behind;
By thoſe who toil for virtue's meed
Be every ſofter thought reſign'd;
Nor ſocial home, nor genial air,
Nor glowing ſuns are worth thy care;
New realms await thee in a harſher ſky,
Thee, and thy choſen race from Azo's nuptial tie.

III.

'Tis Glory wakes; her active flame
Nor time ſhall quench, nor danger tame,
Nor * Boia's ampleſt range confine,
Tho' Guelpho reigns, the Guelphic line.
Yon Northern Star, which dimly gleams
Athwart the twilight veil of eve,
Muſt point their path to diſtant ſtreams,
And many a wreath ſhall Vict'ry weave,
And many a palm ſhall Fame diſplay
To grace the warriors on their way,
Till regions bow to their commands
Where Albis widens thro' the lands,
And vaſt Viſurgis ſpreads his golden ſands.

IV.

Nor reſt they there. Yon guiding fire
Still ſhines aloft, and gilds the main!
Not Lion || Henry's ſoft deſire
To graſp th' Italian realms again,

* Bavaria.

|| Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria, Saxony, &c. was one of the greateſt heroes of the XIIth century. He united in his own perſon the hereditary dominions of five families. His claims upon Italy hindered him from joining with the Emperor Frederic I. in his third attack upon the Pope, tho' he had aſſiſted him in the two former. For which he was ſtripped of his dominions by that Emperor, and died in 1195, poſſeſſed only of thoſe duchies which lie between the Elbe and the Weſer.

From this Henry, and a ſiſter or daughter of Henry II. of England, his preſent Majeſty is lineally deſcended.

Nor

Nor warring winds, nor wintry ſeas
Shall ſtop the progreſs Fate decrees:
For lo! Britannia calls, to happier coaſts
And vales more verdant far than ſoft Ateſtè boaſts!

V.

Behold, with Euphraſy I clear
Thy viſual nerve, and fix it there,
Where, crown'd with rocks groteſque and ſteep,
The White Iſle riſes o'er the deep!
There Glory reſts. For there arrive
Thy choſen ſons; and there attain
To the firſt title Fate can give,
The father Kings of free-born men!
Proceed. Rejoice. Deſcend the vale,
And bid the future monarchs hail!
Hail, all hail, the Hero cry'd,
And Echo on her airy tide
Purſu'd him murmuring down the mountain's ſide.

VI.

'Twas thus, O King, to heroes old
The mountains breath'd the ſtrain divine,
'Ere yet her volumes Fame unroll'd
To trace the wonders of thy line;
'Ere Freedom yet on Ocean's breaſt
Had northward fix'd her halcyon neſt;
Or Albion's oaks deſcending to the main,
Had roll'd her thunders wide, and claim'd the watry reign.

VII.

But now each Briton's glowing tongue,
Proclaims the truths the Genius ſung;
On Brunſwick's name with rapture dwells,
And hark, the gen'rous Chorus ſwells!
"May years and happy years roll o'er,
'Till glory cloſe the ſhining page,
And our ill-fated ſons deplore
The ſhortneſs of a Neſtor's age!
Hail, all hail, on Albion's plains
The friend of man and freedom reigns!
Echo waft the triumph round,
'Till Gallia's utmoſt ſh ores rebound,
And all her bulwarks tre mble at the ſound."

Ode for the New Year 1759.

Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Esq; Poet Laureat, and set by Dr. Boyce, Master of his Majesty's band of music.*

The vocal parts by Messr. Beard, Savage, Baildon, Wass, Barrow, Ladd, Denham, Cowper, and the other gentlemen and children of the chapel royal. The instrumental by Dr. Nares, the King's band, &c.

Strophe.

YE guardian Powers, to whose command
At Nature's birth, th' Almighty Mind
The delegated task assign'd
To watch o'er Albion's favour'd land,
What time your hosts with choral lay,
Emerging from its kindred deep,
Applausive hail'd each verdant steep,
And white rock, glitt'ring to the new-born day!
Angelic bands, where'er ye rove,
Whilst lock'd in sleep creation lies,
Whether to genial dews above
You melt the congregated skies,
Or teach the torrent streams below
To wake the verdure of the vale,
Or guide the varying winds that blow
To speed the coming or the parting sail,
Where'er ye bend your roving flight,
Whilst now the radiant Lord of light
Winds to the North his sliding sphere,
Avert each ill, each bliss improve,
And teach the minutes as they move
To bless the opening year.

Antistrophe.

Already Albion's lifted spear
And rolling thunders of the main,
Which Justice' sacred laws maintain,
Have taught the haughty Gaul to fear.
On other earths, in other skies,
Beyond old Ocean's western bound,
Tho' bleeds afresh th' eternal wound,
Again Britannia's cross triumphant flies.
To British George, the King of Isles,
The tribes that rove th' Acadian snows,
Redeem'd from Gallia's polish'd wiles,
Shall breathe their voluntary vows:

Where nature guards her laſt retreat,
And pleas'd Aſtræa lingers ſtill,
While Faith yet triumphs o'er Deceit,
And Virtue reigns, from ignorance of ill.
Yet Angel-pow'rs, tho' Gallia bend,
Tho' Fame, with all her wreaths, attend
On bleeding War's tremendous ſway,
The ſons of Leiſure ſtill complain,
And muſing Science ſighs in vain,
For Peace is ſtill away.

Epode.

Go, then, ye faithful guides
Of her returning ſteps, angelic band,
Explore the ſacred ſeats where Peace reſides,
And waves her olive wand.
Bid her the waſtes of War repair.
——O ſouthward ſeek the flying Fair,
For not on poor Germania's harraſs'd plain,
Nor where the Viſtula's proud current ſwells,
Nor on the borders of the frighted Seine,
Nor in the depths of Ruſſia's ſnows ſhe dwells;
Yet O, where'er, deſerting Freedom's iſle,
She gilds the ſlave's deluſive toil,
Whether on Ebro's bank ſhe ſtrays,
Or ſighing traces Taio's winding ways,
Or ſoft Auſonia's ſhores her feet detain,
O bring the wand'rer back, with Glory in her train.

Verſes to the People of England, 1758. *By* WM. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq*; *Poet Laureat.*

- - - - - *Mures animos in martia bella*
Verſibus exacuit. - - - - - - - - HOR.

BRITONS, rouſe to deeds of death!
Waſte not zeal in idle breath,
Nor loſe the harveſt of your ſwords
In a civil-war of words!
Wherefore teems the ſhameleſs preſs
With labour'd births of emptineſs?
Reas'nings, which no facts produce,
Eloquence, that murders uſe;
Ill-tim'd *Humour*, that beguiles
Weeping ideots of their ſmiles;
Wit, that knows but to defame,
And *Satire*, that profanes the name.
Let th' undaunted *Grecian* teach
The uſe and dignity of ſpeech,
At whoſe thunders nobly thrown
Shrunk the MAN of MACEDON.

If

If the ſtorm of words *muſt* riſe,
Let it blaſt our enemies.
Sure and nervous be it hurl'd
On the PHILIPS of the world.
Learn not vainly to deſpiſe
(Proud of EDWARD's victories!)
Warriors wedg'd in firm array,
And navies powerful to diſplay
Their woven wings to every wind,
And leave the panting foe behind.
Give to *France* the honours due,
France has chiefs and ſtateſmen too;
Breaſts which patriot-paſſions feel,
Lovers of the common-weal.
And when ſuch the foes we brave,
Whether on the land or wave,
Greater is the pride of war,
And the conqueſt nobler far.
Agincourt and *Creſſy* long
Have flouriſh'd in immortal ſong;
And liſping babes aſpire to praiſe
The wonders of ELIZA's days.
And what elſe of late renown
Has added wreaths to *Britain*'s crown;
Whether on th' impetuous *Rhine*
She bade her harneſs'd warriors ſhine,
Or ſnatch'd the dangerous palm of praiſe
Where the *Sambre* meets the *Maeſe*;
Or *Danube* rolls his watry train;
Or the yellow-treſſed *Mayne*
Thro' *Dettingen*'s immortal vale.——
Even *Fontenoy* could tell a tale,
Might modeſt Worth ingenuous ſpeak,
To raiſe a bluſh on Victory's cheek;
And bid the vanquiſh'd wreaths diſplay
Great as on *Culloden*'s day.
But glory, which aſpires to laſt,
Leans not meanly on the paſt.
'Tis the preſent Now demands
Britiſh hearts, and *Britiſh* hands,
Curſt be he, the willing ſlave,
Who doubts, who lingers to be brave.
Curſt be the coward tongue that dare
Breathe one accent of deſpair,
Cold as Winter's icy hand
To chill the Genius of the land.

Chiefly

Chiefly you, who ride the deep,
And bid our thunders wake or ſleep,
As Pity pleads, or Glory calls——
Monarchs of our wooden-walls!
Midſt your mingling ſeas and ſkies
Riſe ye BLAKES, ye RALEIGHS riſe!
Let the ſordid luſt of gain
Be baniſh'd from the liberal main.
He who ſtrikes the generous blow
Aims it at the public foe.
Let glory be the guiding ſtar,
Wealth and honours follow her.
See! ſhe ſpreads her luſtre wide
O'er the vaſt *Atlantic* tide!
Conſtant as the ſolar ray
Points the path, and leads the way!
Other worlds demand your care,
Other worlds to *Britain* dear;
Where the foe inſidious roves
O'er headlong ſtreams, and pathleſs groves;
And Juſtice ſimple laws confounds
With imaginary bounds.
If protected Commerce keep
Her tenor o'er yon heaving deep,
What have we from War to fear?
Commerce ſteels the nerves of War;
Heals the havoc Rapine makes,
And new ſtrength from conqueſt takes.
Nor leſs at home O deign to ſmile,
Goddeſs of *Britannia*'s iſle!
Thou, that from her rocks ſurvey'ſt
Her boundleſs realms the watry waſte;
Thou, that rov'ſt the hill and mead
Where her flocks and heifers feed;
Thou, that chear'ſt the induſtrious ſwain
While he ſtrows the pregnant grain;
Thou, that hear'ſt his caroll'd vows
When th' expanded barn o'erflows;
Thou, the bulwark of our cauſe,
Thou, the guardian of our laws,
Sweet Liberty!——O deign to ſmile,
Goddeſs of *Britannia*'s iſle!
If to us indulgent Heaven
Nobler ſeeds of ſtrength has given,
Nobler ſhould the produce be;
Brave, yet gen'rous, are the free.
Come then, all thy powers diffuſe,
Goddeſs of extended views!

Every

Ev'ry breaſt which feels *thy* flame
Shall kindle into martial fame,
'Till ſhame ſhall make the coward bold,
And *Indolence* her arms unfold:
Ev'n *Avarice* ſhall protect his hoard,
And the plough-ſhare gleam a ſword.
Goddeſs, all thy powers diffuſe!
And thou, genuine BRITISH MUSE,
Nurs'd amidſt the *Druids* old
Where *Deva*'s wizard waters roll'd,
Thou, that bear'ſt the golden key
To unlock Eternity,
Summon thy poetic guard———
Britain ſtill has many a bard,
Whom, when Time and Death ſhall join
T' expand the ore, and ſtamp the coin,
Late poſterity ſhall own
Lineal to the Muſe's throne———
Bid them leave th' inglorious theme
Of fabled ſhade, or haunted ſtream.
In the daiſy-painted mead
'Tis to *Peace* we tune the reed;
But when *War*'s tremendous roar
Shakes the iſle from ſhore to ſhore,
Every bard of purer fire
Tyrtæus-like ſhould graſp the lyre;
Wake with verſe the hardy deed,
Or in the generous ſtrife like † SIDNEY bleed.

† Sir Philip Sidney, mortally wounded in an action near Zutphen, in Gelderland.

Ode

Ode a S. M. le Roi de PRUSSE.
Par M. DE VOLTAIRE.

PRINCE vaillant & magnanime,
Aſſailli d'ennemis cruels
Dont tu ſais arracher l'eſtime,
Heros digne de leurs autels :
Je ſens une fureur divine
Qui me preſſe, qui me domine,
Je cede a ſa brulante ardeur.
Recois mon homage ſincere :
Grand *Frederic !* il doit de plaire,
C'eſt le pur homage du cœur.

Deja la politique affreuſe,
Monſtre affame de grands forfaits,
Dans ſa caverne tenebreuſe
A concu les plus noirs projets.
L'Ambition a l'œil perfide,
La Jalouſie au teint livide,
Ont preſide dans ſon conſeil.
Bellone, ſombre & menacante,
D'une guerre injuſte & ſanglante
Prepare l'horrible appareil.

De trois puiſſances redoutable
Je vois s'unir les etendarts :
Du ſoldat les cris effroyables
Retentiſſent de toute part :
Plein d'une courage mercenaire,
Il arme ſon bras ſanguinaire.
Ah ! mon cœur eſt ſaiſi d'effroi—
Prince ! l'ennemi t'environne —
Il va t'enlever la couronne.
Qui la merite mieux que toi ?

Dans une tranquille retraite
Goutant les douceurs de la paix,
Sa grand eame ne s'inquiete
Que du bonheur de ſes ſujets.
La foudre gronde ſur ſa tete,
La plus effrayante tempete
Souleve contre lui les flots :
Il perce enfin l'epais nuage,
Son œil etonne voit l'orage,
Mais il le contemple en heros.

O vous dont l'ardeur temeraire
Va ſemer le trouble & l'horreur,
Un roi que ſon peuple revere,
Un roi qu'il porte dans ſon cœur,
Tombera t-il votre victime ?
Et ſera-t-il dit que le crime
S'immole toutes les vertus ?

Non :

Ode to the King of PRUSSIA.
By M. DE VOLTAIRE.

O Thou ! whoſe mighty mind diſdains
Of life the frauds, and fears, and pains ;
Thou, whom thy foes, in ſpite of hate,
Revere at heart, and call the Great,
I feel the ſacred phrenzy ſtrong,
Which rules me and compels the ſong ;
Accept the ſtrains that flow ſincere,
Such ſtrains thy virtues ought to hear.

Deep in her gloomy cell retir'd,
With luſt of dreadful miſchiefs fir'd,
Fell Cunning plots to curſe mankind,
With half the powers of hell combin'd.
Ambition with her double view,
And Jealouſy of pallid hue ;
The project form'd, *Bellona* rears
Her horrid front diffuſing fears,
For War prepares, injurious War,
And frowning mounts her iron car.

Three mighty pow'rs their ſtandards bring,
The ſoldiers ſhout, the valleys ring ;
The ruthleſs hand which fights for hire,
Is ſtretch'd to ſet the world on fire :
Fear chills my heart and dims my eyes ;
O Prince, thy foes ſurround thee ! riſe !
They come to ſnatch thy crown ! beware !
For who *thy* crown deſerves to wear ?

Reclin'd in ſoft ſerene repoſe,
And bleſt with all that Peace beſtows ;
The Prince no anxious cares diſtreſt,
By bleſſing wiſhful to be bleſt,
When o'er his head the thunder roars,
The ſounding billows laſh the ſhores,
The clouds diſpart, the ſtorm appears,
He ſees ſurpriz'd, ſurpriz'd he hears :
Yet with calm wonder weighs the ſcene,
As heroes uſe, ſedate ! ſerene !

Ye hoſtile bands, who raſhly dare
To ſcatter wide the plagues of war,
Can *Frederic* fall by your decrees,
Who lives in ev'ry heart he ſees ?
For Vice ſhall every Virtue die,
To pile her impious altars high ?

No,

Non: *Frederic* a vu les trames
Ourdies au fond de vos ames:
Tous vos projets ſont confondus.

Soldats, un ennemi parjure,
Dont l'ambition eſt la loi,
Vous fait la plus ſanglante injure,
Il oſe attaquer votre Roi.
Il vient ſe montrer a vos portes:
Deja ſes nombreuſes cohortes
Repandent partout la terreur;
Soutenez la plus juſte cauſe,
Sur vous *Frederic* ſe repoſe;
Si vous l'aimez il eſt vainqueur.

Il dit. Son courage intrepide
Paſſe dans l'ame des ſoldats:
Et chacun d'eux, nouvel Alcide,
Brule de voler aux combats.
Autrichien vain & farouche,
Oui, l'inſolence eſt dans ta bouche,
Mais l'epouvante eſt dans ton cœur:
Francois, ta valeur ſi vantee
Devant le Pruſſien eſt glacee:
Tout diſparoit juſqu'a l'honneur.

Jadis les enfans de la terre,
Les tyrans fiers audacieux,
Oſerent declarer la guerre
Au ſouverain maitre des dieux:
Deja leur fureur arrogante
Levoit une main triomphante.
Jupiter tonne, ils ſont vaincus.
Toi, *Frederic*, en ta colere
Tu jettes un regarde ſevere,
Tes ennemis ſont eperdus.

Aux plaintes de la Germanie
L'orgueil Francois eſt ecraſe;
Frederic vole en Sileſie,
L'Autrichien eſt terraſſe;
Ses ſoldats lancent ils la foudre?
Ils paroiſſent, tout eſt en poudre.
La victoire eſt devant leurs pas,
Non, il n'eſt rien la qui m'etonne.
Il faut que le ſucces couronne
Des heros que ſoutient ſon bras.

Et toi, feroce Moſcovite,
Tu crains d'affronter ſa valeur:
Une prompte et heureuſe fuite
Te ſouſtrait a ſon bras vangeur.
Va raconter dans les provinces
Que le plus auguſte de princes
A pour ſoldats des demi dieux:

No, *Frederic* ſees the latent ſnare,
And all your projects mix with air.

Soldiers, ſaid he, a lawleſs pow'r
With war profanes the peaceful hour;
Your King aſſails, invades his gates,
And ſhakes with terror all his ſtates.
Support my cauſe, my cauſe is juſt;
In you your *Frederic* puts his truſt;
Of all his wiſh, your love, poſſeſt,
Of conqueſt ſure, your King is bleſt.

He ſaid, and ſoon the ſacred fire
That warms his breaſt, his troops acquire.
A new Alcides now in might,
Each burns impatient for the fight.
Proud *Auſtria* ſtill in threats is brave,
But ſinks at heart; to fear a ſlave;
Of *France* the boaſted valour's fled.
The *Pruſſian* comes, ſhe's chill'd with dread
Even honour frighted, quits her breaſt,
Her lov'd, her long familiar gueſt.

When erſt the ſons of Earth aroſe,
Of mighty *Jove* th' audacious foes,
The God ſerene, in awful ſtate,
Launch'd the red bolt, their inſtant fate;
So when with headlong fury fir'd,
To *Frederic*'s crown his foes aſpir'd,
The hero frown'd with martial grace,
And ſwift they vaniſh'd from the place.

Germania ſighs, her voice is heard,
And *France* chaſtis'd no more is fear'd;
To aid *Sileſia*, *Frederic* flies,
And low on earth proud *Auſtria* lies.
Does *Jove* his troops with thunder truſt?
They march-and foes and tow'rs are duſt.
Before them Vict'ry wings her way,
And ſtays where'er the heroes ſtay.
What ſecret cauſe theſe wonders breeds?
No wonders theſe—for *Frederic* leads.

Fierce *Ruſſia* fear'd his piercing fight,
And ſav'd her troops by timely flight.
Ye fugitives, proclaim around
What demi-gods combin'd ye found;

Que ſon nom ſeul en ſon abſence,
Produit l'effet de ſa preſence,
Et que ſon ame vit en eux.

That *Frederic*'s name his place ſupplies,
And withers nations as they riſe;
That all his ſoul diffus'd inſpires
Each breaſt with more than mortal fires.

Ces evenemens memorables
Que celebra l'antiquite
Ne ſeront plus d'illuſtres fables
Aux yeux de la poſterite.
Hommes courages invincibles,
Tous vos faits incomprehenſibles
Etonneroient-ils nos eſprits
Quand nous voyons de votre gloire
Les rayons, epars dans l'hiſtoire,
En *Frederic* ſeul reunis.

What raptur'd bards, in times of old,
Of demi-gods and heroes told,
No more ſhall paſs for ſplendid dreams,
Inſpir'd by rich *Pierean* ſtreams.
Ye mighty dead, we doubt no more
The feats your arms atchiev'd of yore:
Your envy'd glory's ſcatter'd rays,
Combin'd in *Pruſſia*'s monarch, blaze.

Mets fin a tes travaux ſans nombre,
Termine tes exploits guerriers,
Et viens te repoſer a l'ombre,
Frederic, de tant de lauriers,
Donne a l'Europe deſolee
Une paix que ſoit aſſuree,
Qu'elle la tienne du vainqueur.
Le triumphe le plus illuſtre
N'aquiert-il pas ſon dernier luſtre
Quand il ramene le bonheur?

O *Frederic*, ſpeed the bliſsful hour,
When all thy foes ſhall own thy pow'r;
When yet once more at eaſe reclin'd,
Thy tranquil ſmiles ſhall bleſs mankind.
Her peace from thee let *Europe* claim,
Peace gives the victor's utmoſt fame;
That fame which conqueſts ne'er beſtow,
Won but to waſte the world below.

De tout un peuple qui t'adore
Lorſque les vœux ſont exauces,
Voudrois tu qu'il fremit encore
En voyant tes jours expoſes?
Acheve la plus belle vie,
En eclairant par ton genie
Des ſujects ſauves par ton bras.
Remonte la lyre d'Horace,
Sois Apollon ſur le Parnaſſe
Comme tu fus Mars aux combats.

O! why, belov'd, admir'd, ador'd,
Thy life with endleſs pray'rs implor'd?
Why ſhould whole realms with panting breath,
Still watch thee thro' the fields of death?
O let thy days in peace decline,
Thy life and death alike divine;
Whom valour ſav'd, let genius cheer,
Reſume the lyre we joy to hear:
And beam around thy lov'd domain
The rays of mental light again,
Thy world's great *Phœbus*, known from far,
Its *Mars* before ſupreme in war.

The following Copy of verſes of the King of Pruſſia, were preſented by him to Mr. Profeſſor Gottſched at Leipſic, the 18th day of October, 1757.

LE Ciel, en diſpenſant ſes dons
Ne les prodigue point d'une main liberale,
Il nous refuſe plus que nous ne recevons :
Pour tout peuple à peu près ſa faveur eſt égale.

Les Francois ſont legeres, les Anglois ſont profonds ;
Et s'il denie à l'un ce qu'il accorde à l'autre ;
L'amour propre, en changeant, en roſes ſes chardons,
Au talent du voiſin fait prefere le nôtre.

Sparte poſſedoit la valeur,
Mars ſe plut d'y former de fameux Capitaines,
Tandis que la molle douceur
Des arts & des talens reſpiroit dans Athenes.

De Sparte nos vaillans Germains
Ont recueilli l' antique gloire :
Combien des grands exploits ont place en leur hiſtoire.

Mais s'ils ont trouvé les chemins,
A travers les perils, au temple de Mémoire,
Les fleurs ſe fânent dans leurs mains
Dont ils couronnent la victoire.

C'eſt à toi, le Cygne Saxon
D'arracher ce talent à la nature avare,
D'adoucir, par tes ſoins, d'une langue barbare
La dure âpreté de ſes tons ;
Ajoute par les chants que ta muſe prepare,
Aux lauriers des vainqueurs, dont le Germain ſe pare
Les plus beaux lueriers d' Apollon.

Parodie ſur les Vers precedens.

LE Ciel en diſpenſant ſes dons,
Fut prodigue pour vous, Monarque incomparable!
Par les talens de Mars, et par ceux d' Apollon,
Aux ſiecles à venir il vous rend reſpectable.
Si d'un Francois leger, d'un Anglois très profond,
Le charactère outré leur attire du blâme;
Le vôtre en équilibre, et toujours ſans paſſion,
Ne nous trace partout que ſens & grandeur d'âme.
C'eſt ſous vos étendarts, Monarque valeureux,
Que Mars forme à preſent de fameux Capitaines:
Vos Germains, animés par vos faits glorieux,
Terniſſent tout l'éclat de la grandeur Romaine.
Les arts & le ſavoir dans Athènes nourris,
Vont chercher au milieu de vos braves cohortes
Un aſile aſſuré, et fiers de cette eſcorte
Suivent tranquillement leur protecteur cheri.
C'eſt ainſi, Prince unique en vos travaux guerriers,
Qu' avec un livre en main vous cueilles des lauriers,
Laiſſant à ces temoins d'une immortelle gloire,
Le ſoin de mediter la plus parfait hiſtoire.
Uſez de ces talens! mais que bientôt vos faits
Ceignent ſe front ſacré de l' olive de paix!
Donnez nous la, Grand Roi; ſurmontes tout obſtacle,
Et laiſſez-nous le ſoin de crier au miracle.

Tranſlation of the King of Pruſſia's Verſes to Profeſſor Gottſched.

WITH bounteous yet with frugal hand,
Its mental gifts judicious Heav'n
Deals near alike to every land,
Tho' different kinds to each are giv'n.

The *French* of airy genius prove,
Britannia's ſons profound are known:
Charm'd by the magic of ſelf-love,
Each prizes, each prefers his own.

In *Sparta*, once for arms renown'd,
Mars train'd his nobleſt ſons of fame;
Politeſt arts and manners crown'd,
With *Attic* ſweets, the *Athenian* name.

From *Lacedæmon*'s hardy race
Our *Germans*, fir'd with martial rage,
Dauntleſs to fame, thro' danger, preſs,
Ennobled in th' hiſtoric page.

But ſoon their flow'ry garlands fade,
And wither from the public view;
No tuneful bard's reforming aid
Their harſh neglected language knew.

This taſk, *Saxonian Swan!* be thine;
Thy native tongue, with powerful art
In niggard nature's ſpight, refine,
And ſweetly-melting ſounds impart.

In *Heliconian* ſtrains aſſume,
And ſwell our *German* Hero's praiſe:
Immortal ſhall their laurels bloom,
Entwin'd with thy *Parnaſſian* bays.

The Profeſſor's anſwer.

HEaven that diſtinguiſhes but few,
Was laviſh, matchleſs Prince! to you;
It graced you with the mingled charms,
Of wiſdom, poetry, and arms,
And bade you, thus adorn'd, engage
The wonder of each future age:
It form'd you in that happy mean
Thoſe blameable extremes between,
Of *Britiſh* genius too profound,
And *French*, for levity renown'd.
Hence, nicely poiz'd, and well refin'd,
True grandeur dignifies your mind;
No clouds of paſſion ever roll,
T' obſcure the brightneſs of your ſoul.
Mars now, where-e'er your ſtandards fly,
Submits to your corrective eye,
And forms, as in his nobleſt ſchools,
His heroes by your better rules;

And hence your *Germans* riſe in fame
Superior to the *Roman* name,
Long exil'd from their native home
Th' *Athenian Muſes* forc'd to roam
In ſearch of ſome belov'd retreat,
Amidſt your cohorts fix their ſeat,
Tranſported, your beheſts obey,
And follow where you lead the way.
Fame's greeneſt laureat-wreath you ſeize,
And pluck, ſerene in learned eaſe,
Leaving th' hiſtorians of your age,
T' inſcribe you on th' immortal page.
Theſe godlike talents uſe—and ſoon
May ſmiling *Peace*, (celeſtial boon!)
Her blooming olives all divine
Around your ſacred temples twine.
This bleſſing, mighty Prince! beſtow,
And every obſtacle o'erthrow,
While, with poetic raptures warm'd,
I ſing the wonders you've perform'd.

Rotterdam, Jan. 24, 1758. B. S—

Ode in the ſecond Act of Agis, a Tragedy, as it was performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-lane.

Mrs. Pritchard.

WOES approach, till now unknown,
Diſcord ſhakes the Spartan throne,
Heav'n avert the ills we fear!
Jove, from high Olympus, hear!

CHORUS.

Ever may his mighty arm
Save the Spartan ſtate from harm!
Ne'er may proud invaders boaſt
Glory from our glory loſt.
Light, O Jove, that ſacred fire
Which did Sparta's ſons inſpire,
When the Prince and people ſtrove,
Burning with their country's love.
Xerxes, lord of great alarms,
Xerxes rouz'd the world to arms.

Prieſt of Jupiter, *Mr Champneſs.*

The earth was troubled at his hoſt,
The ſprings were dry'd, the rivers loſt:

But Spartan valour check'd his pride,
A ſlender band his hoſt defy'd:
Thermopylæ, (immortal name!)
Beheld the Perſian tyrant's ſhame.

Chorus of all.

There the brave three hundred dy'd,
Faithful by their Prince's ſide,
There they conquer'd tho' they dy'd,

Prieſt of Hercules, *Mr. Beard.*

On earth below, in heav'n above,
Rever'd, victorious, ſon of Jove!
Hear, Alcides, hear our pray'r,
Thy godlike offspring claims thy care.

CHORUS.

Agis of thy race divine,
Try'd in labours like to thine.
Undaunted, like thee, with monſters he ſtrives;
The fiereeſt of Hydras in faction revives.
If he falls a ſacrifice,
Never more ſhall Sparta riſe!

Ode in the fifth Act.
Mr. Garrick.

MOURN, ye ſons of Sparta mourn,
Pour the ſad lamenting ſtrain,
Wretched people! land forlorn!
Mourn the beſt of Princes ſlain.

Prieſt of Jupiter, *Mr. Champneſs.*

He fell not as the warrior falls,
Whoſe breaſt defends the native walls;
To treaſon Agis bow'd his head,
And by his guilty ſubjects bled:
Betray'd by thoſe his mercy ſpar'd;
Ingratitude was his reward.

Prieſt of Hercules, *Mr. Beard.*

Yet Agis triumph'd in his fall;
For Virtue triumphs over all;
Great, ſuperior to his fate,
He only griev'd for Sparta's ſtate:
When Jove decrees a nation's doom,
He calls their heroes to the tomb.
Fearleſs they fall, immortal riſe,
And claim the freedom of the ſkies.

CHORUS.

Agis triumph'd in his fall,
Virtue triumphs over all!
Such a King ſhall ne'er return,
Our country and ourſelves we mourn.

Chorus of all.

Now in peace our hero lies,
Ceas'd his toil, his race is run;
Freedom is the glorious prize
Agis for his people won.

An Epitaph upon Johnny Armſtrong.

HERE lies the mortal part of poor Johnny Armſtrong,
Who from his ſetting out in life
Gave an early promiſe of what he afterwards performed.
He enter'd upon the ſervice of the field
With incredible intrepidity,
And run for a few years
Almoſt an uninterrupted courſe of victories.
He got the ſtart of every thing that oppos'd him,
Was more expeditious than Cæſar,
And was never known to inſult thoſe he had conquer'd;
Or detract from thoſe, who were ſuperior to himſelf.
His temper was always equal,
Never too much elated with ſucceſs,
Or dejected in diſtreſs:
His numerous conqueſts teſtify the former,
And the ſcarcity of his defeats is ſufficient to certify the latter.
He wanted no other ſpur,
Than his own ambition and thirſt of glory;
If they at any time hurried him on too raſhly,
He could patiently bear the curb of him,
Who was ſet over him.
To ſum up his public character in a few words;
If any body ever was,
He certainly was cut out by Nature for the field,
In which ſervice he preſerved to his dying day,
A credit to his maſter, and an honour to his country.

Reader, however you may admire his public character, his private life will much more charm you. All his good qualities were entirely the gift of Nature; and like a true *Houyhnhmn*, he never ſpoke the thing which was not. Want of humanity was never objected to him by ſuch as properly conſidered the rank of life he filled. He was moderate; neither coſtly, nor mean in his diet; ſober even to abſtinence, for he was never known to drink a glaſs of wine in his life; or eat of more than one, or two things at moſt at a meal; ſo virtuous that he never knew woman. He was rather tall in his perſon, of excellent parts, well proportioned, and of a beautiful complexion. If he had any religion, it was the religion of nature; but the whole tenor of his life ſhews he was no atheiſt. And if he did not live in the obſervance of all the commandments, it is but juſtice to his aſhes to ſay, he never broke one of them to his dying day.

Windſor. *Tranſlation.*

Tranſlation of a French Ode in Lloyd's Evening-Poſt.

SOUBISE and Lorrain in diſpute
Concerning their hapleſs miſchance;
To the gen'ral of Auſtria, thus ſaid
The doughty commander of France.

'That you always are vanquiſh'd, dear Charles,
'Surpriſes me not, by my troth:
'For Frederic you know, *entre nous*,
'Is more than a match for us both.

'But at Breſlau how came you to leave
'So many brave men in diſgrace?
'*Mai foi!* I'd have led them all off,
'If I had been there in your place.'

"True, anſwer'd Lorrain, I agree,
"This you, with your Frenchmen, had done:
"And mine too had got clear away,
"If they, like the French, could have *run*."

Ode on Death. Tranſlated from the French of the King of Pruſſia, by Dr. HAWKESWORTH.

YET a few years, or days perhaps,
Or moments paſs in ſilent lapſe,
And time to me ſhall be no more;
No more the ſun theſe eyes ſhall view;
Earth o'er theſe limbs her duſt ſhall ſtrew,
And life's fantaſtic dream be o'er.

Alas! I touch the dreadful brink,
From Nature's verge impell'd I ſink,
And endleſs darkneſs wraps me round!
Yes, death is ever at my hand,
Faſt by my bed he takes his ſtand,
And conſtant at my board is found.

Earth, air, and fire, and water join
Againſt this fleeting life of mine,
And where for ſuccour can I fly?
If art with flatt'ring wiles pretend
To ſhield me like a guardian friend,
By art, ere Nature bids, I die.

I ſee this tyrant of the mind,
This idol fleſh, to duſt conſign'd,
Once call'd from duſt by Pow'r divine;
Its features change, 'tis pale, 'tis cold—
Hence, dreadful ſpectre! to behold
Thy aſpect, is to make it mine.

And can I then with guilty pride,
Which fear nor ſhame can quell nor hide,
This fleſh ſtill pamper and adorn!
Thus viewing what I ſoon *ſhall be*,
Can what I *am* demand the knee,
Or look on aught around with ſcorn?

But then this ſpark that warms, that guides,
That lives, that thinks, what fate betides?
Can this be duſt, a kneaded clod!
This yield to death! the ſoul, the mind,
That meaſures heav'n, and mounts the wind,
That knows at once itſelf and God!

Great Cauſe of all, above, below,
Who knows Thee, muſt for ever know,
Immortal and divine!
Thy image on my ſoul impreſt,
Of endleſs being is the teſt,
And bids Eternity be mine!

Tranſporting thought!—but am I ſure
That endleſs life will joy ſecure?
Joys only to the juſt decreed!
The guilty wretch, expiring, goes
Where vengeance endleſs life beſtows,
That endleſs miſery may ſucceed.

Great God! how awful is the ſcene!
A breath, a tranſient breath between;
And can I jeſt, and laugh, and play?
To earth, alas! too firmly bound,
Trees deeply rooted in the ground,
Are ſhiver'd when they're torn away.

Vain joys, which envy'd greatneſs gains,
How do you bind with ſilken chains,
Which aſk Herculean ſtrength to break!
How with new terrors have ye arm'd
The pow'r whoſe ſlighteſt glance alarm'd!
How many deaths of one ye make.

Yet, dumb with wonder I behold
Man's thoughtleſs race, in error bold,
Forget or ſcorn the *laws* of Death;
With *theſe* no projects coincide,
Nor vows, nor toils, nor hopes, *they* guide,
Each thinks he draws immortal breath.

Each, blind to fate's approaching hour,
Intrigues, or fights, for wealth or pow'r,

And

And ſlumb'ring dangers dare provoke;
And he, who tott'ring ſcarce ſuſtains
A cent'ry's age, plans future gains,
And feels an unexpected ſtroke.

Go on, unbridled deſp'rate band,
Scorn rocks, gulphs, winds, ſearch ſea and land,
And ſpoil new worlds wherever found.
Seize, haſte to ſeize, the glitt'ring prize,
And ſighs and tears, and pray'rs deſpiſe,
Nor ſpare the temple's holy ground.

They go, ſucceed, but look again,
The deſp'rate band you ſeek in vain,
Now trod in duſt the peaſant's ſcorn.
But who that ſaw their treaſures ſwell,
That heard th' inſatiate vow rebel,
Wou'd e'er have thought them mortal born?

See the world's Victor mounts his car,
Blood marks his progreſs wide and far,
Sure he ſhall reign while ages fly;
No, vaniſh'd like a morning cloud,
The Hero was but juſt allow'd
To fight, to conquer, and to die.

And is it true, I aſk with dread,
That nations heap'd on nations bled
Beneath his chariot's fervid wheel,
With trophies to adorn the ſpot
Where his pale corſe was left to rot,
And doom'd the hungry reptile's meal?

Yes, Fortune, weary'd with her play,
Her toy, this Hero, caſts away,
And ſcarce the form of Man is ſeen:
Awe chills my breaſt, my eyes o'erflow,
Around my brows no roſes glow,
The cypreſs mine, funereal green!

Yet in this hour of grief and fears,
When awful Truth unveil'd appears,
Some pow'r unknown uſurps my breaſt;
Back to the world my thoughts are led!
My feet in Folly's lab'rinth tread,
And Fancy dreams that life is bleſt.

How weak an Empreſs is the Mind,
Whom Pleaſure's flow'ry wreaths can bind,
And captive to her altars lead!
Weak Reaſon yields to Phrenzy's rage,
And all the world is Folly's ſtage,
And all that act are fools indeed.

And yet this ſtrange, this ſudden flight,
From gloomy cares to gay delight,
This fickleneſs, ſo light and vain,
In life's deluſive tranſient dream,
When men nor things are what they ſeem,
Is all the real good we gain.

Epiſtle from the King of PRUSSIA *to Monſieur* VOLTAIRE. *Tranſlated by* J. G. COOPER, *Eſq.*

VOLTAIRE, believe me, were I now
In private life's calm ſtation plac'd,
Let heav'n for nature's wants allow,
With cold indiff'rence wou'd I view
Departing Fortune's winged haſte,
And at the Goddeſs laugh like you.
Th' inſipid farce of tedious ſtate,
Imperial duty's real weight,
The faithleſs courtier's ſupple bow,
The fickle multitude's careſs,
And flatt'rer's wordy emptineſs,
By long experience well I know;
And, tho' a Prince and Poet born,
Vain blandiſhments of glory ſcorn.
For when the ruthleſs ſheers of fate
Have cut my life's precarious thread,
And rank me with th' unconſcious dead,
What will't avail that I was great,
Or that th' uncertain tongue of Fame
In Mem'ry's temple chants my name?
One bliſsful moment whilſt we live
Weighs more than ages of renown;
What then do Potentates receive
Of good peculiarly their own?
Sweet eaſe, and unaffected joy,
Domeſtic peace and ſportive pleaſure,
The regal throne and palace fly,
And, born for liberty, prefer
Soft ſilent ſcenes of lovely leiſure
To, what we Monarchs buy ſo dear,
The thorny pomp of ſcepter'd care.
My pain or bliſs ſhall ne'er depend
On fickle Fortune's caſual flight,
For, whether ſhe's my foe or friend,
In calm repoſe I'll paſs the night:
And ne'er by watchful homage own
I court her ſmile, or fear her frown.
But from our ſtations we derive
Unerring precepts how to live.

And

And certain deeds each rank calls forth,
By which is meaſur'd human worth.
Voltaire, within his private cell,
In realms where ancient honeſty
Is patrimonial property,
And ſacred Freedom loves to dwell,
May give up all his peaceful mind,
Guided by Plato's deathleſs page,
In ſilent ſolitude reſign'd
To the mild virtues of a ſage;
But I, 'gainſt whom wild whirlwinds wage
Fierce war with wreck-denouncing wing,
Muſt be, to face the tempeſt's rage,
In thought, in life, and death a King.

WINTER, *a Poem, being a tranſlation of Mr.* WILLIAM THOMPSON'S ODE BRUMALIS.

By the Reverend Mr. TATTERSAL, *late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.*

ALAS! no longer now appear
The ſofter ſeaſons of the year.
Of ſports and loves what Muſe now ſings?
Away my lyre;—boy, break the ſtrings.

Old joyleſs Winter, who diſdains
Your ſprightly, flow'ry, Attic ſtrains,
Wrapt into ſable, calls for airs,
Rough, gloomy, as the rug he wears.

Pleaſure, for ever on the wing,
Wild, wanton, reſtleſs, flutt'ring thing,
Airy ſprings by with ſudden ſpeed,
Swifter than Maro's flying ſteed.

Ah! Where is hid the ſylvan ſcene,
The leafy ſhade, the vernal green?
In Flora's meads the ſweets that grew,
Colours which Nature's pencil drew,
Chaplets, the buſt of Pope might wear,
Worthy to bloom around Ianthe's hair?

Gay-mantled Spring away is flown,
The ſilver-treſſed Summer's gone,
And golden Autumn; nought remains
But Winter with his iron chains.

The feather-footed hours that fly,
Say, "Human life thus paſſes by."

What

What ſhall the wiſe, the prudent? they
Will ſeize the bounty of to-day,
And proſtrate to the Gods their grateful homage pay.

The man, whom Iſis' ſtream inſpires,
Whom Pallas owns, and Phœbus fires,
Whom Suada, ſmiling goddeſs, deigns
To guide in ſweet Hyblæan plains,
He Winter's ſtorms, undaunted ſtill, ſuſtains.

Black louring ſkies ne'er hurt the breaſt
By white-rob'd Innocence poſſeſt.
Roar as ye liſt, ye winds,——begin,——
Virtue proclaims fair Peace within;
Ethereal power! 'tis you that bring
The balmy Zephyrs, and reſtore the Spring.

The Pleaſures of the Mind.

KIND Nature with a mother's joys
Her every art to charm employs,
For man the golden King of day
Pours light, health, beauty, in his ray.
The morn in ſilver treſſes bright,
With milder charms ſalutes his ſight,
And Night her ſhadowy curtain draws,
Indulging ſleep's refreſhing pauſe:
For man the purple-finger'd Hours
Dreſs beauteous Spring in new-born flowers;
Teach her to breathe a rich perfume,
And ſmile with eye-inchanting bloom.
Then ripe in beauty's glowing pride,
Blithe Summer, *Sol*'s refulgent bride,
Bids Plenty revel o'er the plains,
And carol heart-enlivening ſtrains.
Next Autumn calls the ſylvan powers,
To lay him ſoft in ſhady bow'rs,
Where grape and nectarine, plumb and peach,
May tempting hang within his reach!
Laſt, Winter comes to rule the year,
In ſweet viciſſitude ſevere;
See him on *Zembla*'s mountains ſtand,
He ſtretches out his palſied hand,
And all his magazines unfold
Their copious hoards of ice and cold:
The hail in vollies rattles round,
The ſnow deſcending, ſhrouds the ground:
Deep-bellowing burſts of thunder roll,
And pleaſing horror ſwells the ſoul.

With

With ſtill improv'd delight, the Mind
Beholds her powers unconfin'd.
She roves with Nature, and explains
What virtues live in ſecret veins
Of herbs; bids *Flora*'s childen riſe
In naked beauty to her eyes,
To the ſoft ſerenade of gales
Thro' Ocean's liquid realms ſhe ſails,
Thro' pearly worlds, thro' coral groves,
Where every ſcaly wonder roves:
With *Phœbus*, in his chariot driv'n,
She journeys thro' th' expanſe of heav'n:
Now rolling round on *Saturn*'s ring,
Now roving on the comet's wing,
And urging ſtill her airy flight,
She gains thoſe ſmiling realms of light,
Where ſons of bliſs, immortals dwell,
In golden groves of Aſphodel.
Now conſcious of celeſtial ſkill,
Her forming pow'r ſhe tries at will,
Her pencil weds aſſenting dies,
And ſee a new-born world ariſe.
Here charms the eye the bloſſom'd grove,
Where, looking bliſs, young lovers rove;
There ſerpentine the river glides,
And nibbling flocks adorn its ſides.
Soft'ning to fleſh the marble lives,
And takes each attitude ſhe gives:
Here nerv'd to ſtrength the hero ſtands,
There orators extend their hands;
The patriot here, by Freedom's ſide,
Smiling pours out the vital tide;
Here Beauty charms the gazing eye,
The Loves and Graces waiting by:
Is it the breeze that wakes the ſpring?
Or ſay, does *Philomela* ſing,
And bid the liſt'ning ear rejoice?
'Tis Muſic tunes her heav'nly voice,
Her voice of ſweeteſt ſkill to raiſe
The drooping heart ten thouſand ways.
Now heav'n-caught fury fires the ſoul,
And ſpurning oft earth's dull controul,
Vent'rous ſhe wings her full-plum'd flight,
Detects new regions of delight;
Led by enchantreſs Fancy roves
The Muſes gay ideal groves,
Where countleſs beings ſtrike her eye,
Confus'd in glitt'ring novelty:

But what the varied year's delight,
Or what the mental ken ſo bright,
Or what the kind inſpiring Muſes,
To bleſs that genuine love transfuſes!
The parent's fond impaſſion'd flow,
The filial, duteous, grateful glow,
Congenial friendſhip, heav'nly true,
And pity preſſing balmy dew;
The feaſt of Converſe, that diſpenſes
Bliſs to the heart, and all the ſenſes,
Where Reaſon, Mirth, Good-humour ſit,
And beauty ſparkles into wit.
Here too, as in the natural ſcene,
Triumphs the Mind, creative queen,
Here Fancy, with illuſion kind,
Indulges every longing mind,
Brings to the lover in deſpair
His mutually-impaſſion'd fair,
Adorns the meaneſt female face
With beauties cull'd from ev'ry grace;
Inſtructs Ambition's ſlave to nod,
And bids the reptile ſoar a God,
Applauds the bard's proſaic ſongs,
Gives eloquence to ſtamm'ring tongues,
Lets Ocean's ſons their haven gain,
Unbinds the captive's galling chain;
On Poverty each joy beſtows,
From rich humanity that flows,
Gives her at once herſelf to bleſs,
And charm the virtues in diſtreſs,
Yet ſtill reſerves the ſapient mind,
Her darling free-born joy behind,
When with fond eyes ſhe loves to trace
The beauties of her moral race,
And with blithe confidence can ſay
She liv'd with Virtue ev'ry day,
That ſtill ſhe urg'd life's great deſign,
To fit herſelf for bliſs divine.
Then Conſcience lends the plauſive note
Thro' every ſenſe of joy to float,
Strikes muſic from each vital ſtring
That envies not when angels ſing,
Diſſolv'd in ecſtacy ſhe lies,
And ſweetly pre-enjoys the ſkies.

To PEACE.

COME lovely gentle Peace of mind
With all thy ſmiling nymphs around,
Content and Innocence combin'd,
With wreaths of ſacred olive crown'd.

Come

Come thou, that lov'ſt the walk at eve,
The banks of murm'ring ſtreams along,
That lov'ſt the crowded court to leave,
And hear the milk-maid's ſimple ſong;
That lov'ſt with Contemplation's eye
The headlong cataract to view;
That foams and thunders from on high,
While echoes oft the ſound renew;
That lov'ſt the dark ſequeſter'd wood,
Where Silence ſpreads her brooding wings,
Nor leſs the lake's tranſlucent flood,
The moſſy grotts and bubbling ſprings.
With thee the lamp of Wiſdom burns,
The guiding light to realms above;
With thee, the raptur'd mortal learns
The wonders of celeſtial love.
With thee, the poor have endleſs wealth,
And ſacred freedom glads the ſlave,
With thee, the ſick rejoice in health,
The weak are ſtrong, the fearful brave.
O lovely gentle Peace of mind!
Be thou on earth my conſtant gueſt,
With thee, whate'er on earth I find,
The pledge of heaven, ſhall make me bleſt.

To a kinſman, on his intended marriage.

1.

SEE! the wild herds of nymphs and ſwains!
A deſpicable throng:
See! how they ſtrive in Hymen's chains,
And drag their plagues along.

2.

Keen Anguiſh, Hate, or waſting Care
On every footſtep treads,
While pining Want, and black Deſpair,
Hang hov'ring o'er their heads.

3.

Yet fools in crowds are following ſtill
Through the ſame thoughtleſs road,
Which leads far wide from Wiſdom's hill,
To Sorrow's dark abode.

4.

See! how they ruſh before the prieſt,
And bid his altars ſmoke:
He deems them juſt above the beaſt,
The fitter for the yoke.

5.

Fondly they view the golden gate,
And haſte to enter in,
Where Mirth diſplays its guileful bait,
And veils the ſnare within.

6.

Blind Cupid helps the dire deceit,
As folly guides his hand,
And laughing Momus hides the cheat,
Till Fancy ties the band.

7.

Then for a while in giddy noiſe
The revels ſhake the plain:
One hour is ſpent in empty joys,
And All beyond is pain.

8.

The dawn appears! the ſhades retire!
And the gay viſion flies:
Loſt are the dreams of fond deſire:
But ſolid woes ariſe.

9.

In ſtrong tumultuous paſſions toſt,
Their comforts ſoon are dead:
Fair Peace and Happineſs are loſt,
And Hope for ever fled.

10.

Juſt is their doom. 'Tis luſt; 'tis gold;
'Tis Sex alone can pleaſe;
While mercenary Love is ſold,
And pairs ſuch minds as theſe.

11.

The village ſwain thus views his flock,
And governs abſolute:
Whilſt he attentive rears his ſtock,
And couples every brute.

12.

Such common things may well be bound
With any of their kind:
But who, young kinſman, ſhall be found
To match thy nobler mind?

13.

The brighteſt nymphs who crowd our ſcenes,
And bid the world admire,
Are but ſome finer clay machines,
Void of celeſtial fire.

14.

Thus China's vaſes give delight;
Trim, gaudy, ſmooth, and gay;
Whilſt gazing females bleſs the ſight,
And wiſh their hearts away.

15. So

15.

So ſhine themſelves in Beauty's dreſs;
As clear their poliſh'd ſkin;
But elſe 'tis all vaſt emptineſs,
Or duſt and filth within.

16.

Uſeleſs alike the painted jar,
And ſhowy tinſel maid:
Both charm the ſenſes, view'd afar,
And pall when near diſplay'd.

17.

Bluſhes and Virtue hence are fled,
In theſe degen'rate days:
This huge rotundity we tread,
And loſt mankind decays.

18.

Few heavenly forms adorn the ſtage,
Since Nature waxes old:
One is the labour of an age
Wrought in a perfect mould.

19.

Could I but find that ſingle She,
Incomparable Boy!
Stamp'd with the hand which faſhion'd Thee,
And pure without alloy,

20.

Then ſhould my Muſe to Hymen bend,
And ſhout his wheels along,
With eager joy his ſteps attend,
And tune the grateful ſong.

21.

And lo! propitious to my vows,
Behold! the God appears,
Smiling he leads thy deſtin'd ſpouſe,
And chaſes all my fears.

22.

Fair Virgin, hail! hail, blooming Fair!
Thrice hail! exalted Maid!
High as my warmeſt wiſhes were,
They nobly here are paid.

23.

Bleſt are mine eyes which view the ſight:
But doubly bleſt is He
Who gives thy gentle thoughts delight,
And reſts his ſoul on Thee.

24.

With conſcious Innocence ſhe moves
Where Honour points the way;
Sage Pallas all her ſteps approves,
And glads the nuptial day.

25.

Here praiſe is weak; here words are vain;
Let Fancy reign ſupreme:
Since Pope in his ſublimeſt ſtrain,
Muſt ſink beneath the theme.

The latter part of Chap. VI. *of St. Matthew, Paraphraſed.*

By the late celebrated Mr. THOMSON, *Author of the* SEASONS.

WHEN my breaſt labours with oppreſſive care,
And o'er my cheek deſcends the falling tear,
While all my warring paſſions are at ſtrife,
Oh, let me liſten to the word of life!
Raptures deep-felt his doctrines did impart,
And thus he rais'd from earth the drooping heart.
Think not, when all your ſcanty ſtores afford
Is ſpread at once upon the ſparing board;
Think not, when worn the homely robe appears,
While on the roof the howling tempeſt bears;
What farther ſhall this feeble life ſuſtain,
And what ſhall cloath theſe ſhivering limbs again.
Say, does not life its nouriſhment exceed?
And the fair body its inveſting weed?
Behold! and look away your low deſpair———
See the light tenants of the barren air:
To them, nor ſtores, nor granaries belong,
Nought but the woodland, and the pleaſing ſong;
Yet, your kind heavenly Father bends his eye
On the leaſt wing that flits along the ſky.
To him they ſing, when Spring renews the plain,
To him they cry in Winter's pinching reign;
Nor is their muſic, nor their plaint in vain:
He hears the gay, and the diſtreſsful call,
And with unſparing bounty fills them all.
Obſerve the riſing lily's ſnowy grace,
Obſerve the various vegetable race;
They neither toil nor ſpin, but careleſs grow,
Yet ſee how warm they bluſh! how bright they glow!
What regal veſtments can with them compare!
What King ſo ſhining! or what Queen ſo fair!
If, careleſs thus the fowls of heav'n he feeds,
If, o'er the fields ſuch lucid robes he ſpreads;
Will he not care for you, ye faithleſs ſay!
Is he unwiſe, or are you leſs than they?

On reading HUTCHINSON *on the Paſſions.*

THOU who thro' Nature's various faults canſt rove,
And ſhew what ſprings our eager paſſions move,
Teach us to combat anger, grief, and fear,
Recall the ſigh, and drop the falling tear.
Oh! be thy ſoft philoſophy addreſt
To the untroubled ear and tranquil breaſt!
To theſe be all thy peaceful maxims taught,
Who idly roam amidſt a calm of thought;
Whoſe ſouls were ne'er by love or hate poſſeſt,
Who ne'er were wretched, and who ne'er were bleſt;
Whoſe fainter wiſhes, pleaſures, fears, remain,
Dreams but of bliſs, and ſhadows but of pain.
Serenely ſtupid—"So ſome ſhallow ſtream
"Flows gently thro' the valley, ſtill the ſame;
"Whom no rude winds can ever diſcompoſe,
"Who fears no winter rains, nor falling ſnows,
"But ſlowly down its flow'ry border creeps,
"While the ſoft zephyr on its boſom ſleeps."
Oh! could'ſt thou teach the tortur'd ſoul to know,
With patience, each extreme of human woe;
To bear with ills, and unrepining prove
The frowns of fortune, and the racks of love;
Still ſhould my breaſt ſome pious moment ſhare,
Still riſe ſuperior to each threatening care,
Nor fear approaching ills, or diſtant woes,
But in Philemon's abſence find repoſe.

EPHELINDA.

To FEAR.

O Thou, dread foe to honour, wealth and fame,
Whoſe tongue can quell the ſtrong, the fierce can tame,
Relentleſs Fear! ah! why did fate ordain
My trembling heart to own thy iron reign?
There are, thrice happy! who diſdain thy ſway,
The merchant wand'ring o'er the wat'ry way;
The chief ſerene before th' aſſaulted wall;
The climbing ſtateſman thoughtleſs of his fall;
All whom the love of wealth or pow'r inſpires,
And all who burn with proud Ambition's fires:
But peaceful bards thy conſtant preſence know,
O thou of ev'ry glorious deed the foe!
Of thee the ſilent ſtudious race complains,
And Learning groans a captive in thy chains.
The ſecret wiſh when ſome fair object moves,
And cautious Reaſon what we wiſh approves,

Thy gorgon front forbids to graſp the prize,
And ſeas are ſpread betwixt, and mountains riſe.
Thy magic arts a thouſand phantoms raiſe,
And fancy'd deaths and dangers fill our ways;
With ſmiling Hope you wage eternal ſtrife,
And envious ſnatch the cup of joy from life.
O leave, tremendous pow'r! the blameleſs breaſt,
Of guilt alone the tyrant, and the gueſt;
Go, and thy train of ſable horrors ſpread
Where Murder meditates the future deed,
Where Rapine watches for the gloom of night,
And lawleſs Paſſion pants for others right;
Go to the bad, but from the good recede,
No more the foe of ev'ry glorious deed.

The LOVER CURED.

Imitated from the Italian of METASTASIO.

THE indulgent gods unveiling thy deceit,
Nicè, at length have pity'd the diſtreſt:
The wretch ſo late a captive in thy net,
Is now with freedom, real freedom, bleſt.

No more to hide my love, deſpair and ſhame,
My brow diſſembled airs of ſcorn diſplays;
No more my colour changes at thy name,
Nor beats my heart tumultuous when I gaze.

Dream I? no more in dreams thy form I ſee:
No more thy charms my earlieſt thought employ;
Thou'rt abſent, I perceive no wiſh for thee;
Thou'rt preſent, and I feel nor pain, nor joy.

Calm I can meet, and calm can paſs thee by;
Unhumbled can reflect I fail'd to pleaſe;
Can talk about thy lip or radiant eye;
Nay, talk with rivals, and yet talk with eaſe.

Frown'ſt thou diſdainful? know thy frowns are vain!
Smil'ſt thou? thy ſmiles no ecſtacies impart:
Thoſe lips no more their wonted power retain;
Nor find thoſe eyes a paſſage to my heart.

If now of gay or gloomy mood I be;
Nor thou the bliſs creat'ſt, nor thou the care:
Hills, woods, and meads can pleaſe tho' far from thee;
Nor lours the deſart leſs when thou art there.

Still, when I view thee, I confeſs thee fair;
Yet equal charms in other nymphs allow:
And (may thy ear the rude expreſſion bear!)
That face, once faultleſs, is not faultleſs now.

When

When from my tortur'd heart the ſhaft I drew,
Sighs, ſtruggling after ſighs, convulſive ſtole:
For oh! 'twas hard thy empire to ſubdue;
'Twas hard th' impetuous paſſion to controul.

The linnet, fluttering on the bird-lime ſprays,
Thus leaves his captiv'd feathers, and is free;
But ſoon his little wings new plum'd diſplays,
And flies with caution by the fatal tree.

So much of freedom and of eaſe I boaſt;
Miſtaken Nicè thinks I ſtill adore:
But do not thoſe declaim on hardſhips moſt,
Who moſt have felt them, and who feel no more?

The warrior thus deſcribes th' embattled plain;
Thus bares his ſcars, thus fights his perils o'er:
Thus the freed ſlave o'erjoy'd points out the chain,
Which late he dragg'd on Afric's hoſtile ſhore.

I ſpeak of freedom, 'tis the theme I love,
Nor care if Nicè credit what I ſay;
I ſpeak, nor curious aſk, if ſhe approve,
Or, when ſhe names me, if ſhe's grave or gay.

Thus part a fickle fair, and lover true;
Let thoſe, who loſe the moſt, the moſt regret!
A heart ſo faithful thou can'ſt ne'er ſubdue;
It is not hard to find a new coquet.

The INDIAN PHILOSOPHER.

1.

WHY ſhould our joys transform to pain?
Why gentle Hymen's ſilken chain
A plague of iron prove?
Good Gods! 'tis ſtrange the chain that binds
Millions of hands, ſhould leave their minds
At ſuch a looſe from love!

2.

In vain I ſought the wond'rous cauſe,
Search'd the wide fields of nature's laws,
And urg'd the ſchools in vain;
'Till deep in thought, within my breaſt
My ſoul retir'd, and Slumber dreſt
A bright inſtructive ſcene.

3.

O'er the wide land, and croſs the tide,
On Fancy's airy wing I ride;
Sweet rapture of the mind!
'Till on the banks of Ganges' flood,
In a tall antient grove I ſtood,
For ſacred uſe deſign'd.

4.

Hard by a venerable prieſt,
Ris'n with his God, the Sun, from reſt,
Began his morning ſong:
Thrice he conjur'd the murm'ring ſtream,
The birth of ſouls was all his theme,
And half divine his tongue.

5.

He ſang th' eternal rolling flame,
That vital maſs that's ſtill the ſame,
Does all our minds compoſe;
Whence ſhap'd in twice ten thouſand frames,
Whence differing ſouls of different names
And different paſſions roſe.

6.

The mighty Pow'r that form'd the mind,
One mould for ev'ry two deſign'd;
Then bleſt the new-born pair;
This be a match for this, he ſaid:
Then down he ſent the ſouls he made,
To ſeek them bodies here.

7.

But parting from their warm abodes,
They loſt their fellows on the roads,
And never join'd their hands:
O cruel chance, and croſſing Fates!
Our Eaſtern ſouls have loſt their mates
On Europe's barbarous lands.

8.

Thus ſung the wond'rous Indian bard;
My liſt'ning ear attentive heard;
Whilſt Ganges ceas'd to flow;
Sure then, ſaid I, could I but ſee
The gentle Nymph that twin'd with me,
I might be happy too.

9.

Some courteous angel tell me where,
What diſtant lands the unknown fair,
Or diſtant ſeas detain;
Swift as the wheel of nature rolls,
I'd fly to meet and mingle ſouls,
And wear the joyful chain.

To the NYMPH *of* P*** WATERS.

——— καλιςον ὑδωρ επι γαιαν ἱησιν. Hom.

I.

O Green-ſtol'd Nymph, whoſe fount reſtor'd my fair,
When ſickneſs crop'd the beauties of her face;
Ne'er may the rainy South thy pow'rs impair
Nay never reptile foul thy ſtream diſgrace.

II.

While on the T—— deep-harrowing Winter reigns,
Not the leaſt wrinkle may thy ſurface know;
And while the north binds E— in icy chains,
In lapſe unfetter'd may thy waters flow.

III.

May Spring's firſt cowſlips on thy borders bloom;
Thy banks firſt echo to the cuckoo's lay;
Firſt round thee, Fragrance fling each rich perfume;
Thy thickets firſt exclude the noon-tide ray.

IV.

What time blythe Auguſt on thy margin plays,
To thee, ſweet-featur'd Nymph (ſo Jove ordains)
Each year bland Health a ſolemn viſit pays,
And, while thy groves are green, with thee remains.

V.

O may no wayward hags, of aſpect foul,
Brew their dire potions near thy willowed ſpring;
Nor melt the waxen ſemblance, as they howl
Dread orgies to their grimly-ſmiling king.

VI.

But oft when Night has hung with black the ſky,
And only Heſper ſheds his ſilent ray,
May dapper Fays around their revels ply,
Till Chanticleer awake the dawn of day.

VII.

Oft may their muſic lonely trav'lers cheer,
And ſwains belated oft their lights perceive;
Thy rills ſhall ſtop their dimply courſe to hear,
And love-lorn Philomel forget to grieve.

VIII.

May gay-dreſt Pleaſure wanton on thy plains,
May vaſt increaſe thy ploughman's toil repay;
May never clarion fright thy peaceful ſwains,
Nor battle tear them from their wives away.

IX. Thy

IX.

Thy healing powers the Youth ſhall yearly ſing,
And Age, recruited, wreaths on thee beſtow;
For, truſt the preſcient Muſe, O virtuous Spring!
While murmurs Helicon, thy fount ſhall flow.

X.

Not mine, be told the truth, not mine the lays,
Unheard, the favour of the Nine I ſue;
Love cull'd this chaplet of immortal praiſe,
And grateful ſprinkled with Caſtalian dew.

An Epiſode. From AVON; *a Poem in three parts.*

IN ages paſt, as holy bards record,
Locrine of fair Loegria's fields was lord;
From Brutus he; who ſpread at Heaven's command
His fated ſails for Albion's happy land:
His ſails the valiant Corinæus bore
His bold aſſociate to the chalky ſhore.
Tho' much the chief for arduous deeds might claim,
His daughter's beauty match'd his arms in fame.
Yet lovely as ſhe ſhone, ſhe ſhone in vain
To Locrine's eyes, and met with cold diſdain:
Tho' to give firmneſs to the tott'ring throne,
And make her *father*'s dreaded pow'r his own,
The Prince with pray'rs and policy comply'd,
And made the ſlighted Gueldolen his bride.
Peace took her flight, for Love had never ſpread
His joyous pinions o'er the nuptial bed.
But ſoon th' ill-fated chief was doom'd to prove
The power of charms and tyranny of love.
When fled the Hun before his conqu'ring hoſt,
And left his name to boiſt'rous Humber's coaſt,
A *Nymph* as Summer warm, and ſweet as Spring,
Enrich'd the ſpoils of fair Loegria's King.
The victor's eye the lovely captive ſeiz'd,
At once ſhe pain'd him, and at once ſhe pleas'd.
Diſtreſs had ſoften'd ev'ry tender grace,
And pour'd reſiſtleſs languor o'er her face.
Love made th' aſſault, and ſoon at large poſſeſs'd,
With all a conqu'ror's pomp, his yielding breaſt;
While her great father's awful power alone
Secur'd the ſlighted Gueldolen the throne:
With her awhile the glitt'ring pride remain'd,
But bright Eſtrildis only charm'd and reign'd.
The fair, not conſcious of the ſacred claim,
Approv'd his paſſion, as ſhe ſhar'd his flame.
But Locrine ſought the ſylvan ſhade among,
Studious of peace, and mindful of the wrong,

Some

Some ſtill retreat; remov'd from curious eyes
Of the fierce rival, or aſſiduous ſpies.
As flies the parent bird on wings of fear,
And anguiſh'd ſees the watchful ſhepherd near,
Now ſtops, and looks, and heaves the downy breaſt,
Then trembling hurries to the ſecret neſt:
So the fond *Prince* his cautious viſits paid:
So fear'd obſervance, and ſo watch'd the ſhade.
Their paſſion here the lovely Sabra crown'd,
In life as blameleſs, as in death renown'd,
Behold the ſweet but unexpanded roſe,
Behold in bright effulgence when it glows:
The *Virgin* thus gave hints of ev'ry grace
That time had open'd in her parent face.
Harmonious health of mind and body bleſs'd
Her days with pleaſure, and her nights with reſt;
No care had love for her, no torments hate,
No charms ambition, or allurements ſtate.
Sweet were thy days ere Locrine's reſtleſs mind
Diſdain'd the grant of even a bliſs confin'd.
But tho' *life*'s giddy cup we wiſely blend,
Folly's light froth will yet at laſt aſcend.
Thus when the *Queen* enough diſtreſs'd to prove
The ſharp reflection of rejected love,
Wept her great *ſire*, who full of years and praiſe
Had ſeal'd the glorious records of his days;
He gave the ſcepter to the fav'rite *fair*,
That one the kingdom, and the King might ſhare.
The ſacred vows of holy love abus'd,
Her glory darken'd, and her crown refus'd,
Her charms deteſted, and a rival bleſs'd,
Were wrongs the *Queen* in tented fields redreſs'd;
There ſtern *Revenge* dug Locrine's early grave,
And ſunk the *fair* beneath th' avenging wave.
Enough is given to *love*, enough to *pride*,
Eſtrildis wrong'd *thee*, and Eſtrildis died.
Inſatiate *fury*, what has Sabra done?
Or wherefore expiates errors not her own?
See Death's dread agents hide their reeking hands,
And ſtart with horror at the dire commands.
O feel her tears! O read her ſuaſive eyes!
But what can ruthleſs jealouſy ſuffice?
For trembling as it flow'd, the ſedgy ſtream
Receiv'd the virgin, and retain'd her name.

Verſes

Verſes written at the gardens of WILLIAM SHENSTONE, *Eſq;* *Birmingham*, 1756.

Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet. HOR.

WOULD you theſe lov'd receſſes trace,
And view fair Nature's modeſt face?
See her in ev'ry field-flow'r bloom?
O'er ev'ry thicket ſhed perfume?
By verdant groves, and vocal hills,
By moſſy grots near purling rills,
Where'er you turn your wondering eyes,
Behold her win without diſguiſe!
What tho' no pageant trifles *here*,
As in the glare of courts, appear;
Tho' rarely *here* be heard the *name*
Of rank, of title, pow'r, or fame;
Yet, if ingenuous be your mind,
A bliſs more pure and unconfin'd
Your ſteps attend—Draw freely nigh,
And meet the bard's benignant eye:
On *him* no pendant forms await:
No proud reſerve ſhuts up his gate;
No ſpleen, no party-views controul
That warm benevolence of ſoul,
Which prompts the candid friendly part;
Regardleſs of each gainful art;
Regardleſs of the world's acclaim;
And courteous with no ſelfiſh aim.
Draw freely nigh, and welcome find,
If not the coſtly, yet the kind:
O! he will lead you to the cells
Where every *Muſe* and *Virtue* dwells;
Where the green *Dryads* guard his woods,
Where the blue *Naiads* guide his floods;
Where all the ſiſter *Graces*, gay,
That ſhap'd his walk's meand'ring way,
Stark naked, or but wreath'd with flow'rs,
Lie ſlumbering ſoft beneath his bow'rs.
Wak'd by the ſtock dove's melting ſtrain
Behold *them* riſe! and, with the train
Of nymphs that haunt the ſtream or grove,
Or o'er the flow'ry champain rove,
Join hand in hand, attentive gaze——
And mark the *Dance*'s myſtic *maze*.
" Such is the *waving line*, they cry,
" For ever dear to Fancy's eye:
" Yon ſtream that wanders down the dale,
" The ſpiral wood, the winding vale,

" The

" The path which, wrought with hidden ſkill,
" Slow twining ſcales yon diſtant hill
" With fir inveſted——all combine
" To recommend the *waving line.*
" The wreathing rod of Bacchus fair,
" The ringlets of Apollo's hair,
" The wand by Maia's offſpring borne,
" The ſmooth volutes of Ammon's horn,
" The ſtructure of the Cyprian dame,
" And *each* fair female's beauteous frame,
" Shew, to the pupils of deſign,
" The triumphs of the *waving line.*"

Then gaze, and mark that union ſweet,
Where fair Convex and Concave meet:
And while, quick-ſhifting as you ſtray,
The vivid ſcenes on fancy play,
The lawn of aſpect ſmooth and mild;
The foreſt ground groteſque and wild;
The ſhrub that ſcents the mountain-gale;
The ſtream rough-daſhing down the dale,
From rock to rock, in eddies toſt;
The diſtant lake, in which 'tis loſt;
Blue hills, gay beaming thro' the glade;
Lone urns that ſolemnize the ſhade;
Sweet interchange of all that charms
In groves, meads, dingles, riv'lets, farms!
If aught the fair confuſion *pleaſe*,
With laſting *health*, and laſting *eaſe*,
To *him* who form'd the bliſsful bow'r,
And gave thy life one tranquil hour;
Wiſh *peace* and *freedom*—theſe poſſeſt,
His temperate mind ſecures the reſt.

But if the ſoul ſuch *bliſs* deſpiſe,
Avert thy dull incurious eyes;
Go fix them *there*, where gems and gold,
Improv'd by art, their pow'r unfold;
Go try in courtly ſcenes to trace
A fairer form of Nature's face;
Go ſcorn *Simplicity!* but know,
That all our heart-felt joys below,
That all our virtue loves to name,
Which Art conſigns to *laſting* fame,
Which *fixes* Wit, or Beauty's throne,
Derives its ſource from *her alone.*

ARCADIO.

To the Rev. Dr. Warburton, Dean of Briſtol, on reading his Diſſertation on the Sixth Book of Virgil.

By Richard B—r—ng—r, Eſq.

IN Learning's maze low critics ſtray,
And blindly bold miſtake their way:
Supplying want of taſte and ſenſe
With confidence and falſe pretence;
Still darker each dark paſſage make,
Then conſecrate their own miſtake;
Till by their notes with learning fraught
O'erlaid expires the hapleſs thought.
Thus med'cine quacks preſume to give,
And murder thoſe they mean to live.
Such, Virgil, ſuch, for many an age
Have mangled thy celeſtial page;
Thy nobler meaning left unknown,
And, harder ſtill, impos'd their own:
Sure in that * hell, which you deſign'd
For miſcreants vile of ev'ry kind,
Bad critics well deſerve a place,
Nor mercy e'er ſhould find, nor grace.
Tranſlators to thoſe realms ſhould hold,
Who put off droſs inſtead of gold:
Chief thoſe who thy bright Muſe diſgrace,
And hide with ſtains her beauteous face.
There creeping † Lauderdale ſhould be,
Cold † Trapp, and murd'ring † Ogilby.
But ſee! again the heav'n-born maid
With joy triumphant lifts her head!
For to confute, expoſe, chaſtiſe,
Behold! her great avenger riſe!
Behold! great bard, thy fame to clear,
Behold! thy Warburton appear!
And worthy he in thoſe bleſt plains §
To ſhare the bliſs which Virtue gains.
With thoſe who toil'd to bleſs mankind,
And form to Wiſdom's lore the mind,
Where Tully, Plato, range the glade
With Thine and ‡ Pitt's attendant ſhade.
As the fam'd ‖ chief could ne'er have ſeen
The regions ſway'd by Pluto's Queen,
Without that wond'rous ‡‡ branch whoſe rind
Radiant with gold immortal ſhin'd:

Vide Sixth Book. † Tranſlators of Virgil. § Vide Sixth Book. ‡ A moſt excellent Tranſlator of Virgil's Æneid. ‖ Æneas. ‡‡ Vide Sixth Book.

A bough

A bough of power not leſs divine,
O much-learn'd Warburton! is thine:
Which thou from that fair † tree didſt pull,
Whoſe heav'nly fruit thou lov'ſt to cull:
Hence hell's thick-gloom thou couldſt pervade,
Without the Sybil's potent aid,
Each myſtic ſcene there comprehend,
And trace their latent cauſe and end!
And hence, while wanting this ſure guide,
Others in darkneſs wander'd wide,
And truth from error could not ſee,
But all was doubt and myſtery,
To thy enlighten'd mind alone
The myſteries themſelves || were none.

The following Verſes, dropt in Mr. GARRICK's *Temple of Shakeſpear, at Hampton, are ſaid to have been written by a Gentleman, whoſe poetical productions have been very deſervedly admired.*

WHILE here to SHAKESPEAR *Garrick* pays
His tributary thanks and praiſe,
Invokes the animated ſtone,
To make the poet's mind his own;
That he each character may trace
With humour, dignity, and grace,
And mark, unerring mark, to men,
The rich creation of his pen:
Preſer'd the pray'r—the marble god,
Methinks I ſee aſſenting nod;
And pointing to his laurel'd brow,
Cry—"Half this wreath to you I owe.
Loſt to the ſtage, and loſt to fame,
Murder'd my ſcenes, ſcarce known my name,
Sunk in oblivion and diſgrace
Among the common ſcribbling race,
Unnotic'd long thy Shakeſpear lay,
To Dulneſs and to Time a prey;
But lo! I riſe, I breathe, I live
In you, my repreſentative!
Again the hero's breaſt I fire,
Again the tender ſigh inſpire,
Each ſide, again, with laughter ſhake,
And teach the villain's heart to quake;
All this, my ſon, again I do,
I,——no, my ſon—'tis I and You."
Whilſt thus the grateful ſtatue ſpeaks,
A bluſh o'erſpreads the ſuppliant's cheeks:

† Of Knowledge, alluded to above. || Vide Diſſertation.

" What! half thy wreath? Wit's mighty chief!
O grant! (he cries) one ſingle leaf!
That far o'erpays his humble merit,
Who's but the organ of thy ſpirit."
Phœbus the gen'rous conteſt heard,
When thus the God addreſs'd the bard,
" Here! take this laurel from my brow;
On him your mortal wreath beſtow;
Each matchleſs, each the palm ſhall bear;
In heav'n, the bard; on earth, the play'r."

Prologue to the Tragedy of AGIS. *Written by a Friend. Spoken by Mr.* GARRICK.

IF in theſe days of luxury and eaſe,
A tale from Sparta's rigid ſtate can pleaſe;
If patriot plans a Britiſh breaſt can warm;
If Kings aſſerting liberty can charm;
If virtue ſtill a graceful aſpect wear;
Check not at Agis' fall the gen'rous tear.
He view'd his ſubjects with a parent's love;
With zeal to ſave a ſinking people ſtrove;
Strove their chang'd hearts with glory to inflame;
To mend their morals; and reſtore their name;
Till Faction roſe with Murder at her ſide;
Then mourn'd his country; perſever'd; and died.
That country once for virtue was rever'd;
Admir'd by Greece; by haughty Aſia fear'd.
Then citizens and ſoldiers were the ſame;
And ſoldiers heroes; for their wealth was fame.
Then for the brave the fair reſerv'd her charms;
And ſcorn'd to claſp a coward in her arms.
The trumpet call'd; ſhe ſeized the ſword and ſhield;
Array'd in haſte her huſband for the field;
And ſighing, whiſper'd in a fond embrace,
" Remember! death is better than diſgrace."
The widow'd mother ſhew'd her parting ſon
The race of glory which his ſire had run;
" My ſon, thy flight alone I ſhall deplore,
" Return victorious! or return no more!"
While Beauty thus with patriot zeal combin'd,
And round the laurel'd head her myrtle twin'd;
While all confeſt the Virtuous were the Great;
Fame, valour, conqueſt, grac'd the Spartan ſtate.
Her pow'r congenial with her virtue grew,
And Freedom's banner o'er her phalanx flew;
But ſoon as Virtue dropt her ſick'ning head,
Fame, valour, conqueſt, pow'r and freedom fled.

May

May this ſad ſcene improve each Briton's heart!
Rouſe him with warmth to act a Briton's part!
Prompt him with Sparta's nobleſt ſons to vie;
To live in glory, and in freedom die!

Epilogue to AGIS. *Spoken by Mrs.* PRITCHARD.

A King in bloom of youth for freedom die! ——
Our bard, tho' bold, durſt not have ſoar'd ſo high,
This is no credulous admiring age;
But ſacred ſure the faith of Plutarch's page.
In ſimple ſtyle that ancient ſage relates
The tale of Sparta, chief of Grecian ſtates:
Eight hundred years it flouriſh'd, great in arms,
On dangers roſe, and grew amidſt alarms.
Of Sparta's triumph you have heard the cauſe,
More ſtrong, more noble, than Lycurgus' laws:
How Spartan dames, by Glory's charms inſpir'd,
The ſon, the lover, and the huſband fir'd.
Ye fair of Britain's iſle, which juſtly claims
The Grecian title, land of lovely dames,
In Britain's cauſe exert your matchleſs charms,
And rouſe your lovers to the love of arms.
Hid, not extinct, the ſpark of valour lies;
Your breath ſhall raiſe it flaming to the ſkies.
Now Mars his bloody banner hangs in air,
And bids Britannia's ſons for war prepare;
Let each lov'd maid, each mother bring the ſhield,
And arm their country's champions for the field.
Arm'd and inflam'd each Britiſh breaſt ſhall burn,
No youth unlaurel'd ſhall to you return.
Then ſhall we ceaſe t'exult at trophies won,
In Glory's field, by heroes —— not our own.
France then ſhall tremble at the Britiſh ſword,
And dread the vengeance of her ancient Lord.

Prologue to the tragedy of CLEONE, *by* WILLIAM MELMOTH, *Eſq; ſpoken by Mr.* ROSS.

'TWAS once the mode inglorious war to wage
With each bold bard that durſt attempt the ſtage,
And prologues were but preludes to engage.
Then mourn'd the Muſe, not ſtory'd woes alone,
Condemn'd, with tears unfeign'd, to weep her own.
Paſt are thoſe hoſtile days: and wits no more
One undiſtinguiſh'd fate with fools deplore.
No more the Muſe laments her long-felt wrongs,
From the rude licence of tumultuous tongues;

In peace each bard prefers his doubtful claim,
And as he merits, meets, or miſſes, fame.
'Twas thus in Greece (when Greece fair Science bleſt,
And heav'n-born Arts their choſen land poſſeſt)
Th' aſſembled People ſat with decent pride,
Patient to hear, and ſkilful to decide;
Leſs forward far to cenſure than to praiſe,
Unwillingly refus'd the rival bays.
Yes; they whom candor and true taſte inſpire
Blame not with half the paſſion they admire:
Each little blemiſh with regret deſcry,
But mark the beauties with a raptur'd eye.
Yet modeſt fears invade our Author's breaſt,
With Attic lore, or Latian, all unbleſt;
Deny'd by fate thro' claſſic fields to ſtray,
Where bloom thoſe wreaths which never know decay;
Where arts from kindred arts new force acquire,
And Poets catch from Poets genial fire:
Not thus he boaſts the breaſt humane to prove,
And touch thoſe ſprings which generous paſſions move,
To melt the ſoul by ſcenes of fabled woe,
And bid the tear for fancy'd ſorrows flow;
Far humbler paths he treads in queſt of fame,
And truſts to Nature what from Nature came.

Epilogue to CLEONE. *As originally written by* WILLIAM SHENSTONE *Eſq; ſpoken by Mrs.* BELLAMY.

WELL, ladies——ſo much for the tragic ſtile——
And now, the cuſtom is——to make you ſmile.
" To make us ſmile, I hear *Flippanta* ſay,
" Yes——we have *ſmil'd* indeed—thro' half the play:
" We *always* laugh; when bards, demure and ſly,
" Beſtow ſuch mighty pains——to make us *cry*.
" And truly to bring ſorrow to a criſis,
" Mad-folks, and murder'd babes are *ſhrewd* devices.
" The Captain gone three years——and *then* to blame
" The veſtal conduct of his virtuous dame!——
" What *French*, what *Engliſh* bride would think it treaſon,
" When thus accus'd——to give the brute ſome reaſon?
" Out of my houſe——this night, forſooth——depart!
" A *modern* wife had ſaid——With all my heart:
" But think not, haughty Sir, I'll go *alone!*
" Order your coach——conduct me ſafe to town——
" Give me my jewels—wardrobe—and my maid——
" And pray take care, my pin-money be paid.
" Elſe know, I wield a pen——and, for its glory,
" My dear's domeſtic feats——may ſhine in ſtory!

" Then

" Then for the Child—the tale was truly ſad——
" But who for ſuch a bantling would run mad?
" What wife, at midnight hour inclin'd to roam,
" Would fondly drag her little chit from *home*?
" What has the mother with her child to do?
" Dear brats—the *Nurſery*'s the place for you!"
Such are the ſtrains of many a modiſh Fair!
Yet memoires—not of *modern* growth—declare
The time *has been*, when modeſty and truth
Were deem'd additions to the charms of youth;
Ere, in the dice-box ladies found delight;
Or ſwoon'd for lack of cards, on Sunday night;
When women hid their necks, and veil'd their faces,
Nor romp'd, nor rak'd, nor ſtar'd, at public places:
Nor took the airs of Amazons——for *graces!*
When plain domeſtic virtues were the *mode*;
And wives ne'er dreamt of happineſs abroad,
But cheer'd their offſpring, ſhun'd fantaſtic airs;
And with the *Joys* of wedlock, mixt the *Cares*.
Such modes are paſt——yet ſure they merit praiſe;
For marriage *triumph'd* in thoſe waſſel days:
No virgin ſigh'd in vain; no fears aroſe,
Leſt hoſtile wars ſhould cauſe a dearth of beaux;
By chaſte decorum, Each, affection gain'd;
By faith and fondneſs, what ſhe won, maintain'd.
'Tis yours, ye Fair! to mend a thoughtleſs age,
That ſcorns the preſs, the pulpit, and the ſtage!
To yield frail Huſbands no *pretence* to ſtray:
(Men will be rakes, if women lead the way)
To ſooth——But truce with theſe preceptive lays;
The Muſe, who, dazzled with your ancient praiſe,
On preſent Worth, and modern Beauty tramples,
Muſt own, ſhe ne'er could boaſt more bright *examples*.*

* Addreſſing the boxes.

A FAMILIAR EPISTLE *from a Clergyman to a young gentleman of the Law.*

IN great Auguſtus' golden days,
When Horace held the ſeal of bays,
And ſagely made reports of caſes,
To ſerve all future times and places;
'Twas found that * not a human wight,
(If I conceive his meaning right)
Liv'd eaſy in his own eſtate,
But always prais'd his neighbour's fate.

* Vide Sat. I. Lib. 1.

Succeeding times with ſacred awe
Have the preſcription held as law;
And to this day you cannot find
One creature that with patient mind,
Endures for better and for worſe,
His proper life's determin'd courſe.
  Thus the fond country damſel prays
For balls, and maſquerades, and plays;
Whilſt your town ladies wiſh to rove
Thro' the green glade and ſhady grove:
Thus damns the Captain, blood and fire,
And longs to reſt an eaſy 'Squire;
Whilſt the fierce 'Squire impatient glows
To meet in arms his country's foes:
And thus to cut the matter ſhort,
(For why in long exampling ſport
When one home caſe the truth will ſhew?)
You like the church, and I the law.
  But ſince no pow'r propitious hears
The peeviſh tenor of our pray'rs,
And, ſpite of all our noiſe and din,
You muſt read briefs, I rail at ſin;
Let us, my friend, with nicer eye,
The nature of our ſtations try;
See if the maſs we ſo deplore
Contain not ſome intrinſic ore;
Some latent principle of good,
Sure to be priz'd when underſtood.
  And firſt, t'obſerve an order due,
'Tis proper my own caſe to view;
As children of diſtinguiſh'd taſte,
Still eat the daintieſt bits the laſt.
'Tis true, from crape ſome torment ſprings;
Lean curacies are hateful things;
Diſtreſſing cramps to gen'rous ſpirit;
You ſcarce can treat a friend of merit:
And then your ruſty wig and gown
Excite the laugh of ev'ry clown.
But when ſome years have roll'd away,
Some patron of benignant clay
(Time move thy lazy pinions quicker;)
May ſet me down a thankful vicar.
Now ſee the proſpect brighten round:
Unnumber'd comforts ſtrait abound;
A fair three hundred pounds a year,
Good books, neat houſe, and dainty cheer,
A mettled nag, perhaps a chair,
To ride abroad and take the air;

"In ſummer, ſhade; in winter, fire,"
And Sunday, dinners with the 'Squire.
Mean while, my ev'ry bliſs t'improve,
With life's beſt cordial, gen'rous love,
Some fair Selinda, lovely name,
May gradual catch the tender flame,
And yield the treaſure of her charms
With ſweet reluctance to my arms.
If then my friend ſhould ſteal from town,
And all the anger of the gown,
And ſee his parſon in good caſe,
Bleſt with th' eſteem of all the place;
See the dear partner of my heart,
All ſoftneſs act the kindeſt part;
See young Selindas, good and fair,
Climb up my knee the kiſs to ſhare:
Pray how could Fortune more preſent?
What room for pining diſcontent?
Proceed we now to place the next
(Like good dividers of a text)
In which the Muſe ſhall make appear
You've much to hope, and nought to fear:
Where Garrick holds his mimic reign
(Mere mortals call it *Drury-lane*)
You've ſeen, the firſt or ſecond night,
A new-born piece produc'd to light.
Scene firſt, a friend o' th' hero ſays
Something that puts you in amaze,
Of great events impending near,
And dangers threaten'd to his dear;
But for your life you can't divine,
Where tends this ſtrange involv'd deſign!
The plot proceeds; you've got a clue
That guides the whole performance thro';
And plain as noſe upon your face
You ev'ry turn and winding trace.
Hear, gentle friend, th' inſtructive lay;
Your law reſembles juſt the play.
At *writ*, *ejectment*, *certiorari*,
Trover, and *ſcirefacias* ſtare ye?
Have patience; mark with eye profound;
And ſoon you'll tread on clearer ground.
What viſion's that? In court you ſtand,
With nervous tongue and waving hand,
Pleading the injur'd orphan's cauſe,
Whilſt ſtill Attention ſpeaks applauſe.
And now Britannia's patriots join
To bid you in the ſenate ſhine;

With all a Pitt's undaunted force,
You ſtem Corruption's head-long courſe;
Break the vile chain by Slav'ry worn,
And bleſs the ages yet unborn.
O may I live to ſee the day,
When crowds ſhall hail you on your way,
For ſelfiſh ſchemes of feigning good,
Of frontleſs Rapine juſt ſubdu'd;
The Muſe ſhall pour her ſtrongeſt lays,
And grow immortal by your praiſe.
Thus ev'ry ſtate, at diſtance due,
If we the piece attentive view,
Shews tints in ſweet aſſemblage laid,
Nor all is light, nor all is ſhade.
Then let us, to our lot reſign'd,
All-patient ply with ſteady mind
The preſent oar, howe'er it teize us;——
The reſt when heav'n-born Fortune pleaſes.

The following Fable was written by the ingenious Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMART, *late of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, when his Grace the Duke of Devonſhire (then Lord Hartington) was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

The Engliſh Bull Dog, Dutch Maſtiff, and Quail. A FABLE.

ARE we not all of race divine,
Alike of an immortal line,
Shall man to man afford deriſion,
But for ſome caſual diviſion,
To malice and to miſchief prone,
From climate, canton, or from zone?
Are all to idle diſcord bent,
Theſe Kentiſh men, *thoſe* men of Kent,
And parties and diſtinction make
For parties and diſtinction ſake?
Souls ſprung from an æthercal flame,
However clad, are ſtill the ſame;
Nor ſhould we judge the heart or head,
By air we breathe, or earth we tread.
Dame Nature, who, all meritorious,
In a true Engliſhman is glorious,
Is lively, honeſt, brave, and bonny,
In Monſieur, Taffy, Teague, and Sawny.
Give prejudices to the wind,
And let's be patriots to mankind.
Bigots, avaunt! Senſe can't endure ye,
But Fabuliſts ſhould try to cure ye.

A ſnub-

A ſnub-nos'd dog to fat inclin'd
Of the true hogan-mogan kind,
The fav'rite of an Engliſh dame,
Mynheer Van Trumpo was his name,
One morning as he chanc'd to range,
Met honeſt Towzer on the change,
And who have we got here I beg?
Quoth he,—and lifted up his leg;
An Engliſh dog can't take an airing
But foreign ſcoundrels muſt be ſtaring.
I'd have your French, and all your Spaniſh,
And all the Dutch, and all the Daniſh,
By which our ſpecies is confounded,
Be hang'd, be poiſon'd, or be drowned.
Well, of all dogs it is confeſs'd,
Your Engliſh bull-dogs are the beſt.
I ſay it, and will ſet my hand to't,
Camden records it, and I'll ſtand to't.
'Tis true, we have too much urbanity,
Are overcharg'd with ſoft humanity,
The beſt things muſt find food for railing,
And ev'ry creature has its failing.
And who are you, reply'd Van Trump,
(Curling his tail upon his rump)
Vaunting the regions of diſtraction,
The land of party and of faction?
In all fair Europe who but we
For national œconomy,
For wealth and peace, that have more charms
Than learned arts, or noiſy arms?
You envy us our dancing bogs,
With all the muſic of the frogs,
Join'd to the Tretchſcutz' bonny loon,
Who on the cymbal grinds the tune;
For poets, and the muſes nine,
Beyond compariſon we ſhine;
Oh! how we warble in our gizzards,
With XX's, HH's, and with ZZ's.
For fighting—now you think I'm joking,
We love it better far than ſmoaking,
Aſk but our troops from man to boy,
Who all ſurviv'd at Fontenoy;
'Tis true as friends, and as allies,
We're ever ready to deviſe
Our love, or any kind aſſiſtance
That may be granted at a diſtance;
And if you go to brag, good bye to' ye,
Nor dare to brave the high and mighty.

With all a Pitt's undaunted force,
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That may be granted at a diſtance;
And if you go to brag, good bye to' ye,
Nor dare to brave the high and mighty.

Wrong are you both, rejoins a Quail,
Confin'd within its wirey jail;
Frequent from realm to realm I've rang'd,
And with the ſeaſons, climates chang'd.
Mankind is not ſo void of grace,
But good I've found in ev'ry place.
I've ſeen ſincerity in France,
Among the Germans complaiſance;
In foggy Holland wit may reign,
I've known humility in Spain:
Freed was I by a turban'd Turk,
Whoſe life was one entire good work;
And in this land, fair Freedom's boaſt,
Behold my liberty is loſt.
Deſpis'd Hibernia have I ſeen,
Dejected like a widow'd queen,
Her robe, with dignity long worn,
And cap of liberty were torn,
Her broken fife and harp unſtrung,
On the uncultur'd ground were flung,
Down lay her ſpear, defil'd with ruſt,
And book of learning in the duſt.
Her loyalty ſtill blameleſs found,
And hoſpitality renown'd,
No more the voice of fame engroſs'd,
In diſcontent and clamour loſt.
Ah! dire Corruption, art thou ſpread
Where never viper rear'd its head?
And did'ſt thy baleful influence ſow
Where hemlock nor the night-ſhade grow?
Hapleſs, diſconſolate, and brave,
Hibernia, who'll Hibernia ſave?
Who ſhall aſſiſt thee in thy woe?
Who ward from thee the fatal blow?
'Tis done, the glorious work is done,
All thanks to Heav'n and HARTINGTON.

On the firſt FIT *of the* GOUT.

O Thou! to man the earneſt of fourſcore,
Gueſt of the rich, unenvied by the *poor*,
Thou that great Eſculapius doſt deride,
And o'er his galley-pots in triumph ride;
Thou that was wont to hover near the throne,
And underprop the head that wears the *crown*;
Thou that doſt oft' in privy councils wait,
And guard from ſleep the drowſy eyes of *ſtate*;
Thou that upon the bench art mounted high,
And warn'ſt the *judges* when they tread awry;

Thou that doſt oft' from pamper'd *prelates* toe,
Emphatically urge the pains below;
Thou that art always half the *city*'s grace,
And add'ſt to ſolemn *noddle* ſolemn pace;
Thou that art us'd to ſit on *lady*'s knee,
To feed on jellies, and to drink cold *tea*;
Thou whoſe luxurious ſenſe can ſcarcely bear
The velvet ſlipper and the feather'd chair;
Whence does thy mighty condeſcenſion flow,
To viſit my poor tabernacle?——Oh!
Her knee indulgent here no lady lends,
To watch thy looks no liv'ry'd train attends,
No coſtly jellies, and no chairs of down,
Invite ſoft ſlumbers, or the banquet crown.
Yet what I have for ſolace or for ſtate,
I give, and envy for thy ſake the great.
Jove, who vouchſaf'd in ancient times, 'tis ſaid,
At poor Philemon's cot to take a bed;
Pleas'd with the mean, but hoſpitable feaſt,
Firſt bid him aſk, and granted his requeſt——
O! then (for thou art of the race divine,
Begot on Venus by the God of wine)
Since, not incognito thy viſit paid,
I meet thee conſcious of my wants diſmay'd,
Do thou to entertain thee give me *ſtore*,
Or with thy preſence honour me no more.

A Sea Chaplain's Petition to the Lieutenants in the ward-room, for the uſe of the Quarter Gallery.

In the manner of SWIFT.

YOU that can grant or can refuſe the pow'r,
Low from the ſtern to drop the golden ſhow'r,
When Nature prompts,—O patient deign to hear,
If not a parſon's—yet a poet's pray'r!
Ere taught the def'rence, to commiſſions due,
Preſumptuons I aſpir'd to meſs with you:
But ſince the diff'rence known 'twixt ſea and ſhore,
That mighty happineſs I urge no more,
An humble boon, and of a diff'rent kind,
(Grant heav'n a diff'rent anſwer it may find)
Attends you now——excuſe the rhyme I write,
And tho' I meſs not with you—let me ſh---te.
When in old bards, Arion tunes his ſong,
The raviſh'd dolphins round the veſſel throng,
Verſe ſooth'd of old the monſters of the ſea,
Let then what ſav'd Arion, plead for me:

And, if my Muſe can aught of truth divine,
The boon the Muſe petitions ſhall be mine:
For ſure this anſwer would be monſt'rous odd,
Sh—te with the common tars, thou man of God!
Of thoſe more vulgar tubes that downward peep,
Near where the lion awes the raging deep,
The waggiſh youths, I tell what I am told,
Oft ſmear the ſides with excremental gold;
Say then, when peaſe within the belly pent,
Roar at the port and ſtruggle for a vent,
Say—ſhall I plunge on dung remiſsly down,
And with unſeemly ordure ſtain the gown?
Or ſhall I (terrible to think) diſplode,
Againſt th' unbutton'd pluſh the ſmoaky load?
The laugh of ſwabbers —— heav'n avert the jeſt!
And from th' impending ſtorm preſerve your prieſt!
But grant that Cloacina, gracious queen!
Should keep her od'rous ſhrine for ever clean,
Yet frequent muſt I feel the offenſive ſpray,
When the toſs'd veſſel ploughs the ſwelling ſea;
And, as I ſit, inceſſant muſt I hear
The language of the nauſeous galley * near,
Where blockheads by the liſt'ning prieſt unaw'd,
Tho' uncommiſſion'd, dare blaſpheme their God!
Happy the man † admitted oft to ride
Within the ward-room, where his tools abide,
The man of leather —— he, when Nature calls,
Can for the needful ſpace repoſe his awls,
And, while I ſqueeze o'er ſome ignoble ſeat,
Can diſembogue his vile burgoo in ſtate;
While peeping Nereids ſmoke the Chriſtian jeſt,
The honour'd cobler and neglected prieſt,
And ſwear by Styx, and all the pow'rs below,
In good old heathen days 'twas never ſo.
Ah! what avails it, that in days of yore,
Th' inſtructive laſhes of the birch I bore!
For four long years with logic ſtuff'd my head,
And feeding thought went ſupperleſs to bed,
Since you with whom my lot afloat is thrown,
(O! elegance of taſte to land unknown)
Superior rev'rence to the man refuſe,
Who mends your morals, than who mends your ſhoes. ——
But Criſpin ſaves your purſe, you anſwer—True,
Nor does your prieſt without his offerings ſue:
Whene'er compell'd to uſe the fragrant hole,
In ſome bye nook I'll leave a moral ſcroll:

* A place near the cook-room always throng'd with the ſhips people.
† A cobler who uſed to mend the lieutenants ſhoes in the quarter gallery.

The moral ſcroll who next ſucceeds may reach,
And to his brains apply it, or his br——h,
Thus ſhall your fingers find a juſt excuſe,
And one ſea chaplain boaſt his works of uſe.
And as yourſelves from time to time repair,
To drop the reliques of digeſtion there,
Still may your pork an eaſy exit gain,
Nor make you form one ugly face in vain.
Still may your ſlip, refin'd to amber flow,
In ſtreams ſalubrious, to the brine below;
Nor ever in too hot a current hiſs,
But may all holes prove innocent like this:
Thus grant my ſuit, (as grant unhurt you may)
Your chaplain then without your *groats* will pray.*

An epitaph out of a church-yard in Dorſetſhire, anſwered by a gentleman on the Widower's marrying again in a fortnight.

Epitaph.

For me deceas'd weep not, my dear,
I am not dead, but ſleepeth here:
Your time will come, prepare to die;
Wait but awhile, you'll follow I.

Anſwer.

I am not griev'd, my deareſt life;
Sleep on—I've got another wife:
And therefore cannot come to thee,
For I muſt go to bed to ſhe.

A Gentleman has cauſed a marble to be erected in St. Anne's church-yard, Weſtminſter, for the late King Theodore, Baron Neuhoff, with the following inſcription.

Near this place is interred
THEODORE, King of Corſica,
Who died in this pariſh Dec. 11, 1756,
Immediately after leaving
The King's Bench priſon,
By the benefit of the late act of Inſolvency;
In conſequence of which
He regiſtered his kingdom of Corſica
For the uſe of his creditors.

The grave, great teacher, to a level brings
Heroes and beggars, galley ſlaves and kings;
That Theodore this moral learn'd, ere dead,
Fate pour'd its leſſons on his living head,
Beſtow'd a kingdom, and deny'd him bread.

* Every common ſeaman pays a groat a month out of his pay to the chaplain, but the lieutenants pay nothing.

An

An Account of Books published in 1758.

An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, by the Author of Essays on the Characteristics. Davis *and* Reymers.

FEW books have met with a warmer reception or severer censure than the work before us. Its great success arose partly from the circumstances of the time when it appeared, partly from its own merit. It appeared at a time when our ill success in the war had infused so general a discontent into the minds of all people, that even a severe national satire was not then disagreeable to the public disposition. And as to the work itself, though the observations it contains were many of them not absolutely new; yet they were so methodized, the connection and relation of the several reigning vices and follies were so well marked, and their necessary influence on the prosperity of the state were so well displayed, that it had an appearance of being both new and useful.

The disadvantageous picture given of modern times in this work, revived a topic which has often been discussed with far more zeal and curiosity than real advantage; the dispute concerning the preference of ancient and modern times. *Vetera admirari, præsentia sequi*, has ever been the disposition of mankind. Always discontented with the present state of things, to which however we always conform ourselves, we naturally lament those periods of our lives which we have passed, and the ages that have passed before us. We are apt to take our examples of what we ought to shun from present, and therefore more odious vice; and our examples of what we ought to follow from departed, and therefore less envied and more venerable virtue. These dispositions have led several to throw virtue as far backward as possible, and very extravagantly to maintain that the world is continually degenerating.

Another sort of philosophers have however lately appeared, who take a very different course; they assert that they can discover no superiorities that any former age has over the present. That the degeneracy of the times has been the complaint even of the times which we admire. *Ætas parentium pejor avis tulit, &c.* is one of the oldest complaints in the world. That if we were to suppose mankind proceeded in an uniform progress in degeneracy and corruption, it is inconceivable how human society could have subsisted to this time. On the whole, they conclude that the race of men has been much the same in all ages.

This opinion, full as extravagant as the former, is much more pernicious; it has been found one of the most useful topics for spreading vice and corruption, and in its best consequence can only induce a dull acquiescence in our present condition. An uniform progression in vice is an opinion supported by no reason: and can only be considered as a poetical exaggeration: but, on the other hand, a man must shut his eyes in good earnest, not to perceive that nations

at

at one period ſtrongly marked with all the characters of vice and barbariſm, by ſome happy conjuncture emerge to light at another; and diſtinguiſh themſelves by virtue, by patriotiſm, by thoſe arts that improve and adorn life; theſe nations fall again into corruption, vice, and ignorance. Shall it be ſaid that the Romans were the ſame kind of people in the flouriſhing times of their commonwealth that they were under Nero, or even under Trajan or Antoninus? or the ſame that we find them at this day? However, this degeneracy is by no means in an even courſe, ſome commonwealths having been moſt glorious in their beginnings; others after they had long continued.

The work before us no otherwiſe inclines to the former party, than by a tendency to ſhew the picture of the preſent times in the moſt diſadvantageous point of light. It is indeed throughout a moſt ſevere invective againſt the manners and principles of the times in our country. The work diſcovers reading and reflection; the characters are ſtrongly marked, the ſtile is elegant, pointed, and lively. But the author ſeems ſometimes too minute in his paintings, ſometimes overcharges them; and ſeveral have obſerved that a certain air of arrogance and ſuperiority prevails through the whole work. Theſe were the blemiſhes which took ſomething from the reputation which this piece had at firſt generally and juſtly acquired, on account of thoſe beauties which we have mentioned.

The firſt volume of this work was printed the year before our deſign; but as the ſecond cannot be well underſtood without ſome knowledge of that to which it chiefly refers, we thought it not amiſs to give ſome account of it.

Our author lays it down as the corner ſtone of his ſtructure, that a vain, luxurious, and ſelfiſh effeminacy is the character of the preſent times; and the deſign is to ſhew how far the preſent ruling manners and principles of the nation may tend to its continuance or deſtruction.

The more fully to delineate the reigning manners, he takes the modern man even in his cradle, where he finds the firſt ſeeds of his effeminacy ſown, and follows him through his education, his travels, and his appearance in town, and finds every thing in all calculated to form him to folly, effeminacy, and diſſipation. Here he conſiders the frivolous vein of common converſation, the trifling amuſements in faſhion, and the predominant luſt of gaming. From the amuſements he paſſes to the learning of the times.

"A knowledge of books, ſays he, a taſte in arts, a proficiency in ſcience, was formerly regarded as a proper qualification in a man of faſhion. The annals of our country have tranſmitted to us the name and memory of men, as eminent in learning and taſte, as in rank and fortune. It will not, I preſume, be regarded as any kind of ſatire on the preſent age, to ſay, that, among the higher ranks, this literary ſpirit is generally vaniſhed. *Reading* is now ſunk at beſt into a morning's *amuſement*; till the important hour of dreſs comes on. Books are no longer regarded as the repoſitories of taſte and knowledge; but are rather

rather laid hold of as a gentle relaxation from the tedious round of pleaſure.

He then proceeds to examine the prevailing taſte in muſic, painting, and theatrical entertainments.

"No wonder, if theſe leading characters of falſe delicacy influence our other entertainments, and be attended with a low and unmanly taſte in *muſic*. That divine art, capable of inſpiring every thing that is great or excellent, of rouzing every nobler paſſion of the ſoul, is at length dwindled into a woman's or an eunuch's effeminate trill. The chaſte and ſolemn airs of Corelli, of Geminiani, and their beſt diſciples; the divine and lofty flights of Caldara and Marcello; the elegant ſimplicity of Bononcini; the manly, the pathetic, the aſtoniſhing ſtrains of Handel, are neglected and deſpiſed: while inſtead of theſe, our concerts and operas are diſgraced with the loweſt inſipidity of compoſition, and unmeaning *ſing-ſong*. The queſtion now concerns not the expreſſion, the grace, the energy, or dignity of the muſic; we go not to admire the *compoſition*, but the *tricks* of the *performer*, who is then ſureſt of our ignorant applauſe, when he runs thro' the compaſs of the *throat*, or traverſes the *finger-board* with the *ſwifteſt dexterity*.

While *muſic* is thus debaſed into effeminacy, her ſiſter-art of *painting* cannot hope a better fate: for the ſame dignity of manners muſt *ſupport*; the ſame indignity *depreſs* them. Connoiſſeurs there are, indeed, who have either *taſte* or *vanity*: yet even by theſe, the art is conſidered as a matter of *curioſity*, not of *influence*; a circumſtance which proves their taſte to be ſpurious, undirected, or ſuperficial. But with regard to the public eye; this is generally depraved. Neither the comic pencil, nor the ſerious pen of our ingenious countryman *, have been able to keep alive the taſte of nature, or of beauty. The fantaſtic and groteſque have baniſhed *both*. Every houſe of faſhion is now crowded with porcelain trees and birds, porcelain men and beaſts, croſs-legged Mandarins and Bramins, perpendicular lines and ſtiff right angles: every gaudy Chineſe crudity, either in colour, form, attitude, or grouping, is adopted into faſhionable uſe, and become the ſtandard of taſte and elegance.

Let us then ſearch the theatre for the remains of manly taſte: and *here*, apparently at leaſt, it muſt be acknowledged we ſhall find it. A great genius hath ariſen to dignify the ſtage; who, when it was ſinking into the loweſt inſipidity, reſtored it to the fulneſs of its ancient ſplendor, and, with a variety of powers beyond example, eſtabliſhed *Nature*, *Shakeſpear*, and *Himſelf*.

But as the attractions of the theatre ariſe from a complication of cauſes, beyond thoſe of any other entertainment; ſo while the judicious critic admires his original excellencies, it may be well queſtioned whether the crowd be not drawn by certain ſecondary circumſtances, rather than by a diſcernment of his real powers. Need we any other proofs of this than the conduct of his faſhionable hearers? who ſit with the ſame face of admiration at Lear, an Opera, or a Pantomime.

* Mr. Hogarth's treatiſe on the principles of beauty.

Theſe

These seem to be the main and leading articles of our unmanly winter-delicacies. And as to our summer-amusements, they are much of the same *make*, only *lighter*, and, if possible, more *trifling*. As soon as the season is grown so mild, as that the man of fashion can stir abroad, he is seen lolling in his *post-chariot*, about the purlieus of the town. The manly exercise of *riding* is generally disused, as too coarse and indelicate for the fine gentleman. The metropolis growing thin as the spring advances, the same rage of pleasure, dress, equipage, and dissipation, which in winter had chained him to the town, now drives him to the country. For as a vain and empty mind can never give entertainment to itself; so to avoid the tædium of solitude and self-converse, *parties* of pleasure are again formed; the same effeminacies, under new appearances, are acted over again, and become the *business* of the season. There is hardly a corner of the kingdom, where a *summer scene* of public *dissipation* is not now established: Here the parties meet till the winter sets in, and the separate societies are once more met in London.

Thus we have attempted a simple delineation of the ruling manners of the times: if any thing like ridicule appears to mix itself with this review, it ariseth not from the *aggravation*, but the natural *display* of *folly*.

It may probably be asked, why the ruling manners of our women have not been particularly delineated? The reason is, because they are essentially the same with those of the men, and are therefore included in this Estimate. The sexes have now little other apparent distinction, beyond that of person and dress: their peculiar and characteristic manners are confounded and lost; the one sex having at once advanced into *boldness*, as the other sunk into *effeminacy*."

After the manners, he examines the principles of the times, which he shews must be greatly influenced by them. The principles he considers, are those which tend to counterwork the selfish passions; the principles of religion, honour, and public spirit. As in his first part our author endeavours to establish the general predominance of selfish manners, it follows that the principles which are to counter-work them must be weak. He finds little religion or honour in the nation, and no public spirit.

In his second part he discourses on the public effect of these manners and principles, as they operate on the national capacity; the national spirit of defence; and the national spirit of union; all which he endeavours to shew, they have weakened and destroyed. On the spirit of union his remarks are just and fine.

"When the spirit of union is checked, and divisions arise, from the variety and freedom of opinion only; or from the contested rights and privileges of the different ranks or orders of a state, not from the detached and selfish views of individuals; a republic is then in its strength, and gathers warmth and fire from these collisions. Such was the state of ancient Rome, in the simpler and more disinterested periods of that republic.

But when principle is weakened and manners lost, and factions run high from selfish ambition, revenge, or avarice, a republic is then on the very

very eve of its deſtruction: and ſuch was the ſtate of Rome, in the times of Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Cæſar, Anthony and Auguſtus.

Therefore, before we can determine whether the factions that divide a free country be ſalutary or dangerous, it is neceſſary to know what is their foundation and their object. If they ariſe from freedom of opinion, and aim at the public welfare, they are ſalutary: if their ſource be ſelfiſh intereſt, of what kind ſoever; they are then dangerous and deſtructive."

He concludes with the following very juſt remark.

"That when factions ariſe from the exceſs of military ſpirit and ambition of dominion, they increaſe the national capacity and ſpirit of defence: on the contrary, where factions ariſe from ſelfiſh effeminacy, the national capacity and ſpirit of defence will certainly be weakened or deſtroyed."

In his fourth part are conſidered the ſources of theſe manners and principles, which he chiefly derives from exorbitant trade and wealth; which naturally, in a country conſtituted like ours, produces luxury, avarice and effeminacy in manners; and a deficiency if not a profligacy in principles. He ſums up the whole in the concluſion.

"From theſe accumulated proofs, ſays the author, then, it ſeems evident, that our preſent effeminate manners and defect of principle have ariſen from our exorbitant trade and wealth, left without check, to their natural operations and uncontrouled influence. And that theſe manners, and this defect of principle, by weakening or deſtroying the national capacity, ſpirit of defence, and union, have produced ſuch a general debility as naturally leads to deſtruction.

We might now proceed to confirm theſe reaſonings, by examples drawn from hiſtory. For there is hardly an ancient or modern ſtate of any note recorded in ſtory, which would not, in one reſpect or other, confirm the leading principles on which this argument is built.

In theſe throughout, their ſeveral periods, we ſhould ſee trade and wealth, or (which is in this reſpect equivalent) conqueſt and opulence, taking their progreſs: at one period poliſhing and ſtrengthening; at another, refining, corrupting, weakening, deſtroying, the ſtate that gave them entrance: working indeed in different ways, and under a variety of appearances; by avarice, by faction, by effeminacy, by profligacy; by mixture and combination of all theſe evils; ſometimes dividing a nation againſt itſelf; at others, quelling its ſpirit, and leaving it an eaſy prey to the firſt invader: ſometimes checked by a riſing patriot, or counter-worked by national misfortunes: in one country corrupting manners; in another, principles; in a third, both manners and principles: rendering one people blind, another cowardly, another treacherous to itſelf: ſtealing ſecretly and inſenſibly on one nation; overwhelming another in certain deſtruction.

But to enlarge on theſe ſubjects in that vague and undiſtinguiſhing manner, which moſt writers have purſued in treating them, though it might carry the *appearance* of reaſoning, would in truth be no more than *Declamation* in diſguiſe. And

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to develope and unravel the particularity of cauſes and effects, thro' all their variety of combination and mutual influence, as it would extend this Eſtimate beyond its deſigned limits, muſt be left to make a part of ſome future enquiry."

Notwithſtanding this ſtriking picture of a degenerate age, the author allows us ſome virtues; and admits that we ſtill poſſeſs the ſpirit of liberty, the ſpirit of humanity, and public juſtice in an high degree.

The ſecond volume of this work contains retractions of ſuch miſtakes as the author thinks he has committed in his firſt volume; proofs of his aſſertions; illuſtrations of what had not been fully explained; replies to objections; and ſuch further conſequences as may be deduced from his principles. He concludes this volume with two pictures; one of a great miniſter, the other of a true political writer, for the originals of either the reader cannot poſſibly be at a loſs: of the miniſter he ſays:

"He will not only have honeſt intentions of mind, but wiſdom to plan, and courage to execute.

He will regard the intereſts of the prince and people, as inſeparably and invariably united.

He will, to the utmoſt of his power, aboliſh miniſterial influence on parliament, and diſcourage parliamentary influence among the great.

He will endeavour to deſtroy party diſtinctions; and to unite all men, in the ſupport of the common and national welfare.

In conſequence of this, he will be hated by the corrupt part of the kingdom, high and low, becauſe *their* expectations of advantage, can only ariſe from thoſe diſtinctions and that influence which he labours to aboliſh.

The honeſt and unprejudiced part of the nation will adore him, for the contrary reaſon.

He will be remarkable rather for his knowledge in the great principles of wiſdom and virtue, than in the oblique ways and myſteries of ſelfiſh cunning.

He may be diſplaced once, or more than once, by the power of faction; but the united voice of an uncorrupt people will reſtore him to the favour of the Sovereign; eſpecially in a time of danger. And the oftener he is cut down by corrupt power, the deeper root he will take in the affections of the prince and people, and riſe and flouriſh with renewed vigour.

His private life will be conſiſtent with his public conduct: he will not adopt, but ſcorn the degenerate manners of the times. Above luxury and parade, he will be modeſt and temperate; and his contempt of wealth will be as ſignal as his contempt of luxury.

He will be diſtinguiſhed by his regard to religion, honour, and his country.

He will not deſpiſe, but honour the people, and liſten to their united voice.

If his meaſures are not always clear to the people in their *Means*, they will always be ſo in their *Ends*. In this he will imitate a great Queen, or her great miniſter, 'whoſe po-
'licy was deep, and the means ſhe
'employed were often very ſecret;
'but the ends to which this policy
'and theſe means were directed,
'*were never equivalent.*'

As a natural and happy conſequence of this conduct, ſhould he happen either to *err* in a *de-*

ſign, or fail in its *execution*, an uncorrupt people will ſtill *confide* in him. They will continue to repoſe on his general wiſdom and integrity; will regard him as a kind and watchful father; yet, tho' *wiſe*, not *infallible*.

He will look *forward*, rather than to what is *paſt*; and be more zealous to ſelect and reward thoſe who may do well, than to proſecute thoſe whom, in his own opinion, he may think delinquents.

His principles and conduct, as they will be *hated* by *vile*, ſo they will be *derided* by *narrow* minds, which cannot enlarge their conceptions beyond the beaten track of preſent practice. Prince Maurice was *ridiculed* in his *firſt attempts*, for thoſe very expedients by which he drove the Spaniards out of his country.

If his little or no influence in parliament be objected to him, he will anſwer as Henry the Great did with regard to Rochelle, 'I 'do all I deſire to do there, 'in doing nothing but what I 'ought.'

He will practiſe, 'that double 'oeconomy, which is ſo rarely 'found, or even underſtood. I 'mean not only that inferior 'oeconomy, which conſiſts in the 'management of the receipts and 'iſſues of the public revenue; 'but that ſuperior oeconomy, 'which conſiſts in contriving the 'great ſchemes of negotiation and 'action.'

The laws he frames, will be generous and comprehenſive; that is, in Lord Verulam's nervous expreſſion, 'deep, not vulgar; not made 'upon the ſpur of a particular oc'caſion for the preſent, but out of 'providence of the future; to 'make the eſtate of the people ſtill 'more and more happy, after the 'manner of the legiſlators in an'cient and heroical times.'

Above all, he will ſtudy to reſtore and ſecure upright *manners* and *principles*; knowing *theſe* to be the very *ſtrength* and *vitals* of *every ſtate*.

As by all theſe means he will put the natural and internal ſprings of government into action; ſo he will keep up that action in its full vigour, by employing ability and merit: and hence, men of genius, capacity, and virtue, will of courſe fill the moſt important and public ſtations, in every department.

To fulfil this great purpoſe, he will ſearch for men, capable of ſerving the public, without regard to wealth, family, parliamentary intereſt, or connection.

He will deſpiſe thoſe idle claims, of *priority* of rank, or *ſeniority* in ſtation, when they are *unſupported* by *ſervices* performed in that rank and ſtation: he will ſearch for thoſe, wherever they are to be found, whoſe active ſpirits and ſuperior capacity promiſe advantage to the public.

He will not abuſe this power indulged to him, of ſuperſeding ſuperior rank, by preferring his own favourites. If he finds the appearance of ability and worth among the friends or dependents of his enemies, he will truſt them with the execution of his moſt important deſigns, on the ſucceſs of which, even his own character may depend.

Having no motive, but the welfare of his country; if he cannot accompliſh *that*, by ſuch meaſures as his heart approves, he

will not ſtruggle for a continuance in power, but bravely and peaceably *reſign*.

Whether ſuch a character as is here delineated, may ever ariſe, is a queſtion which it were ſuperfluous for the writer to determine: if ever ſuch a miniſter appears, he will beſt be ſeen by his own luſtre.

There is another character belonging indeed to a much lower walk in life, which might be no leſs ſtrange than that which is here delineated. I mean the character of a political writer, not only *intentionally*, but in *fact* impartial.

This is a character which hath never yet exiſted; nor, probably, will ever appear, in our own country. However, let us attempt a ſketch of this ideal portrait, for the uſe of thoſe who may aſpire to impartiality; and conſider, by 'what 'characteriſtics he would be diſtin-'guiſhed.'

He would chuſe an untrodden path of politics, where no party-man ever dared to enter.

He would be diſliked by party-bigots of every denomination: who, while they applauded one page of his work, would execrate the next.

The undiſguiſed freedom and boldneſs of his manner, would pleaſe the brave, aſtoniſh the weak, diſguſt and confound the guilty.

Every rank, party, and profeſſion, would acknowledge he had done tolerable juſtice to every rank, party, and profeſſion, their own only excepted.

He would be called *arrogant* by thoſe who call every thing *arrogance* that is not *ſervility*.

If he writ in a period, when his country was declining; while he pointed out the means from whence alone honeſt *hope* could ariſe, he would be charged by ſcribbling ſycophants with plunging a nation in *deſpair*.

While he pointed out the abuſes of freedom, and their fatal effects, he would be blackened by deſigning whiſpers, as the enemy of freedom itſelf.

The worthleſs of every profeſſion would be his ſworn enemies; but moſt of all, the worthleſs of his own profeſſion.

As he would be reviled and defamed by the *diſſolute* great, without cauſe, ſo he would be applauded by an *honeſt* people, beyond his deſervings.

Tho' his abilities were ſmall, yet the integrity of his intention would make amends for the mediocrity of his talents.

As ſuch a writer could have little pretenſions to literary fame, ſo he would not be intoxicated with the fumes of literary vanity; but would think with Sheffield, that

One moral, or a mere well-natured deed,
Does all deſert in ſciences exceed.

Yet though he ſcorned the gildings of falſe ambition, and riches acquired by adulation; he might not, poſſibly, be unconſcious of that unſought dignity, that envy'd ſuperiority to wealth and titles, which even the love of wiſdom and virtue give.

Should any of the great, therefore, affect to diſdain him, on account of his private ſtation, he might perhaps reply with Perdita,

I was not much afraid; for once or twice
I was about to ſpeak, and tell him plainly,
The ſelf-ſame ſun that ſhines upon his palace,
Hides not his heavenly viſage from my cottage,
But looks on both alike.

His free and unconquered ſpirit would look down with contempt on views of intereſt, when they came in competition with views of duty.

Nay, were he called to ſo ſevere a trial, he would even dare to make the greateſt and the rareſt of all honeſt ſacrifices, that of friendſhip itſelf, to truth and virtue.

Should the ſenſe of his duty to his country determine him to a farther proſecution of his labours, he would ſay,

If ſuch his fate, do thou, fair Truth, deſcend,
And watchful guard him in an honeſt end;
Kindly ſevere, inſtruct his equal line,
To court no friend, nor own a foe, but thine.
But if his giddy eye ſhould vainly quit
Thy ſacred paths, to run the maze of wit;
If his apoſtate heart ſhould e'er incline
To offer incenſe at corruption's ſhrine,
Urge, urge, thy power; the black attempt confound;
Oh, daſh the ſmoaking cenſer to the ground:
Thus aw'd to fear, inſtructed man may ſee
That guilt is doom'd to ſink in infamy.

A diſcourſe on the Study of the Law, read in the public ſchools at Oxford, Oct. 24, 1758. Octavo.

WE cannot help congratulating the public on the fair proſpect we now have, that one learned foundation at leaſt will fully anſwer the intention of the founder. The diſcourſe before us is a ſolid, judicious and elegant oration, containing at once, an hiſtory of our law, a juſt panegyric on it, arguments for putting the ſtudy of it under proper regulations, and a ſpirited perſuaſive to make that ſtudy ſo regulated, a conſiderable part of academical education, eſpecially for perſons of rank. After ſtrongly urging this to gentlemen in general, he particularly applies to the nobility.

"What is ſaid of our gentlemen in general, and the propriety of their application to the ſtudy of the laws of their country, will hold equally ſtrong or ſtill ſtronger with regard to the nobility of this realm, except only in the article of ſerving upon juries. But, inſtead of this, they have ſeveral peculiar provinces, of far greater conſequence and concern; being not only by birth hereditary counſellors of the crown, and judges upon their honour of the lives of their brother peers, but alſo arbiters of the property of all their fellow-ſubjects, and that in the laſt reſort. In this their judicial capacity they are bound to decide the niceſt and moſt critical points of law; to examine and correct ſuch errors as have eſcaped the moſt experienced ſages of the profeſſion, the lord keeper and the judges of the courts at Weſtminſter. Their ſentence is final, deciſive, irrevocable: no appeal, no correction, not even a review can be had; and to their determination, whatever it be, the inferior courts of juſtice muſt conform; otherwiſe the rule of property would no longer be uniform and ſteady.

Should

Should a judge in the moſt ſubordinate juriſdiction be deficient in the knowledge of the law, it would reflect infinite contempt upon himſelf, and diſgrace upon thoſe who employ him. And yet the conſequence of his ignorance is comparatively very trifling and ſmall: his judgment may be examined, and his errors rectified by other courts. But how much more ſerious and affecting is the caſe of a ſuperior judge, if without any ſkill in the laws he will boldly venture to decide a queſtion, upon which the welfare and ſubſiſtence of whole families may depend! where the chance of his judging right, or wrong, is barely equal; and where, if he chances to judge wrong, he does an injury of the moſt alarming nature, an injury without poſſibility of redreſs!

Yet, vaſt as this truſt is, it can no where be ſo properly repoſed as in the noble hands where our excellent conſtitution has placed it; and therefore placed it, becauſe, from the independence of their fortune, and the dignity of their ſtation, they are preſumed to employ that leiſure which is the conſequence of both, in attaining a more extenſive knowledge of the laws than perſons of an inferior rank: and becauſe the founders of our policy relied upon that delicacy of ſentiment, ſo peculiar to noble birth; which, as on the one hand it will prevent either intereſt or affection from interfering in queſtions of right, ſo on the other it will bind a peer in honour, an obligation which the law eſteems equal to another's oath, to be maſter of thoſe points upon which it is his birthright to decide.

The Roman pandects will furniſh us with a piece of hiſtory not unapplicable to our preſent purpoſe. Servius Sulpicius, a gentleman of the patrician order, and a celebrated orator, had occaſion to take the opinion of Quintus Mutius Scaevola, the oracle of the Roman law; but for want of being converſant in that ſcience, could not ſo much as underſtand even the technical terms, which his counſel was obliged to make uſe of. Upon which Mutius Scaevola could not forbear to upbraid him with this memorable reproof, 'that it was 'a ſhame for a patrician, a noble-'man, and an orator, to be igno-'rant of the law under which he 'lived.' Which reproof made ſo deep an impreſſion on Sulpicius, that he immediately applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law; wherein he arrived to that proficiency, that he left behind him about a hundred and fourſcore volumes of his own compiling upon the ſubject; and became, in the opinion of Cicero, a much more compleat lawyer than even Mutius Scaevola himſelf."

The cauſe of the neglect of the ſtudy of the common law in our univerſities, he delivers thus:

"That ancient collection of unwritten maxims and cuſtoms, which is called the common law, however compounded, or from whatever fountains derived, had ſubſiſted immemorially in this kingdom; and, though ſomewhat altered and impaired by the violence of the times, had in great meaſure weathered the rude ſhock of the Norman conqueſt. This had endeared it to the people in general, as well becauſe its deciſions were univerſally known, as becauſe it was found to be ex-

cellently adapted to the genius of the Engliſh nation. In the knowledge of this law conſiſted great part of the learning of thoſe dark ages; it was then taught, ſays Mr. Selden, in the monaſteries, *in the univerſities*, and in the families of the principal nobility. The clergy in particular, as they then engroſſed almoſt every other branch of learning, ſo, like their predeceſſors the Britiſh druids, they were peculiarly remarkable for their proficiency in the ſtudy of the law. *Nullus clericus niſi cauſidicus*, is the character given of them ſoon after the conqueſt by William of Malmſbury. The judges therefore were uſually created out of the ſacred order, as was likewiſe the caſe among the Normans; and all the inferior offices were ſupplied by the lower clergy, which has occaſioned their ſucceſſors to be denominated *clerks* to this day.

But the common law of England, being not committed to writing, but only handed down by tradition, uſe, and experience, was not ſo heartily reliſhed by the foreign clergy; who came over hither in ſhoals during the reign of the Conqueror and his two ſons, and were utter ſtrangers to our conſtitution as well as our language. And an accident, which ſoon after happened, had nearly compleated its ruin. A copy of Juſtinian's pandects, being newly diſcovered at Amalfi, ſoon brought the civil law into vogue all over the weſt of Europe, where before it was quite laid aſide and in a manner forgotten; though ſome traces of its authority remained in Italy and the eaſtern provinces of the empire. This now became in a particular manner the favourite of the popiſh clergy, who borrowed the method and many of the maxims of their canon law from this original. The ſtudy of it was introduced into ſeveral univerſities abroad, particularly that of Bologna; where exerciſes were performed, lectures read, and degrees conferred in this faculty, as in other branches of ſcience: and many nations on the continent, juſt then beginning to recover from the convulſions conſequent upon the overthrow of the Roman empire, and ſettling by degrees into peaceable forms of government, adopted the civil law, (being the beſt written ſyſtem then extant) as the baſis of their ſeveral conſtitutions; blending and interweaving it among their own feodal cuſtoms, in ſome places with a more extenſive, in others a more confined authority.

Nor was it long before the prevailing mode of the times reached England. For Theobald, a Norman abbot, being elected to the ſee of Canterbury, and extremely addicted to this new ſtudy, brought over with him in his retinue many learned proficients therein; and among the reſt Roger ſirnamed Vacarius, whom he placed in the univerſity of Oxford, to teach it to the people of this country. But it did not meet with the ſame eaſy reception in England, where a mild and rational ſyſtem of laws had long been eſtabliſhed, as it did upon the continent; and, though the monkiſh clergy (devoted to the will of a foreign primate) received it with eagerneſs and zeal, yet the laity, who were more intereſted to preſerve the old conſtitution, and had already

already ſeverely felt the effect of many Norman innovations, continued wedded to the uſe of the common law. King Stephen immediately publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding the ſtudy of the laws, then newly imported from Italy; which was treated by the monks as a piece of impiety, and though it might prevent the introduction of the civil law proceſs into our courts of juſtice, yet did not hinder the clergy from reading and teaching it in their own ſchools and monaſteries.

From this time the nation ſeems to have been divided into two parties; the biſhops and clergy, many of them foreigners, who applied themſelves wholly to the ſtudy of the civil and canon laws, which now came to be inſeparably interwoven with each other; and the nobility and laity, who adhered with equal pertinacity to the old common law; both of them reciprocally jealous of what they were unacquainted with, and neither of them perhaps allowing the oppoſite ſyſtem that real merit which is abundantly to be found in each. This appears on the one hand from the ſpleen with which the monaſtic writers ſpeak of our municipal laws upon all occaſions; and, on the other, from the firm temper which the nobility ſhewed at the famous parliament of Merton; when the prelates endeavoured to procure an act, to declare all baſtards legitimate in caſe the parents intermarried at any time afterwards; alledging this only reaſon, becauſe holy church (that is, the canon law) declared ſuch children legitimate: but, 'all the earls and barons (ſays the parliament roll) with one voice anſwered, that 'they would not change the laws 'of England, which have hitherto 'been uſed and approved.' And we find the ſame jealouſy prevailing above a century afterwards, when the nobility declared with a kind of prophetic ſpirit, 'that the 'realm of England hath never 'been unto this hour, neither by 'the conſent of our lord the king 'and the lords of parliament ſhall 'it ever be, ruled or governed 'by the civil law.' And of this temper between the clergy and laity many more inſtances might be given.

While things were in this ſituation, the clergy finding it impoſſible to root out the municipal law, began to withdraw themſelves by degrees from the temporal courts; and to that end, very early in the reign of King Henry the third, epiſcopal conſtitutions were publiſhed, forbidding all eccleſiaſtics to appear as advocates *in fora ſeculari*; nor did they long continue to act as judges there, not caring to take the oath of office which was then found neceſſary to be adminiſtered, that they ſhould in all things determine according to the law and cuſtom of this realm: though they ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the high office of chancellor, an office then of little juridical power; and afterwards, as its buſineſs increaſed by degrees, they modelled the proceſs of the court at their own diſcretion.

But wherever they retired, and wherever their authority extended, they carried with them the ſame zeal to introduce the rules of the civil, in excluſion of the municipal law. This appears in a particular manner from the

ſpiritual courts of all denominations, from the chancellor's courts in both our univerſities, and from the high court of chancery before mentioned; in all of which the proceedings are to this day in a courſe much conformed to the civil law: for which no tolerable reaſon can be aſſigned, unleſs that theſe courts were all under the immediate direction of the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, among whom it was a point of religion to exclude the municipal law; Pope Innocent the fourth having forbidden the very reading of it by the clergy, becauſe its deciſions were not founded on the imperial conſtitutions, but merely on the cuſtoms of the laity. And if it be conſidered, that our univerſities began about that period to receive their preſent form of ſcholaſtic diſcipline; that they were then, and continued to be till the time of the reformation, entirely under the influence of the popiſh clergy: (Sir John Maſon the firſt Proteſtant, being alſo the firſt lay chancellor of Oxford) this will lead us to perceive the reaſon, why the ſtudy of the Roman laws was in thoſe days of bigotry purſued with ſuch alacrity in theſe ſeats of learning; and why the common law was entirely deſpiſed, and eſteemed little better than heretical.

And, ſince the reformation, many cauſes have conſpired to prevent its becoming a part of academical education. As, firſt, long uſage and eſtabliſhed cuſtom; which, as in every thing elſe, ſo eſpecially in the forms of ſcholaſtic exerciſe, have juſtly great weight and authority. Secondly, the real intrinſic merit of the civil law, conſidered upon the footing of reaſon and not of obligation, which was well known to the inſtructors of our youth; and their total ignorance of the merit of the common law, though equal at leaſt, and perhaps an improvement on the other. But the principal reaſon of all, that had hindered the introduction of that branch of learning, is, that the ſtudy of the common law, being baniſhed from hence in the times of popery, has fallen into a quite different channel, and has hitherto been wholly cultivated in another place. But as this long uſage and eſtabliſhed cuſtom, of ignorance of the laws of the land, begin now to be thought reaſonable; and as by this means the merit of thoſe laws will probably be more generally known; we may hope that the method of ſtudying them will ſoon revert to its ancient courſe, and the foundation at leaſt of that ſcience will be laid in the two univerſities; without being excluſively confined to the channel which it fell into at the times I have been juſt deſcribing.

For, being then entirely abandoned by the clergy, a few ſtragglers excepted, the ſtudy and practice of it devolved of courſe into the hands of laymen; who entertained upon their parts a moſt hearty averſion to the civil law, and made no ſcruple to profeſs their contempt, nay even their ignoranc of it, in the moſt public manner. But ſtill as the ballance of learning was greatly on the ſide of the clergy, and as the common law was no longer *taught*, as formerly, in any part of the kingdom, it muſt have been ſubjected to many inconveniencies, and perhaps would have been gradually

gradually loſt and over-run by the civil, (a ſuſpicion well juſtified from the frequent tranſcripts of Juſtinian to be met with in Bracton and Fleta) had it not been for a peculiar incident, which happened at a very critical time, and contributed greatly to its ſupport.

The incident I mean was the fixing the court of common pleas, the grand tribunal for diſputes of property, to be held in one certain ſpot; that the ſeat of ordinary juſtice might be permanent and notorious to all the nation. Formerly that, in conjunction with all the other ſuperior courts, was held before the king's capital juſticiary of England, in the *aula regis*, or ſuch of his palaces wherein his royal perſon reſided, and removed with his houſhold from one end of the kingdom to the other. This was found to occaſion great inconvenience to the ſuitors; to remedy which it was made an article of the great charter of liberties, both that of King John and King Henry the third, that 'common pleas ſhould no longer 'follow the king's court, but be 'held in ſome certain place:' in conſequence of which they have ever ſince been held (a few neceſſary removals in times of the plague excepted) in the palace of Weſtminſter only. This brought together the profeſſors of the municipal law, who before were diſperſed about the kingdom, and formed them into an aggregate body: whereby a ſociety was eſtabliſhed of perſons, who (as Spelman obſerves) addicting themſelves wholly to the ſtudy of the laws of the land, and no longer conſidering it as a mere ſubordinate ſcience for the amuſement of leiſure hours, ſoon raiſed thoſe laws to that pitch of perfection, which they ſuddenly attained under the auſpices of our Engliſh Juſtinian, King Edward the firſt.

In conſequence of this lucky aſſemblage, they naturally fell into a kind of collegiate order; and being excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a new univerſity of their own. This they did by purchaſing at various times certain houſes (now called the inns of court and of chancery) between the city of Weſtminſter, the place of holding the king's courts, and the city of London; for advantage of ready acceſs to the one, and plenty of proviſions in the other. Here exerciſes were performed, lectures read, and degrees were at length conferred in the common laws, as at other univerſities in the canon and civil. The degrees were thoſe of barriſters (firſt ſtiled apprentices, from *apprendre*, to learn) who anſwered to our bachelors; as the ſtate and degree of a ſerjeant, *ſervientis ad legem*, did to that of doctor."

The author has alſo the following moſt uſeful remarks on certain illiberal notions and practices with regard to a legal education.

"The evident want of ſome aſſiſtance in the rudiments of legal knowledge, has given birth to a practice, which, if ever it had grown to be general, muſt have proved of extremely pernicious conſequence: I mean the cuſtom, by ſome very warmly recommended, to drop all liberal education, as of no uſe to lawyers; and to place them, in its ſtead, at the deſk

deſk of ſome ſkilful attorney; in order to initiate them early in all the depths of practice, and render them more dextrous in the mechanical part of buſineſs. A few inſtances of particular perſons, (men of excellent learning, and unblemiſhed integrity) who, in ſpite of this method of education, have ſhone in the foremoſt ranks of the bar, have afforded ſome kind of ſanction to this illiberal path to the profeſſion, and biaſſed many parents of ſhort-ſighted judgment, in its favour: not conſidering, that there are ſome geniuſes, formed to overcome all diſadvantages, and that from ſuch particular inſtances no general rules can be formed; nor obſerving that thoſe very perſons have frequently recommended by the moſt forcible of all examples, the diſpoſal of their own offspring, a very different foundation of legal ſtudies, a regular academical education. Perhaps too, in return, I could now direct their eyes to our principal ſeats of juſtice, and ſuggeſt a few hints, in favour of univerſal learning: —— but in theſe all who hear me, I know, have already prevented me.

Making therefore all due allowance for one or two ſhining exceptions, experience may teach us to foretel, that a lawyer thus educated to the bar, in ſubſervience to attornies and ſollicitors, will find he has begun at the wrong end. If practice is the whole he is taught, practice muſt alſo be the whole he will ever know: if he be inſtructed in the elements and firſt principles upon which the rule of practice is founded, the leaſt variation from eſtabliſhed precedents will totally diſtract and bewilder him: *ita lex ſcripta eſt* is the utmoſt his knowledge will arrive at; he muſt never aſpire to form, and ſeldom expect to comprehend, any arguments drawn *a priori*, from the ſpirit of the laws and the natural foundation of juſtice.

Nor is this all; for (as few perſons of birth, or fortune, or even of ſcholaſtic education, will ſubmit to the drudgery of ſervitude, and the manual labour of copying the traſh of an office) ſhould this infatuation prevail to any conſiderable degree, we muſt rarely expect to ſee a gentleman of diſtinction or learning at the bar. And what the conſequence may be, to have the interpretation and enforcement of the laws (which include the entire diſpoſal of our properties, liberties, and lives) fall wholly into the hands of obſcure or illiterate men, is a matter of very public concern.

The Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Philip King of Macedon, the Father of Alexander. By Tho. Leland, D. D. Fellow of Trinity-College, Dublin. Johnſton, *Paul's Church-yard. Two vols. Quarto.*

THE tranſlation of the orations of Demoſthenes by Dr. Leland, was ſo well executed, that the public expected to ſee the life of Philip, the illuſtrious antagoniſt of that great orator, handled with equal ability; and the actions of the one as well delivered as the eloquence of the other. Nor were the expectations of the public diſappointed. From ſcattered paſſages in orators and hiſtorians, by the united efforts of great labour and

and great judgment, we have a well-connected, clear, and ſpirited hiſtory of one of the moſt extraordinary men whom Greece, or perhaps any other country, has ever produced; as well for the greatneſs of his talents, as the ſtrength both of his virtues and his vices. The author has thoroughly ſtudied the conſtitution of ancient Greece, with an account of which he very judiciouſly begins his work. We ſhall give it as a ſpecimen of his ſtyle and manner of writing.

"Ancient Greece was inhabited by people, whoſe origin and language were the ſame; but their manners, cuſtoms, inſtitutions, and forms of government, in many reſpects totally different. Yet, amidſt this diverſity, their general principles were alſo the ſame, an ardor for liberty, and a ſtrict regard to the public good. . . .

"A number of neighbouring ſocieties, thus formed and modelled, became gradually to be conſidered as one body or nation, compoſed of ſo many diſtinct members, all united and connected together by intereſt and affection. As the good of each individual was ſubſervient to that of his community, ſo the good of each community was conſidered as ſubordinate to that of the whole nation. Hence aroſe a familiar ſpecies of *civility*, if it may be ſo called, which each ſociety owes to the general aſſemblage. Even amidſt thoſe conteſts and diſorders which unruly paſſions, or the accidental claſhing of intereſts, might produce, war had its laws and limitations; the univerſal intereſt of Greece was profeſſedly at leaſt the firſt and greateſt object of attention; the attempt of any ſtate to extend its power beyond the juſt and equitable bounds, was conſidered as an injury to Greece in general: juſtice, moderation, equality, were ever ſtrenuouſly enforced, and all military conteſts carried among the Greeks in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar to judicial controverſies in private ſocieties: and, while it was allowed thus to ſeek redreſs of particular injuries, the general rights of the contending parties were ſecured by national laws, and demanded a juſt and ſcrupulous attention, even amidſt all the confuſion and violence of arms. Thus the great Athenian orator deſcribes the principles and ſentiments of the Greeks, ſpeaking of the ancient wars of Athens and Sparta. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΩΣ, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' εἶναι NOMIMON τινα καὶ σεμνὴν τὸν πόλεμον. *Such was their ſimplicity, or rather their* civility, (that is, their deference to the general laws of Greece, and their attention to the common good of that nation) *that corruption was never made the inſtrument of their ſucceſs: but they carried on a* legal *and open war.*

While theſe principles preſerved their due vigour and influence, Greece continued a really united body, happy in itſelf, and formidable to its enemies. Many circumſtances contributed to form this union: and many inſtitutions were ſuggeſted, by the ſagacity of ſtateſmen and legiſlators, to ſecure and confirm it. Of theſe the famous *council of Amphictyons* deſerves particular regard; whoſe origin and conſtitution are here to be explained, that the reader may come duly prepared to underſtand the hiſtory now preſented to him, in which this auguſt body

body makes ſo conſiderable a figure.

The council of Amphictyons, like other inſtitutions of the ſame kind, was at firſt but inconſiderable; nor did it arrive to its full ſtrength and luſtre but by gradual advances, and in a long ſeries of years. Its firſt original we are to aſcribe to Amphictyon, the ſon of Deucalion, an ancient king of Theſſaly, as the authority of the Arundelian Marbles warrants us to determine.

The intention of Amphictyon, in inſtituting this aſſembly, was, that the children of Deucalion, who, at his deceaſe, divided the kingdom between them, ſhould have a common tribunal, to which they might appeal in all private conteſts; and a council, in which they might concert all meaſures neceſſary for their defence againſt their foreign enemies. And for theſe purpoſes, beſides thoſe laws by which each particular city was governed, he enacted others of general force and obligation to all, which were called Amphictyonic laws. By means of theſe, ſaith Dionyſius, the people thus united, continued in ſtrict and mutual amity; regarded each other as real brethren and countrymen; and were enabled to annoy and ſtrike terror into their barbarous enemies. Thermopylae was the limit which divided the territories of Amphictyon and Hellen, the two brothers; here, therefore, they built a temple to Ceres at the common charge, near the mouth of the river Æſopus, in which the members of the Amphictyonic council aſſembled to offer their ſacrifices, and to conſult about their common intereſt, twice in every year, in ſpring and autumn; and hence the names Πυλαια ἐαρινη καὶ μεϛοπωρινη, the vernal and autumnal convention.

The aſſembly, thus formed, was at firſt but ſmall, being wholly compoſed of thoſe people whom Deucalion had commanded, and who from his ſon Hellen, were called ΈΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The Dorians and Ionians, who were deſcended from the poſterity of this Hellen, as yet had no being; nor were any of the Peleponneſians now accounted Hellenes, but were called Pelaſgi; nor were they diſpoſed to unite with the ſons of Deucalion, by whom they had been deprived of Theſſaly, and all that part of Greece which lay beyond the iſthmus. As Greece improved, and the Hellenes increaſed in number, new regulations became neceſſary: and accordingly we find, that, in ſome time after the original inſtitution, Acriſius, king of Argos, when, through fear of Perſeus, (who, as the oracle declared, was to kill him) he retired into Theſſaly, obſerved the defects of the Amphictyonic council, and undertook to new-model and regulate it; extended its privileges; augmented the number of its members; enacted new laws, by which the collective body was to be governed; and aſſigned to each ſtate one ſingle deputy, and one ſingle voice, to be enjoyed by ſome, in their own ſole right; by others, in conjunction with one or more inferior ſtates: and thus came to be conſidered as the founder of this famous repreſentative of the Hellenic body.

From the time of Acriſius, the Amphictyons ſtill continued to hold one of their annual councils at Thermopylae, that of autumn. But it was now made a part of their function

function (and, in time of peace, became the most considerable part of it) to guard and protect the national religion. The vernal assembly therefore was held at Delphi, the great seat of the Grecian religion; the object of universal veneration; whither all people, Greeks and Barbarians, resorted, to seek the advice and direction of the famous Pythian oracle. The immense quantity of wealth, the number of rich votive offerings, which the superstition of so many ages and nations had lavished on the temple, demanded the exactest care and most vigorous protection. The prodigious concourse which attended there, at particular seasons, naturally produced many contests, and required a well-regulated polity, and the frequent interposition of a respectable and powerful jurisdiction. The Delphians themselves were intrusted with the possession and general guardianship of the temple: they attended entirely on the service of the god, and were solely employed in the ceremonials of his religion: they were accounted in some sort sacred; the priests, the attendants, and as it were the family of Apollo. So they are called by Lucian (in Phalarid. 1.) ἱεροὶ τε καὶ παρεδροι τῆς Πυθίης, καὶ μονοις συνοικοι καὶ ὁμοροφιοι. But although they enjoyed certain powers and privileges with respect to the temple, and could even grant some honours and favours to particular persons, such as that of the Προμαντεια, or right of precedence in consulting the oracle, as appears from an imperfect inscription preserved by Spon and Wheeler, and quoted by Van Dale: yet still were they subject to the inspection and jurisdiction of the Amphictyons, who were the great conservators and protectors of the shrine; and who, besides their general care, appointed certain of their members, either by lot or rotation, to preside over the temple; an honour which, according to Van Dale, was also called by the name Προμαντεια. . . .

The whole nation of Greece was divided into twelve districts or provinces: each of these contained a certain number of Amphictyonic states, or cities, each of which enjoyed an equal right of voting and determining in all affairs relative to the general interest. Other inferior cities were dependent on some of these, and as members of their community, were also represented by the same deputies: and thus the assembly of the Amphictyons became really and properly the representative of the whole Hellenic body. . . .

Each of those cities, which had a right to assist in the Amphictyonic council, was obliged to send its deputies to every meeting; and the number of these deputies was usually and regularly two; the one entitled hieromnemon, to whom was particularly entrusted the care of religion and its rites. His office was annual, as appears from several decrees, in which his name is joined with that of the Athenian archon ἐπωνυμος; and he was appointed by lot. The other deputy was called by the general name pylagoras, and was chosen by election each particular meeting. Each of these deputies, however, differing in their functions, enjoyed an equal power of determining all affairs relative to the general interest. And thus the cities which they represented,

ſented, without any diſtinction or ſubordination, each gave two voices in the council of the Amphictyons, a privilege known by the name of the *double ſuffrage*; which term, ſo frequent in the ancient writings, is thus fully explained, without any refinement or difficulty. . . .

When the deputies, thus appointed, appeared to execute their commiſſion, they in the firſt place offered up their ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods; to Ceres, when they aſſembled at Thermopylae; when at Delphi, to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva: and, before they entered on their function, each deputy was obliged to take an oath, which AEſchines hath preſerved, or at leaſt ſome part of it; and which was conceived in theſe terms:

'I ſwear that I will never ſubvert any Amphictyonic city; I will never ſtop the courſes of their waters, either in war or peace. If any ſuch outrages ſhould be attempted, I will oppoſe them by force of arms, and deſtroy thoſe cities who may be guilty of ſuch attempts. If any devaſtations ſhall be committed in the territory of the god; if any ſhall be privy to ſuch offence, or entertain any deſign againſt the temple; I will make uſe of my feet, my hands, my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign puniſhment.'

To render this oath ſtill more ſolemn, the following awful imprecations were ſubjoined:

'If any one ſhall violate any part of this ſolemn engagement, whether city, private perſon, or country, may ſuch violators be obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident. May their lands never produce their fruits; may their women never bring forth children of the ſame nature of their parents, but offſprings of an unnatural and monſtrous kind: may they be for ever defeated in war, in judicial controverſies, and in all civil tranſactions; and may they, their families, and their whole race, be utterly deſtroyed: may they never offer up an acceptable ſacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the provident; but may all their ſacred rites be for ever rejected.'

Such was the conſtitution of this famous Grecian council. As to the diſputes of particular perſons, it was accounted beneath the dignity of the Amphictyons to take the cognizance of them. Nor do we hear of any private man ſummoned to appear, or condemned in this aſſembly, except Ephialtes, who, when the Spartans poſſeſſed themſelves of Thermopylae, under the command of Leonidas, conducted the Perſians over the Oetean mountains into Greece. But all offences againſt religion, all inſtances of impiety and profanation, all conteſts between the Grecian ſtates and cities, came under the particular cognizance of the Amphictyons, who had a right to determine, to impoſe fines, and even to levy forces, and to make war on thoſe who preſumed to rebel againſt their ſovereign authority.

The

The Life of Eraſmus. By Dr. Jortin. Whiſton *and* White, *Fleet-ſtreet.* 1758. *Quarto.*

THE life of no author is better calculated to intereſt our curioſity than that of Eraſmus. He lived at the firſt dawn of literature, and was himſelf one of the principal lights which diſpelled that gloom of ignorance and barbariſm, which had overſpread the world for ſo many ages. There is alſo ſome variety in the events of his life, which was more diverſified than is common with the lives of literary men. And there is the ſame variety in his character, that is found in his fortune: a genius, as well as a profound ſcholar; and a man of wit and humour, as well as an able divine. The work before us is the joint produce of two very learned men, Le Clerc and Dr. Jortin. The latter of theſe writers has followed, but he has improved and enlarged, the plan of the former. It is therefore not to be wondered, that this work is executed with uncommon diligence, ſkill, and accuracy. It not only contains an account of the life of Eraſmus, but of all the eminent men, in whatever branch of literature, who adorned that period. Dr. Jortin has followed Le Clerc, in diſpoſing his facts and obſervations by the years of the author's age, whoſe life they write. This, with deference to the learned author's judgment, we do not think the happieſt method. Great affairs may be digeſted into the form of annals, becauſe they engage by their own importance, and the time in which they happened is neceſſary to be known: but in biography, eſpecially of this kind, ſuch an arrangement renders the narration broken and tedious. In ſhort, as the work now ſtands, it may rather be conſidered as an excellent collection of materials for the life of Eraſmus, than the hiſtory of his life. Such a hiſtory would prove a much more agreeable entertainment to the generality of readers, though it may not perhaps afford quite ſo much matter to the inquiſitive and learned.

It were to be wiſhed, that the learned author had been a little more attentive to his ſtyle, particularly that he had purged it of certain low familiar words and modes of expreſſion, ſuch as, 'The author of the paraphraſe ſo *bedaſhed* by Gardner.' 'Like the candle's end burning in a ſocket, ſoon ceaſe, both to blaze and ſtink.' 'There was a *brace* of monks.' 'Seriouſly it is a diſagreeable thing to be in the condition of Gil Blas, and connected with one who will take it in *dudgeon*, if you do not *ſmoke* him with as much incenſe as would ſatisfy three *or thrice three* goddeſſes.'

As a ſpecimen of the author's general manner of writing we give the following paſſage; eſpecially as it ſerves to illuſtrate the character and way of life of Eraſmus, which was by no means ſo happy and independent, as his great parts and virtues deſerved.

"Collet had told him, that he would give him a ſmall matter, if he would beg with humility, and aſk with modeſty; had adviſed him to imitate Diogenes, and had hinted to him, that he was too querulous and greedy. It ſeems, they

they bantered him, becauſe he was frequently importuning his friends. Eraſmus in his anſwer tells him, that in the opinion of Seneca, favours were dearly purchaſed, which were extorted by begging. Socrates, talking once with ſome friends, ſaid, I would have bought me a coat to-day, if I had had money. They, ſays Seneca, who gave him what he wanted, after he had made his ſpeech, ſhewed their liberality too late. Another ſeeing a friend, who was poor and ſick, and too modeſt to make his wants known, put ſome money under his pillow, whilſt he was aſleep.

When I uſed to read this in the days of my youth, ſays Eraſmus, I was extremely ſtruck with the modeſty of the one, and the generoſity of the other. But, ſince you talk of begging without ſhame, who, I beſeech you, can be more ſubmiſſive and more ſhameleſs than myſelf, who live in England upon the foot of a public beggar? I have received ſo much from the archbiſhop, that it would be ſcandalous to take any more of him, though he were to offer it. I aſked N. with ſufficient effrontery. And he refuſed me with ſtill greater impudence. Even our good friend Linacer thinks me too bold, who knowing my poor ſtate of health, and that I was going from London with hardly ſix angels in my pocket, and that the winter was coming on, yet exhorted me moſt preſſingly to ſpare the archbiſhop and Lord Montjoy, and adviſed me to retrench, and learn to bear poverty with patience. A moſt friendly counſel! For this reaſon above all, I hate my hard fortune, becauſe ſhe will not ſuffer me to be modeſt. Whilſt I had health and ſtrength, I uſed to diſſemble my poverty: now I cannot, unleſs I would riſque my life. But I am not ſuch a beggar neither, as to aſk all things from all perſons. To ſome I ſay nothing, becauſe I would not be refuſed; and I have no pretence to ſollicit you, who do not ſuperabound in wealth. But, ſince you ſeem to approve of impudence, I will end my letter in the moſt impudent manner I can. I have not aſſurance enough to aſk you for any thing; and yet I am not ſo proud, as to reject a preſent, if a friend like you ſhould offer it to one in my circumſtances. Ep. 150.

One, who could talk at this rate, muſt be reduced to hard neceſſity. Unleſs he were a bad manager, it is ſcarcely to be conceived, how a ſingle man, and a learned man, could have found it ſo difficult to maintain himſelf *at that time* in England, partly by his pupils, and partly by the preſents which were made to him. However that be, there ſeems to be ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that Eraſmus underſtood not the important art of paying his court to the great; and that there was ſomething in his manner, which diſguſted ſome of thoſe to whom he made his applications; ſo that he was more agreeable to them in his writings, than in his perſon: and this might ſpoil his fortunes. Perhaps alſo he talked too freely, as he confeſſes in the character which he hath given of himſelf, in the *Compendium* of his life.

Yet Eraſmus, though open and facetious, was good tempered; and good temper is a natural politeneſs, which to reaſonable perſons is more acceptable, than that which is artificial: as, on the contrary,

trary, the politeneſs of an ill-natured man is ſhocking, for it is hypocriſy ſuperadded to malignity.

As, by being converſant with antiquity, he knew many things, which others knew not, and was diſpoſed to jeſting, he could hardly refrain from ridiculing, at one time or other, the follies of the age, and of a certain ſet of people. It is well known, that this temper fails not to give offence, eſpecially to thoſe, who expect that their weakneſſes or vices ſhould be ſpared on account of their ſtation and character; elſe the king, the courtiers, and the biſhops, who often beſtowed preferments upon drones, void of all capacity and merit, and ſometimes loaded them with pluralities, might eaſily have given him ſomething in the church, without cure of ſouls, which would have afforded him leiſure to ſtudy, and means to live. But perhaps he, who hated confinement on any account, did not care to be connected with monks and chapters of canons. As theſe people were exceſſively envious, they would have teized him with their chicaneries upon every occaſion. He had long perceived, and declared to the world, that the religion of theſe eccleſiaſtics conſiſted entirely in minute obſervances and formal grimaces, with which the wicked can comply, as well as the good. He, on the contrary, made religion to conſiſt in ſuch things, as none, except worthy perſons, ever obſerve; in the exerciſe of thoſe chriſtian virtues, which are formed in the mind, from a knowledge of our duty, and a perſuaſion of its importance. A man fixed in theſe ſentiments, and continually occupied in learned ſtudies, would have found it very difficult to practiſe the rites and ceremonies with which religion was over-run and choaked up in thoſe days. This neglect in England, as in all other places, was accounted a far more heinous crime than the vileſt immorality and debauchery. The monks, above all others, were inexorable upon this article, and doubtleſs oppoſed and harraſſed openly and ſecretly all who were not in their way of thinking and acting. So that to ſet Eraſmus thoroughly at eaſe, Henry VIII. ought to have beſtowed a handſome penſion upon him, which would have exempted him from wordly cares and avocations, and furniſhed him with books, and leiſure, and the conveniencies of life. But this the king would not do; and if he afterwards invited Eraſmus again to his dominions, it was at a time when that learned man was not able to undertake the journey."

Towards the end of the work are ſome curious particulars concerning the character of Eraſmus, and a very good defence of ſome parts of learning which he particularly cultivated.

"Bayle hath obſerved of Eraſmus, that he had rather too much ſenſibiliy, when he was attacked by malicious and inconſiderable adverſaries, made too many complaints of them, and was too ready to anſwer them. It is true. He wanted ſome friend to over-rule him, and to ſay to him, LET *thoſe men alone: they cannot live in their own writings; and why ſhould they live in yours?* Yet thus much may be obſerved, by way of excuſe, that he was fighting for his honour, and for his life, being often accuſed of nothing leſs than

heterodoxy, impiety, and blaſphemy, by men whoſe forehead was a rock, and whoſe tongue was a razor. To be miſrepreſented, as a pedant and a dunce, this is no great matter; for time and truth put folly to flight: to be accuſed of hereſy by bigots, hypocrites, politicians, and infidels, this is a ſerious affair; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it.

The celebrated Peter Ramus never replied to the invectives of his numerous adverſaries: and the writer of his life mentions it as an inſtance of his uncommon patience and prudence. . . . .

The ſtyle of Eraſmus is that of a man, who had a ſtrong memory, a natural eloquence, lively fancy, and a ready invention, who compoſed with great facility and rapidity, and who did not care for the trouble of reviſing and correcting; who had ſpent all his days in reading, writing, and talking Latin; for he ſeems to have had no turn for modern languages, and perhaps he had almoſt forgotten his mother-tongue. His ſtyle therefore is always unaffected, eaſy, copious, fluent, and clear; but not always perfectly pure, and ſtrictly claſſical. He hath been cenſured, as a dealer in barbariſms, by perſons, who not only had not half of his abilities and erudition, but who did not even write Latin half ſo well as he.

His verſes are plainly the compoſitions of one, who had much learning and good ſenſe, and who underſtood proſody, or the technical art of poetry; but who had not an equal elegance of taſte, and an ear for poetical numbers. So that upon the whole he is rather a verſifier than a poet, and is not to be ranked amongſt the Italian poets of thoſe days, Sannazarius, Fracaſtorius, Vida, &c. many of whom write better than any of the ancients, except Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and a few more.

Eraſmus uſed to dine late, that he might have a long morning to ſtudy in. After dinner he would converſe chearfully with his friends about all ſorts of ſubjects, and deliver his opinions very freely upon men and things. So ſays Milichius, who was a ſtudent at Friburg, and there had the pleaſure of being well acquainted with Eraſmus.

Eraſmus, in the earlier part of his life, carefully ſtudied the Greek and Latin grammar, read lectures upon them, and tranſlated Greek books into Latin. This was laying a right foundation for criticiſm and philology; and it is much to be wiſhed, that our young ſtudents of promiſing abilities would, in ſome meaſure, follow his example. Be you ever ſo ingenious and induſtrious, yet if you neglect to cultivate and preſerve this humble part of knowledge, you will be perpetually ſtumbling, when you tread on claſſic ground, when you attempt to explain, to tranſlate, or to correct ancient authors, or to diſcuſs any learned ſubject, or to compoſe a few pages in Latin in proſe, or in verſe. Then beware of blunders; and think not to make amends for them by inſulting and ridiculing grammarians, ſcholiaſts, commentators, lexicographers, verbal critics, word-catchers, ſyllable-mongers and poachers in Stobæus and Suidas.

'It is a wonder that no bookſeller could be found, who would venture to print the commentary of Meziriac upon Apollodorus.

'The

'The taſte for this kind of erudition is entirely extinct; and if Meziriac were to return to life in theſe days, he might ſtay long enough at Breſſe, before he would receive an invitation to be a member of the French academy. The ſame qualifications, which formerly procured him that honour, would now ſuffice to exclude him. It was not the politeneſs of his ſtyle, or the beauty of his verſes, which made him accounted worthy of being an academician, for in this reſpect he was inferior to moſt of the fraternity; but it was his reputation for learning, and the proofs which he had given of a vaſt erudition. Times are altered: no regard is paid to an author who perfectly underſtands mythology, Greek poets and ſcholiaſts, and by his knowledge can clear up difficulties in chronology, geography, grammar, &c. Not only compoſitions without the leaſt tincture of literature are preferred to the works of ſuch an author, but he is treated as a mere pedant: and this is the ſure way to diſcourage all young men, who have talents for the ſtudy of humanities. There is ſomething odious and contemptible in the very name of pedantry; and who would take pains to acquire nothing beſides ſcorn and infamy by becoming very learned and appearing to be well verſed in the works of the ancients? Nothing hath more contributed to bring literature into contempt, than the cuſtom which the wits and the fine geniuſes, real or pretended, have taken up to condemn, as ſchool-learning and pedantry, citations from Latin and Greek authors, and philological remarks. They have been ſo unjuſt, as to deride even thoſe ſcholars, who had, beſides erudition, a politeneſs and a knowledge of the world; Coſtar for example. Had they been contented to ridicule thoſe, who to make a parade of their reading, cite a Plato, a Varro, and an Ariſtotle, either to prove nothing at all, or to confirm ſomething which no man ever denied, and which every man knows, they had not done amiſs: but with diſdainful airs and inſolent ſcoffs they have baniſhed from the polite world all thoſe who dared to ſhew that they had made collections from the ancients; they have laughed at the Coſtars, and even at thoſe letters of Voiture which are ſprinkled with Latin. Theſe cenſures have had the more effect, becauſe there is ſomething plauſible in them; and it is certainly true, that men ſhould be more careful to poliſh their mind, and to form their judgment, than to load their memory with the remarks and ſayings of other people. The more truth there is in this maxim, the more it charms and ſeduces the conceited, the ſuperficial, and the lazy, and incites them to turn to ridicule every thing that is called erudition. Perhaps at the bottom, the principal motive is to depreciate the goods of their neighbours, with a view to enhance the value of their own: for if one was to ſay to them, You condemn ſuch and ſuch authors for citing Latin and Greek; lay your hands upon your heart, and tell me whether you would not do the ſame if you were

'able; we could put their sincerity to hard trial.——Now things are come to such a pass (that is, A. 1700) 'that, as we 'are informed, the Bookseller at 'Paris, who designs to print madam Dacier's translation of Homer, dares not join the original 'to it, lest the very sight of Greek 'should discourage and disgust his 'customers.——Judge by this of 'the reigning taste, and conclude 'that the commentary upon Apollodorus would be hissed off the 'stage at Paris. It contains too 'much erudition.' *Bayle Meziriac, not. c.*

In Erasmus we behold a man, who in the days of his youth, lying under no small disadvatages of birth and education, depressed by poverty, friendless and unsupported, or very slenderly supported, made his way through all these obsticles, and, by the help of bright parts and constant application, become one of the most considerable scholars of the age, and acquired the favour and the protection of princes, nobles, and prelates, of the greatest names in church and state.

Every man of letters must not indulge the vain hope, though he should be as learned, as ingenious, and as industrious as Erasmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was.——But this is not a sufficient cause to deter any person from a studious life. Learning is in many respects its own reward; learning applied to useful purposes, and adorned with good manners. Without these, though it may be of some service to the public, it will be of small comfort to the professor.

'After personal merit, (says Bruyere) 'it must be confessed that 'high stations and pompous titles 'are the principal and the most 'splendid marks of distinction; 'and he who cannot be an 'Erasmus, must think of being a 'bishop.'

Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More, with his history of Utopia, translated into English by Ferdinando Warner, L. L. D. London printed for Davis *and* Reymers, *Octavo.*

THERE are no sort of books more useful towards forming the mind and manners, than the lives of good and eminent men. The book before us, is one of those. The subject of it, Sir Thomas More, though a man addicted much to contemplative piety, lived much in the world, and filled with great credit for abilities and integrity the highest offices in the state; he resigned them too with a dignity no ways inferior to that in which he held them, and at length gave up his life as he had his employments, rather than subject his conscience to the will of an arbitrary prince. We are obliged to Dr. Warner for a well-digested and satisfactory account of this great man. Nothing of the kind had been executed before. The learned historian before us is interesting in his narrative, makes a good choice, and apt distribution of his facts, and interspersses them with several pertinent and useful reflections. It were to be wished indeed, that he had intirely foreborn all those that might be considered as personal invectives; and that he had confined his thoughts to the times of which he wrote.

Sir

Sir T. More gave in the course of his studies, and at his entrance both into domestic and public life, strong marks of the character which distinguished him to the last.

"At the time of his residing at Lincoln's-Inn as a student, he read a public lecture in St. Austin *de civitate Dei*; to which almost all the learned men of the city of London resorted. The reputation which he acquired by these public lectures, procured him the place of reader at Furnival's-Inn: in which he continued with the same reputation for some time: and then giving himself up to devotion in the Charter-house, he lived there as a religious about four years, though without any vow, abstracted entirely from the world, and from all science.—— It is wonderful how a man of his turn of mind, of such prodigious lively parts, and so much activity and facetiousness, could seclude himself so long from business and affairs to be shut up in a cloister. But in order to take off this surprise, we must recollect the piety that was then in fashion; to which he had likewise notwithstanding his pleasantry —— supposed absurdly by the world to be incompatible —— a strong and natural inclination. He was fated however at last, with this inactive useless way of life: and having been often pressed by Mr. Colt of New-Hall in Essex, who delighted much in his company, to live with him, our author left the Charter-house, and went to make him a visit. His friend had three daughters, who were all accomplished, handsome, and well-behaved young ladies; and giving him his choice of these for a wife, the consequence of this visit was, that he married the eldest, merely for being such, that it might be no vexation or disgrace to her to be passed by; but his fancy lead him to prefer the second. Upon his marriage with this lady, who lived with him about seven years, he took a house in Buckler's-bury, and prosecuted his study and practice of the law at Lincoln's-Inn.

Whilst he was thus employed in fitting himself for his profession, he was elected a burgess, before he was two and twenty years of age, in the reign of Henry VII. The design of the king in calling this parliament, was to demand a subsidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the King of Scotland: And when it was moved in the house of commons, though the majority were against the demand, yet many of the members being afraid of the king's displeasure, and others having reasons not more justifiable nor important, they made no opposition to it. Here was therefore a fair occasion for Mr. More, to shew his courage and integrity in defence of liberty and his country; and this occasion he took. He argued with such strength and clearness against this unjust and arbitrary imp sition, though he was then so very young, that his majesty's demand was in the end rejected. Upon thi , Mr. Tyler, one of the king's privy council, who was present in the house of commons when this speech was made, went immediately to the king, and told him, 'that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose.'

This was giving his country a very early pledge indeed of that patriotism and probity, from which nothing could ever seduce him whilst he lived. He had too much intrepidity to be deterred by power, and too great a contempt for the things of the world to be allured by the prospect of wealth or honour. But a prince so tyrannical and avaricious as Henry VII. could not fail to be much incensed at this vigorous opposition to a demand of money —— the favourite measure of his reign — in so young a man: and we are not to wonder that he should be determined to be revenged on him in some shape or other, that so the courage of this rising lawyer might give him no more disturbance. As our patriot, however, having nothing, could lose nothing, the king was obliged to pretend a quarrel without any cause, against Sir John More, his father; whom his majesty ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, till he had paid a fine of an hundred pounds. . . . .

Soon after this offence had been given the king in the house of commons, Mr. More having some business with Fox, Bishop of Winchester——the favourite minister of Henry VII. —— his Lordship took him aside; and pretending great kindness to him, assured him that if he would be ruled and take his advice, he would remove the king's resentment, and restore him to his majesty's favour: Intending, as it was conjectured —— in a way not unusual with this prelate ——— to get him to confess some personal enmity to the king, that a punishment might be inflicted upon him not without some shew of reason. But he was not caught in the bishop's snare; and desired some time to consider what he should do. When he had taken his leave with this answer, he went to his Lordship's chaplain, who was his intimate friend, and asked his advice upon the proposal that had been made him. The chaplain, being a much honester and a much better man than his lordship, dissuaded him with great earnestness from following the bishop's counsel; 'For my lord my 'master,' says he, 'to serve his 'majesty's turn, will not stick to 'consent to his own father's death.' Upon this, we may be sure, he returned no more to this righteous bishop: And he was once on the point of going abroad, as thinking it would not be safe for him to live in England, thus exposed to the indignation of an arbitrary revengeful king. For during this time, he was obliged to lay aside his practice, and to live in a retired manner at home; where he diverted himself with music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and studying French; and in this retirement he made himself a perfect master of history."

Of his resolute and prudent behaviour when Speaker of the house of commons, besides others he gives the following remarkable instances.

"It happened, however, that a great subsidy having been demanded by the king, which Wolsey apprehended would meet with great opposition in the lower house, he was determined to be present when the motion should be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The house being apprized of his resolution, it was a great while under debate, whether it was best to receive him, with a few of his Lords only, or with his whole train.

The

The majority of the houſe inclined to the firſt; upon which the ſpeaker got up, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen; foraſmuch as my lord 'cardinal hath not long ſince, 'as you all know, laid to our 'charge, the lightneſs of our 'tongues for things ſpoken out 'of this houſe, it ſhall not in 'my judgment be amiſs to re'ceive him with all his pomp; 'with his maces, his pillars, his 'poll-axes, his croſſes, his hat, 'and his great ſeal too; that ſo, if 'he blames us hereafter, we may 'be the bolder to excuſe ourſelves, 'and lay it upon thoſe his grace 'ſhall bring hither with him.' The houſe being pleaſed with the humour, as well as the propriety, of the ſpeaker's motion, the cardinal was received accordingly: And having ſhewn in a ſolemn ſpeech, how neceſſary it was for the king's affairs that the ſubſidies moved for ſhould be granted, and that a leſs ſum would not anſwer his majeſty's purpoſe at that time; but finding that no member made any anſwer, nor ſhewed the leaſt inclination to comply with what he aſked, he ſaid, with ſome emotion, 'Gentlemen; you have many wiſe and 'learned men amongſt you; and 'ſince I am ſent hither immediately from the king, for the 'preſervation of yourſelves and 'all the realm, I think it meet 'that you give me a reaſonable 'anſwer to my demand.' But every body being ſtill ſilent, he addreſſed himſelf particularly to Mr. Murray; who making no anſwer, he put the ſame queſtion to ſeveral other members, that were eſteemed the greateſt men in the houſe; and none of theſe making any anſwer neither——it being before agreed, as the cuſtom was, to give him an anſwer by their ſpeaker——the cardinal loſt his temper at this contemptuous treatment, and with great indignation ſaid to them further: 'Gentlemen; unleſs it be the manner of 'your houſe, as perchance it may, 'to expreſs your minds in ſuch 'caſes by your ſpeaker only, 'whom you have choſen for truſty 'and wiſe, as indeed he is, here 'is without doubt, a ſurpriſing 'obſtinate ſilence.' He then required the ſpeaker to give him an anſwer to the demand which he had made in the king's name, of the houſe. The ſpeaker having firſt, with great reverence on his knees, excuſed their ſilence, as being abaſhed at the preſence of ſo noble and extraordinary a perſonage, proceeded then to ſhew him by many arguments, that it was not expedient or agreeable to the ancient liberty of the houſe, to make an anſwer to his majeſty's meſſage, by any other perſon, how great ſoever, than ſome of their own members: And in concluſion he told his eminence, 'that though they had truſted 'him with their voices, yet except 'every one of them could put 'their ſeveral judgments into his 'head, he alone in ſo weighty a 'matter was not able to make a 'ſufficient anſwer to his grace.' The cardinal taking offence at the ſpeaker for this evaſive anſwer, and for not promoting the ſubſidy, roſe up on a ſudden, and departed in great diſpleaſure with the whole houſe.

It is very certain that Sir Thomas More had ſeconded the motion for complying with the king's demand, when it was firſt moved in the houſe, and thought it abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the war. But he had a mind abſolutely

to diſtinguiſh between the reaſonable demands of the king, and the inſolence of his miniſter; and therefore played off this farce againſt him in the houſe of commons. Nor was this done perhaps with a view of mortifying the cardinal, but it might be alſo probably to let his majeſty ſee, by this contumelious uſage, that the perſon of his miniſter was not acceptable to the parliament. But be this as it might. The ſpeaker, in a few days after, being in Wolſey's gallery at Whitehall, his eminence complained to him of this ill treatment with great vehemence; and reproaching him for his ingratitude, ſaid, 'Would to God you had 'been at Rome, Mr. More, when 'I made you ſpeaker.' To this Sir Thomas replied, 'Your grace 'not offended, ſo would I too, 'my lord.' And then to divert him from his ill-humour, which would probably have vented itſelf in ſome indecent language, he began to commend the cardinal's gallery, and ſaid that he liked it better than his other gallery at Hampton-court."

There are ſeveral inſtances of his diſintereſted conduct, and of the ſerenity and good humour with which he reſigned the greateſt employments.

"About the time of his reſignation, died in extreme old age his father Sir John More; whom he often viſited and comforted in his illneſs, and to whom he expreſſed the utmoſt tenderneſs and affection of filial piety in his expiring moments. This was an event, however, which brought him a very inconſiderable increaſe of fortune; becauſe the greateſt part of his father's eſtate, with his ſeat at Gubbins in Hertfordſhire, was ſettled upon his ſecond wife, who outlived Sir Thomas many years; and therefore he enjoyed but little inheritance from his father. When he had delivered up the ſeal, he wrote an apology for himſelf; in which he declares to the public, 'that all the revenues and pen-'ſions which he had, by his father, 'by his wife, or by his own pur-'chaſe, except the manors given 'him by the king of his mere li-'berality'—which from a king to ſuch a ſervant are not worth the naming—'did not amount to the 'value of fifty pounds a year.'—Strange indeed it will appear in this age, that a privy counſellor, who had gone through ſo many great offices, as we have ſeen, for above twenty years, and who had been all his life an abſtemious man, ſhould not have been able to purchaſe an hundred pounds a year. But ſuch was his great charity, and ſuch his greater contempt of money!

The day after he had reſigned the ſeal, which his own family knew nothing of, he went as uſual, it being an holy-day, to Chelſea church, with his wife and daughters: and after maſs was over—it being cuſtomary for one of the gentlemen to go to his lady to tell her the chancellor was gone out of church—he went himſelf to the pew-door; and making her a low bow, ſaid, 'Madam, my lord is 'gone.' But ſhe knowing his pleaſantry, and apprehending this to be ſome joke, took little notice of it. However, as they were walking home, he aſſured her very ſeriouſly, that what he had ſaid, was true; having reſigned his office of lord-chancellor to the king the day before. When ſhe found that he was in earneſt, and as ſhe was a worldly-minded woman, being much chagrined at it,

it, she replied in her accustomed manner, 'Tilly Vally, what will 'you do Mr. More? Will you sit 'and make goslings in the ashes? 'What, is it not better to rule 'than to be ruled?' But to divert the ill-humour which he saw she was in, he began to find fault with her dress; which she chiding her daughters for not seeing, and they affirming that there was no fault to be found, he replied with great mirth, 'Don't you perceive 'your mother's nose is somewhat 'awry?' Upon which she went from him in a passion. It must be confessed that this is a trifling story to relate in the life of so great a man: But the reader must observe, that the characters of men are learnt best from trifles. It is related here however to shew, that his facetious humour was natural to him without any affectation; and that powers, honours, and great revenues, had no charms for him, who could part with them so freely, and with such a mirthful temper of mind. It will likewise shew, it was his opinion, that in his conduct as a statesman, his lady had no right to be consulted, or to intermeddle.

The first thing that he set about after the surrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and servants among the nobility and the bishops; that they might not suffer by any act of his. This being done to his satisfaction, he next called all his children and their husbands round him; and telling them that he could not now, as he was wont and still gladly would, bear all their expence himself, asked their advice what they should do that they might continue to live together, as he much desired: And finding them all silent, he told them, that though he had been brought up from the lowest degree to the highest, yet he had now in yearly revenues left him but a very little above an hundred pounds a year; so that hereafter if they lived together, they must be contented to become contributors. Notwithstanding the king had taken him from his profession, and employed him in the most important services to himself and the kingdom, during the best part of his life, yet he made so little advantage of his majesty's service, or that of the public, that all the land which ever he purchased, ——— and he purchased it all before he was Lord Chancellor ——— was not above the value of twenty marks a year: And after all his debts were paid when he resigned that office, he had not left in gold and silver, his chain excepted, the worth of one hundred pounds."

The scene between him and his daughter after his sentence, is extremely pathetic and well painted.

"Having taken his leave of the court in this solemn manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the usual manner after condemnation: And when he came to the Tower wharfe, his favourite daughter Mrs. Roper, thinking this would be the last opportunity she should ever have, was waiting there to see him. As soon as he appeared in sight, she burst through the throng and guard that surrounded him; and having received his blessing upon her knees, she embraced him eagerly before them all; and amidst a flood of tears and a thousand kisses of tenderness and affection,

her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that she could utter were, 'My father, oh 'my father!' If any thing could have shaken his fortitude it must be this. But he only took her up in his arms, and told her, 'that 'whatsoever he should suffer, 'though he was innocent, yet it 'was not without the will of 'God, to whose blessed pleasure 'she should conform her own will; 'that she knew well enough all 'the secret steps of his heart, 'and that she must be patient for 'her loss.' Upon this she parted from him; but scarce was she turned aside, before her passion of grief and love became irresistible: and she again suddenly burst through the croud, ran eagerly upon him a second time, took him round the neck, and hung upon him with her embraces, ready to die with sorrow. This was rather too much for a man to bear: And though he did not speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his cheeks in great abundance; till she took her last kiss and left him. In this tender moment his heart may be said to fail him; and it was a scene which did him honour. Here was a favourite daughter of very extraordinary accomplishments, and by nature and education modest; who without care of her person, or any consideration of her sex, moved by the deepest sorrow and the most tender affection for him, surmounted every obstacle of fear, of danger, and of difficulty to see him; who when she had seen him, and taken her leave of him in the most passionate and heart-distracting situation, shook off all the regards of modesty and peril a second time, and pouring out her soul into his bosom could not be separated from him without force. It was impossible for humanity to be more unmoved at such a scene than only to shed silent tears: The sensations of his heart must have been exquisite, how much soever his fortitude enabled him to suppress them, when he heard himself addressed with that pathetic eloquence which described all her agony at once, 'My father, oh 'my father!' If a few silent tears in this distressful scene, owing to the tenderness of nature in a parent's breast, were all the signs of dejection or dispiritedness which Sir Thomas More shewed at a fate which was so deplorable, and yet so unmerited ——— and it is uncertain that these were all, from the time of his commitment to the last minute of his life —— then he instructed the world as well by this circumstance of his leaving it, as by the whole course of his living in it. This great example will teach us a lesson of fortitude, under sufferings for conscience sake; of contempt of a life of flesh which is in itself short and transitory; and of resignation to the will of heaven under the most trying afflictions of mortality."

It were useless to say any thing of the celebrated Utopia, which is annexed to his life. The translation was made by Bishop Burnet, and corrected by Doctor Warner, and is executed, as it might be expected, in a very masterly manner.

A Cata-

A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with Lists of their Works. In 2 vols. Duodecimo. Dodsley.

THERE never was a time in which anecdotes, especially literary anecdotes, were read with greater eagerness than they are now. Such reading suits extremely well with the spirit of indolent curiosity and learned loitering, which is so much the character of these times. The present work is certainly one of the best of that kind. By confining himself to these noble and royal personages who have applied their leisure to literature, he has certainly not given us the account of those authors whose works are the most valuable. But the large share which many of them have had in the transactions of public life, affords a greater variety of materials for agreeable biography, than could be expected from the lives of far better authors of lower rank. Very few writers, however, could have had the happy secret of making out of so dry a matter so agreeable an entertainment; and of uniting so much laborious industry in the compiling, with so much wit and spirit in the execution. It were to be wished that the author had indulged himself less in points and turns.

Some of the most remarkable lives which may serve to mark the most striking æras in literature, are

ANTONY WIDVILLE Earl Rivers.

"Though Caxton knew 'none 'like to the Erle of Worcester,' and though the author last quoted thinks that all learning in the nobility perished with Tiptoft, yet there flourished at the same period a noble gentleman, by no means inferior to him in learning and politeness, in birth his equal, by alliance his superior, greater in feats of arms, and in pilgrimages more abundant: this was Anthony Widville earl Rivers, Lord Scales, and Newsells, lord of the Isle of Wight, 'defenseur and directeur of the 'causes Apostolique for our holy 'fader the Pope in his royame 'of Englond, and uncle and go-'vernour to my Lord Prince of 'Wales.'

He was son of Sir Richard Widville by Jaqueline of Luxemburgh duchess dowager of Bedford, and brother of the fair lady Gray, who captivated that monarch of pleasure Edward the fourth. When about seventeen years of age he was taken by force from Sandwich with his father, and carried to Calais by some of the opposite faction. The credit of his sister, the countenance and example of his prince, the boisterousness of the times, nothing softened, nothing roughened the mind of this amiable Lord, who was as gallant as his luxurious brother-in-law, without his weaknesses; as brave as the heroes of either rose, without their savageness; studious in the intervals of business, and devout after the manner of those whimsical times, when men challenged others whom they never saw, and went bare-footed to visit shrines in countries of which they had scarce a map. In short, Lord Antony was, as Sir Thomas More says, 'Vir haud facile discer-'nas, manuve aut consilio promp-'tior.'

He distinguished himself both as a warrior and a statesman: The Lancastrians making an insurrection

in

in Northumberland, he attended the king into thoſe parts, and was a chief commander at the ſiege of Alnwick caſtle; ſoon after which he was elected into the order of the garter. In the tenth of the ſame reign he defeated the Dukes of Clarence and Warwick in a ſkirmiſh near Southampton, and prevented their ſeizing a great ſhip called the Trinity belonging to the latter. He attended the king into Holland on the change of the ſcene, returned with him, and had a great ſhare in his victories, and was conſtituted governor of Calais, and captain-general of all the king's forces by ſea and land. He had before been ſent embaſſador to negotiate a marriage between the king's ſiſter and the Duke of Burgundy; and in the ſame character concluded a treaty between King Edward and the Duke of Bretagne. On Prince Edward being created Prince of Wales, he was appointed his governor, and had a grant of the office of chief butler of England; and was even on the point of attaining the high honour of eſpouſing the Scottiſh princeſs, ſiſter of King James the Third; the biſhop of Rocheſter, lord privy-ſeal, and Sir Edward Widville, being diſpatched into Scotland to perfect that marriage.*

A remarkable event of this earl's life was a perſonal victory he gained in a tournament over Antony Count de la Roche, called the Baſtard of Burgundy, natural ſon of Duke Philip the Good. This illuſtrious encounter was performed in a ſolemn and magnificent tilt held for that purpoſe in Smithfield: Our earl was the challenger: and from the date of the year and affinity of the perſon challenged, this ceremony was probably in honour of the afore-mentioned marriage of the lady Margaret the king's ſiſter, with Charles the Hardy, laſt Duke of Burgundy. Nothing could be better adapted to the humour of the age, and to the union of that hero and virago, than a ſingle combat between two of their near relations. In the Biographia Britannica is a long account extracted from a curious manuſcript of this tournament, for which letters of ſafe conduct were granted by the king, as appears from Rymer's Fœdera; the title of which are, 'Pro baſtardo Burgundiæ ſuper 'punctis armorum perficiendis.' At theſe juſts the Earl of Worceſter (before-mentioned) preſided as lord high conſtable, and atteſted the queen's giving *The flower of Souvenance* to the Lord Scales; as a charge to undertake the enterprize, and his delivery of it to Cheſter-herald, that he might carry it over to be touched by the Baſtard, in token of his accepting the challenge. This prize was a collar of gold with the rich flower of Souvenance enamelled, and was faſtened above the earl's knee by ſome of the queen's ladies on the Wedneſday after the feaſt of the Reſurrection. The Baſtard, attended by four hundred lords, knights, ſquires, and heralds, landed at Graveſend; and

* The queen had before projected to marry him to that great heireſs Mary of Burgundy, who at the ſame time was ſought by Clarence; a circumſtance that muſt have heightened that prince's averſion to the queen and her family.

at

at Blackwall he was met by the lord high conſtable with ſeven barges and a galley full of attendants, richly covered with cloth of gold and arras. The king proceeded to London; in Fleet-ſtreet the champions ſolemnly met in his preſence; and the palaces of the Biſhops of Saliſbury and Ely were appointed to lodge theſe brave ſons of holy church; as St. Paul's cathedral was for holding a chapter for the ſolution of certain doubts upon the articles of combat. The timber and workmanſhip of the liſts coſt above 200 marks. The pavilions, trappings, &c. were ſumptuous in proportion. Yet, however weighty the expence, the queen could not but think it well beſtowed, when ſhe had the ſatisfaction of beholding her brother victorious in ſo ſturdy an encounter; the ſpike in the front of the Lord Scales's horſe having run into the noſtril of the Baſtard's horſe, ſo that he reared an end and threw his rider to the ground. The generous conqueror diſdained the advantage, and would have renewed the combat, but the Baſtard refuſed to fight any more on horſe-back. The next day they fought on foot, when Widville again prevailing, and the ſport waxing warm, the King gave the ſignal to part them.

Earl Rivers had his ſhare of his ſiſter's afflictions as well as of her triumphs; but making a right uſe of adverſity, and underſtanding that there was to be a jubilee and pardon at St. James's in Spain in 1473, he ſailed from Southampton, and for ſome time was 'full 'vertuouſly occupied in going of 'pilgrimages to St. James in Galice, 'to Rome, and to Seint Nicholas 'de Bar in Puyle, and other di-'verſe holy places. Alſo he pro-'cured and got of our holy fa-'ther the Pope a greet and large 'indulgence, and grace unto the 'chapel of our lady of the 'Piewe by St. Stephen's at Weſt-'menſtre.'

The diſmal cataſtrophe of this accompliſhed Lord, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, is well known.

'——Rivers, Vaughan and Gray *,
'Ere this lie ſhorter by the heads at
'Pomfret.'

The works of this gallant and learned perſon were:

I. 'The dictes and ſayinges of 'the philoſophers; tranſlated out 'of Latyn into Frenſhe by a 'worſhipful man called Meſſire 'Jehan de Teonville, Provoſt of 'Paris; " and from thence rendered into Engliſh by our Lord Rivers, who ſailing to the Spaniſh Jubilee, 'and layckyng ſyght of 'all londes, the wynde being good

* Queen Elizabeth Gray is deſervedly pitied for loſing her two ſons, but the royalty of their birth has ſo engroſſed the attention of hiſtorians, that they never reckon into the number of her misfortunes the murder of this her ſecond ſon Sir Richard Gray. It is remakable how ſlightly the death of our Earl Rivers is always mentioned, though a man inveſted with ſuch high offices of truſt and dignity; and how much we dwell on the execution of the lord chamberlain Haſtings, a man in every light his inferior. In truth the generality draw their ideas of Engliſh ſtory from the tragic rather than the hiſtoric authors.

'and

'and the weder fayr, thenne for 'a recreacyon and paſſyng of time, 'had delyte and axed to rede ſome 'good hiſtorye. A worſhipfull 'gentlyman called Lowys de Bre-'taylles,' lent him the abovemen-tioned treatiſe, which when he had 'hieded and looked upon, as he 'had tyme and ſpace, he gaaf 'thereto a veray affection; and 'in ſpecial by cauſe of the holſom 'and ſwete ſanges of the Pay-'nems, which is a glorious fair 'myrrour to all good Chriſten 'people to behold and under-'ſtonde.' And afterwards being appointed governor to the prince, he undertook this tranſlation for the uſe and inſtruction of his royal pupil. The book is ſuppoſ-ed to be the ſecond ever printed in England by Caxton; at leaſt the firſt which he printed at Weſt-minſter, being dated November 18, 1477. A fair manuſcript of this tranſlation, with an illumina-tion repreſenting the earl introduc-ing Caxton to Edward the fourth, his queen and the prince, is pre-ſerved in the archbiſhop's library at Lambeth.

The moſt remarkable circum-ſtance attending this book is the gallantry of the earl, who omitted to tranſlate part of it, becauſe it contained ſarcaſms of Socrates a-gainſt the fair ſex: And it is no leſs remarkable that his printer ventured to tranſlate the ſatire, and added it to his lordſhip's perform-ance; yet with an apology for his preſumption.

II. 'The moral proverbs of 'Chriſtina of Pyſe;' another tranſ-lation. The authoreſs Chriſtina was daughter of Thomas of Piſa, otherwiſe called of Boulogne, whither her father removed; and though ſhe ſtiled herſelf a woman Ytalien, yet ſhe wrote in French, and flouriſhed about the year 1400. In this tranſlation the earl diſ-covered new talents, turning the work into a poem of two hundred and three lines, the greateſt part of which he contrived to make conclude with the letter *E:* an in-ſtance at once of his lordſhip's ap-plication, and of the bad taſte of an age, which had witticiſms and whims to ſtruggle with as well as ignorance. It concludes with two ſtanzas of ſeven lines each, begin-ning thus;

'The grete vertus of our elders not-able
'Ofte to remembre is thing profitable;
'An happy hous is, where dwelleth prudence,
'For where ſhe is, reaſon is in preſence, *&c.*

EXPLICIT.

'Of theſe ſayyinges Criſtyne was the auctureſſe,
'Which in makyn had ſuch intelli-gence,
'That therefore ſhe was mireur and 'maiſtreſſe;
'Her werkes teſtifie the experience;
In Frenſh language was writter this 'ſentence;
'And thus engliſhed doth hit reherſe 'Antoin Widevyll therle Ryvers.

Caxton, inſpired by his patron's muſe, concludes the work thus;

'Go thou litil quayer and recommaund 'me
'Unto the good grace of my ſpecial 'Lorde
'Therle Ryveris, for I have emprinted 'the
'At his commandement, following 'evry worde
'His copye, as his ſecretary can re-'corde;

'At

'At Weſtmenſter, of Feverer the xx
'day,
'And of King Edward the xvii yere
'vraye.

'Emprinted by CAXTON.

'In Feverer the colde ſeaſon.'

III. The book named 'Cordial, 'or Memorate noviſſima;' a third tranſlation from the French; the original author not named: begun to be printed by Caxton 'the 'morn after the purification of 'our bliſſid Lady in the yere '1478, which was the daye of 'Seint Baſe, biſhop and martir: 'and finiſhed on the even of 'thannunciation of our ſaid bliſſid 'Lady in the xix yere of Kyng 'Edward the fourth, 1480.' By which it ſeems that Caxton was above two years in printing this book. It does not appear that he publiſhed any other work in that period: yet he was generally more expeditious; but the new art did not, or could not multiply its productions, as it does now in its maturity.

Theſe are all the remains of this illuſtrious Lord, though, as Caxton ſays, 'notwithſtonding the 'greet labours and charges he 'had in the ſervice of the King 'and of my ſaid Lord Prince, 'which hath been to him no little 'thought and biſineſs, yet over 'that, tenrich his vertuous diſ'poſition, he put him in devoyr 'at all tymes, when he might 'have a leyſer, which was but 'ſtarte mete, to tranſlate diverſe 'bookes out of French into Eng'liſh.' He then mentions thoſe I have recited, and adds,

'IV. Over that hath made di'vers balade ayenſt the ſeven dede'ly ſynnes.'

It is obſervable with what timidity and lowlineſs young Learning ventured to unfold her recent pinions, how little ſhe dared to raiſe herſelf above the ground. We have ſeen that Earl Tiptoft and Earl Rivers, the reſtorers and patrons of ſcience in this country, contented themſelves with tranſlating the works of others; the latter condeſcending even to tranſlate a tranſlation. But we muſt remember how ſcarce books were; how few of the claſſic ſtandards were known, and how much leſs underſtood. Whoever conſiders the account which Caxton gives of his meeting 'with the lytyle 'book in Frenſhe, tranſlated out 'of Latyn by that noble Poete 'and grete Clerke Virgyle,' will not wonder that invention did not exert itſelf. Whatever was tranſlated, was new, and a real preſent to the age. Invention operates only where there is no pattern, or where all patterns are exhauſted. He, who in the dawn of ſcience made a verſion of Chriſtina of Piſa, in its vigorous maturity would tranſlate Monteſquieu—and, I truſt, not in metre!

I have dwelled the longer on the articles of theſe two lords, as they are very ſlightly known, and as I think their country in a great meaſure indebted to them for the reſtoration of learning. The countenance, the example of men in their ſituation, muſt have operated more ſtrongly than the attempts of an hundred profeſſors, benedictines, and commentators. The ſimilitude of their ſtudies was terminated by too fatal a reſemblance in their cataſtrophe!

HENRY

HENRY HOWARD Earl of SURRY.

"We now emerge from the twilight of learning to an almoſt claſſic author, that ornament of a boiſterous, yet not unpoliſhed court, the Earl of Surry, celebrated by Drayton, Dryden, Fenton, and Pope, illuſtrated by his own muſe, and lamented for his unhappy and unmerited death: 'a man,' as Sir Walter Raleigh ſays, 'no leſs valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes'

He was ſon and grandſon of two lord treaſurers, dukes of Norfolk, and ſeemed to have promiſe of fortune as illuſtrious, by being the friend, and at length the brother-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, Henry's natural ſon. ——— But the cement of that union proved the bane of her brother! He ſhone in all the accompliſhments of that martial age; his name is renowned in its tournaments and in his father's battles: In an expedition of his own he was unfortunate, being defeated endeavouring to cut off a convoy to Boulogne: a diſgrace he ſoon repaired, though he never recovered the king's favour, in whoſe eyes a moment would cancel an age of ſervices!

The unwieldy king growing diſtempered and froward, and apprehenſive for the tranquillity of his boy-ſucceſſor, eaſily conceived or admitted jealouſies infuſed into him by the earl of Hertford and the Proteſtant party, though one of the laſt acts of his fickle life, was to found a convent! Rapin ſays, he apprehended if the popiſh party ſhould prevail, that his marriage with Catharine of Arragon would be declared good, and by conſequence his ſon Edward baſtardized. ——— A moſt inaccurate concluſion! It would have affected the legitimacy of Elizabeth, whoſe mother was married during the life of Catharine, but the latter was dead before the king married Jane Seymour: An odd circumſtance is recorded, that Boleyn wore yellow for mourning for her predeceſſor.

It ſeems that the family of Howard were greatly at variance; the duke and his ſon had been but lately reconciled; the ducheſs was frantic with jealouſy, had been parted four years from her huſband, and now turned his accuſer; as her daughter the ducheſs of Richmond, who inclined to the Proteſtants, and hated her brother, depoſed againſt him. The duke's miſtreſs too, one Mrs. Holland, took care to provide for her own ſafety, by telling all ſhe knew. That was little, yet equal to the charge, and coincided with it. The chief accuſation againſt the earl was his quartering the arms of Edward the Confeſſor: The duke had forborn them, but left a blank quarter. Mrs. Holland depoſed, that the duke diſapproved his ſon's bearing them, and forbad her to work them on the furniture of his houſe. The Ducheſs of Richmond's teſtimony was ſo trifling, that ſhe depoſed her brother's giving a coronet*, which

* This ſhews that at that time there was no eſtabliſhed rule for coronets. I cannot find when thoſe of Dukes, Marquiſſes and Earls were ſettled: Sir Robert Cecil Earl of Saliſbury when viſcount Cranborn, was the firſt of that degree that bore a coronet. Barons received theirs from Charles the Second

to

to her judgment ſeemed a cloſe crown, and a cypher which ſhe took to be the king's: and that he diſſuaded her from going too far in reading the ſcripture. Some ſwore that he loved to converſe with foreigners; and, as if ridiculous charges, when multiplied, would amount to one real crime, Sir Richard Southwell affirmed, without ſpecifying what, that he knew certain things, which touched the earl's fidelity to the king. The brave young lord vehemently affirmed himſelf a true man, and offered to fight his accuſer in his ſhirt; and with great ſpirit and ready wit, defended himſelf againſt all the witneſſes——to little purpoſe! When ſuch accuſations could be alledged, they were ſure of being thought to be proved. Lord Herbert inſinuates, that the earl would not have been condemned, if he had not been a commoner and tried by a jury. On what could he ground this favourable opinion of the peers? What twelve tradeſmen could be found more ſervile than almoſt every court of Peers during that reign? Was the Duke of Buckingham, was Anne Boleyn condemned by a jury, or by great Lords. *

The duke, better acquainted with the humour of his maſter, or fonder of life as it grew nearer the dregs, ſigned a moſt abject confeſſion, in which however the greateſt crime he avowed was having concealed the manner in which his ſon bore his coat-armour—— an offence by the way to which the king himſelf and all the court muſt long have been privy. As this is intended as *a treatiſe of curioſity*, it may not be amiſs to mention, that the duke preſented another petition to the Lords, deſiring to have ſome books from Lambeth, without which he had not been able to recompoſe himſelf to ſleep for a dozen of years. He deſired leave too to buy St.

* The parliaments of that reign were not leſs obſequious than the peers diſtinctively: 'The Counteſs of Salisbury, ſays Stowe, in his annals, p. 581. 'was condemned in parliament, though ſhe was never arraigned nor tried be-'fore. Catherine Howard was attainted by parliament, and ſuffered without 'trial. Cromwell Earl of Eſſex, though a lord of parliament, was attainted 'without being heard.' The power granted to the king of regulating the ſucceſſion by his will was an unheard-of abuſe. If we paſs from the peers to the houſe of commons, and from thence to the convocation, we ſhall find that juries by no means deſerved to be ſtigmatized for peculiar ſervility. The commons beſought the king to let his marriage with Anne Cleves be inquired into. The diſſolution of that marriage for ſuch abſurd reaſons as his majeſty vouchſafed to give, *as her being no virgin*, which it ſeems he diſcovered by a peculiar ſecret of his own, without uſing the common method of knowing *; and his whimſical inability, which he pretended to have in vain attempted to remove by taking phyſic the more to enable him; that diſſolution, I ſay, was an inſtance of the groſſeſt complaiſance; as Cranmer's having before pronounced the divorce from Anne Boleyn was an effect of the moſt wretched timidity.

* *In the caſe of his next wife it proved how bad a judge he was of thoſe matters; nay, ſo humble did he grow on that head, and conſequently ſo uncertain did his conforming parliament immediately think that diſquiſition, that an act was paſſed to oblige any woman, before ſhe ſhould eſpouſe a king,* To declare whether ſhe was a virgin or not.

Auſtin, Joſephus and Sabellicus *; and he begged for ſome ſheets. ——So hardly was treated a man, who had married a daughter † of Edward the fourth, who had enjoyed ſuch dignities, and what was ſtill more, had gained ſuch victories for his maſter!

The noble earl periſhed; the father eſcaped by the death of the tyrant.

We have a ſmall volume of elegant and tender ſonnets compoſed by Surry; and with them ‖ ſome others of that age, particularly of Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, a very accompliſhed gentleman, father of him who fell in a rebellion againſt Queen Mary. Francis the firſt had given a new air to literature, which he encouraged by mixing gallantry with it, and producing the ladies at his court along with the learned. Henry, who had at leaſt as much taſte for women as letters, and was fond of ſplender and feats of arms, contributed to give a romantic turn to compoſition; and Petrarch, the poet of the fair, was naturally a pattern to a court of that complexion. In imitation of Laura, our earl had his Geraldine. Who ſhe was, we are not told directly: himſelf mentions ſeveral particulars relating to her, but not her name. The author of the laſt edition of his poems, ſays, in ſome ſhort notes on his life, that ſhe was the greateſt beauty of her time, and maid of honour to Queen Catharine; to which of the three queens of that name he does not ſpecify. I think I have very nearly diſcovered who this fair perſon was; here is the earl's deſcription:

'From Tuſcane came my ladies worthy race,
'Fair Florence was ſometyme *her* ‡ auncient ſeate;
'The weſtern yle whoſe pleaſant ſhore doth face
'Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lyvely heate:
'Foſtered ſhe was with milke of Iriſhe breſt:
'Her ſire, an earl; her dame, of princes blood;
'From tender yeres in Britaine ſhe doth reſt
'With kinges childe, where ſhe taſteth coſtly foode.
'Honſdon did firſt preſent her to myne yien:
'Bright is her hewe, and Geraldine ſhe hight,
'Hampton me taught to wiſh her firſt for mine,
'And Windſor alas! doth chaſe me from her ſight.
'Her beauty of kinde, her vertue from above,
'Happy is he, that can obtain her love.'

I am inclined to think that her poetical appellation was her real name, as every one of the circumſtances tally. Gerald Fitz-

* The artful Duke, though a ſtrong papiſt, pretended to aſk for Sabellicus as the moſt vehement detector of the uſurpations of the biſhop of Rome.

† His firſt wife was the Lady Anne, who left no iſſue. His ſecond was daughter of the Duke of Buckingham.

‖ The earl was intimate too with Sir Thomas More and Eraſmus; and built a magnificent houſe, called Mount Surry, on Lennard's Hill, near Norwich.

‡ *I would read* their.

gerald Earl of Kildare, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, married to his ſecond wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorſet; by whom he had three daughters. Lady Margaret, who was born deaf and dumb, (probably not the fair Geraldine) Elizabeth third wife of Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln, and the Lady Cicely.

Our genealogiſts ſay, that the family of Fitzgerald deſcended from the Dukes of Tuſcany, who in the reign of King Alfred ſettled in England, and from thence tranſplanted themſelves into Ireland. Thus,

'From Tuſcane came his Lady's noble
'race.'

Her ſire an earl, and her being foſtered with milk of Iriſh breaſt, follow of courſe. Her dame being of prince's blood is as exact; Thomas Marquis of Dorſet being ſon of Queen Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the Ducheſs of Bedford, of the princely houſe of Luxemburg. The only queſtion is, whether the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, or her ſiſter Lady Cicely was the fair Geraldine: I ſhould think the former, as it is evident that ſhe was ſettled in England.

The circumſtance of his firſt ſeeing her at Hunſdon, indifferent as it ſeems, leads to a ſtrong confirmation of this conjecture; Sir Henry Chauncy ſays, that Hunſdon-houſe in Hertfordſhire was built by Henry the Eighth, and deſtined to the education of his children. The Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald was ſecond couſin to the Princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth; and it was very natural for her to be educated with them, as the ſonnet expreſly ſays the fair Geraldine was. The Earl of Surry was in like manner brought up with the Duke of Richmond at Windſor †; here the two circumſtances clearly correſpond to the earl's account of his firſt ſeeing his miſtreſs at Hunſdon ||, and being deprived of her by Windſor; when he attended the young Duke to viſit the Princeſſes, he got ſight of their companion; when he followed him to Windſor, he loſt that opportunity. If this aſſumption wanted any corroborating incidents, here is a ſtrong one; the Lord Leonard Gray, uncle of the Fitzgeralds, was deputy of Ireland for the Duke of Richmond, and that connection alone would eaſily account for the earl's acquaintance with a young lady bred up with the royal family.

† One of the moſt beautiful of Lord Surry's compoſitions is a very tender elegy written by him when a priſoner at Windſor, lamenting the happier days he formerly paſſed there. His puniſhment was for eating fleſh in Lent.

|| Strype has preſerved a curious leter, relating to the maintenance of the Lady Elizabeth after the death of her mother. It is written from Hunſdon by Margaret Lady Bryan, governeſs to the Princeſs, and who, as ſhe ſays herſelf, had been made a baroneſs on her former preferment to the ſame poſt about the Lady Mary; a creation which ſeems to have eſcaped all our writers on the peerage. The letter mentions *the untowardly and gentle conditions of her grace.* Vol. 1. No. lxx. In the ſame collection are letters of Prince Edward from Hunſdon.

ROBERT DEVEREUX Earl of ESSEX.

To enter into all the particulars of this remarkable perſon's life, would be writing a hiſtory of the ſixteen or eighteen laſt years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth: yet I ſhall touch many paſſages of his ſtory, and enter into a larger diſcuſſion of ſome circumſtances relating to him, than may be agreeable to perſons who are not curious about ſuch minute facts as do not compoſe the hiſtory of illuſtrious men, though they in a great meaſure compoſe their character. It is eſſential to the plan of this work to examine many particulars of this lord's ſtory, becauſe it was not choice or private amuſement, but the caſt of his public life that converted him into an author. Having conſulted a great variety of writers, who deſcribe or mention him, I may perhaps be able to unfold ſome of the darker parts of his hiſtory: at leaſt, ſome anecdotes, though of a trifling ſort, will appear in a ſtronger light than I think they have hitherto done. Theſe ſheets are calculated for the cloſets of the *idle* and *inquiſitive*: they do not look up to the ſhelves of what Voltaire ſo happily calls, 'La bibliotheque du 'monde.'

'The elegant perſpicuity,' the conciſeneſs, the quick ſtrong reaſonings, and the engaging good breeding of his letters, carry great marks of genius——Yet his youth gave no promiſe of parts: his father died with a mean opinion of him. The malicious ſubtleties of an able court were an over-match for his impetuous ſpirit: yet he was far from wanting art; but was ſo confident of the queen's partiality, that he did not bend to her as his enemies did, who had not the ſame hold on her tender paſſions: he truſted to being always able to maſter her by abſenting himſelf: his enemies embraced thoſe moments to ruin him. I am aware that it is become a mode to treat the queen's paſſion for him as a romance. Voltaire laughs at it, and obſerves, that when her ſtruggle about him muſt have been the greateſt (the time of his death) ſhe was ſixty-eight——— had *he* been ſixty-eight, it is probable ſhe would *not* have been in love with him. As a great deal turns upon this point, and as there are the ſtrongeſt preſumptions of the reality of her majeſty's inclination for him, I ſhall take leave to enter into the diſcuſſion.

I do not date this paſſion from her firſt ſight of him, nor impute his immediate riſe to it, as ſome have done, who did not obſerve how nearly he was related to the queen, as appears by the following ſhort table;

THOMAS

THOMAS BOLEYN Earl of WILTSHIRE.

ANNE,
HENRY VIII.
Q. ELIZABETH.

Mary,
Wm Ld. Hunſdon.
Katherine,
Sir Francis Knolles.
Lettice,
Walter Earl of Eſſex,
Robert Earl of Leiceſter.
Robert Earl of Eſſex.

His mother being couſin to the queen, and wife of her great favourite Leiceſter, eaſily accounted for young Eſſex's ſudden promotion: it went on rapidly without theſe ſupports. At twenty he was made maſter of the horſe; the next year general of the horſe at the camp at Tilbury, and knight of the garter. On theſe dignities were afterwards heaped the great poſts of maſter of the ordnance, earl marſhal, chancellor of Cambridge, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. ——— Lofty diſtinctions from a princeſs ſo ſparing of her favours. ——— Of what ſhe was ſtill more ſparing, he obtained to the value of 300,000 l. In one of her letters ſhe reproached him with her great favours beſtowed without his deſert: in every inſtance but in his and Leiceſter's, ſhe was not wont to overpay ſervices.

His early marriage with the widow of Sir Philip Sidney did not look as if he himſelf had any idea of her majeſty's inclination for him: perhaps he had learned from the example of his father-in-law, that her majeſty's paſſions never extended to matrimony. Yet before this he had inſulted Sir Charles Blount, on a * jealouſy of the queen's partiality. Inſtead of ſentimental ſoftneſs, the ſpirit of her father broke out on that occaſion, ſhe ſwore a round oath, 'That unleſs ſome one or other 'took him down, there would be 'no ruling him.'

Lord Clarendon, in his ſenſible anſwer to Sir Harry Wotton's parallel of the Earl of Eſſex and the Duke of Buckingham, obſerves, that the former endeavoured rather to maſter the queen's affection than to win it: if he was croſſed in a ſuit, he abſented himſelf from court, and made her purchaſe his return. A fond woman may be

* Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Earl of Devonſhire, a very comely young man, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf at tilt, her majeſty ſent him a cheſs-queen of gold enamelled, which he tied upon his arm with a crimſon ribbon. Eſſex perceiving it, ſaid with affected ſcorn, 'Now I perceive every fool muſt have a fa-'vour!' On this Sir Charles challenged, fought him in Marybone park, diſarmed and wounded him in the thigh.

moulded thus; it is not the method practiſed on princes by mere favourites. When Charles the Firſt on ſome jealouſy reſtrained the Earl of Holland to his houſe, the queen would not cohabit with the king till the reſtraint was taken off. Whenever Eſſex acted a fit of ſickneſs, not a day paſſed without the queen's ſending often to ſee him; and once went ſo far as to ſit long by him, *and order his broths and things*. It is recorded by a diligent obſerver of that court, that in one of his ſick moods he took the liberty of going up to the queen in his night-gown. In the height of theſe fret fooleries, there was a maſk at Black-friars on the marriage of Lord Herbert and Mrs. Ruſſel. Eight lady-maſkers choſe eight more to dance the meaſures. Mr. Fitton, who led them, went to the queen and wooed her to dance. Her majeſty aſked what ſhe was?——*Affection*——ſhe ſaid. *Affection!*——ſaid the queen;——*Affection is falſe.*——Were theſe not the murmurs of a heart ill at eaſe?——Yet her majeſty roſe and *dawnced*.—She was then ſixty-eight——Sure it was as natural for her to be in love!

That her court and cotemporaries had an uniform opinion of her paſſion, is evident from many paſſages. Sir Francis Bacon, in a letter of moſt ſenſible advice to the earl, in which he diſſuades him from popular courſes, which the queen could not brook in her greateſt favourites, ſays to him, 'Win the queen: I will not now 'ſpeak of favour or affection, 'but of other correſpondence and 'agreeableneſs.'——That is, do not be content with her poſſeſſion in your favour, but humour and make yourſelf agreeable to her. 'How dangerous,' adds he, 'to have her think you a man 'not to be ruled, that has her 'affection and knows it; that 'ſeeks a popular reputation and 'a military dependance!' He adviſes the earl not to play or ſtratagem with too long journeys from her; and bids him conſult her taſte in his very apparel and geſtures. He concludes remarkably with adviſing the earl even to give way to any other inclination ſhe may have, 'for whoſoever ſhall 'tell me that you may not have 'ſingular uſe of a favourite at your 'devotion, I will ſay he under-'ſtandeth not the queen's affec-'tion, nor your lordſhip's condi-'tion.' The queen herſelf Sir Francis adviſed, as knowing her inclination, to keep the earl about her for *Society*. Oſborne aſcribes Eſſex's preſumption to the fond opinion which he entertained, that the queen would not rob her eyes of the dear delight ſhe took in his perſon. But the moſt marked expreſſion is one of Henry the fourth of France to the queen's embaſſador, Sir Antony Mildmay, '. Que ſa majeſté ne laiſſeroit ja-'mais ſon couſin d'Eſſex s'eſloigner 'de ſon cotillon.' Sir Antony reporting this to the queen, ſhe wrote four lines with her own hand to the king, which one may well believe were ſharp enough, for he was near ſtriking Sir Antony, and drove him out of his chamber.

When the earl had offended the queen ſo much by his abrupt return from Ireland, he was treated with a whimſical fond mixture of tenderneſs and ſeverity. Though he

he burſt into her bed-chamber as ſhe was riſing, ſhe talked to him long with coolneſs and kindneſs: when her other counſellors had repreſented his boldneſs, ſhe reſented it too. She ſuſpended him from all his offices but the maſterſhip of the horſe; ſhe gave him a keeper, but who was ſoon withdrawn. On hearing Eſſex was ill, ſhe ſent him word with tears in her eyes, 'That 'if ſhe might with her honour, 'ſhe would viſit him.'—Theſe are more than ſymptoms of favour: royal favour is not romantic; it is extravagant, not galant.

If theſe inſtances are problematic, are the following ſo? In one of the curious letters of Rowland White, he ſays, 'the Queen hath of late 'uſed the *fair Mrs. Bridges* with 'words and blows of anger.' In a ſubſequent letter he ſays, 'The 'earl is again fallen in love with 'his *faireſt B.* it cannot chuſe but 'come to the queen's ears, and 'then he is undone. The coun-'teſs hears of it, or rather ſuſpects 'it, and is greatly unquiet.' I think there can be no doubt but that the *faireſt B.* and the *fair Mrs. Bridges* were the ſame: If ſo, it is evident why ſhe felt the weight of her majeſty's diſpleaſure.

It is indeed a very trifling matter for what reaſon a prince chuſes a favourite: nor is it meant as a reproach to this great woman, that ſhe could not diveſt herſelf of all *ſenſibility*. Her *feeling* and *maſtering* her paſſion adds to her character. The favourites of other princes never fail to infuſe into them their own prejudices againſt their enemies: that was not the caſe with Elizabeth; ſhe was more jealous of the greatneſs ſhe beſtowed, than her ſubjects could be. How did ſhe mortify Leiceſter, when the States heaped unuſual honours on him! For Eſſex, it is evident from multiplied inſtances, that his very ſollicitation was prejudicial. Bacon ſays to his brother Antony, 'Againſt 'me ſhe is never peremptory, but 'to my Lord of Eſſex.' Amongſt the papers of the Bacons is a moſt extraordinary letter from Lord Treaſurer Burleigh to Lord Eſſex, recounting unmeaſured abuſe that he had received from the queen, on her ſuſpecting Burleigh of favouring the earl.——So quick was her nature to apprehend union where ſhe loved to diſunite, and with what refinement did old Cecil colour his inveteracy *. Her majeſty was wont to accuſe the earl of *opiniaſtretè*, and *that he would not be ruled, but ſhe would bridle and ſtay him.* On another occaſion ſhe ſaid, 'ſhe obſerved ſuch as follow-'ed *Her*; and thoſe which accom-'panied ſuch as were in her diſ-'pleaſure, and that they ſhould 'know as much before it were 'long.' No wonder the earl complained, 'that he was as much 'diſtaſted with the glorious great-'neſs of a favourite, as he was be-'fore with the ſuppoſed happineſs 'of a courtier.' No wonder his mind was toſt with ſo contradictory paſſions, when her ſoul, on whom he depended, was a compoſition of tenderneſs and haughtineſs!—nay, when even œconomy combated her affection! He profeſſes, 'that her

* It may be worth while to direct the reader to another curious letter, in which that wiſe man forgot himſelf moſt indecently, ſpeaking of Henry the fourth to his embaſſador in the moſt illiberal terms, and with the greateſt contempt for the perſon of the embaſſador himſelf. *Bacon-papers*, vol. 1. p. 328.

'fond parting with him, when he 'set out for Ireland, pierced his 'very ſoul.' In a few weeks ſhe quarrelled with him for demanding a poor ſupply of one thouſand foot and three hundred horſe *.

Having pretty clearly aſcertained the exiſtence of the ſentiment, it ſeems that the earl's ruin was in great meaſure owing to the little homage he paid to a ſovereign jealous of his perſon and of her own, and not accuſtomed to pardon the want of a proper degree of awe and adoration! Before his voyage to Ireland, ſhe had treated him as ſhe did the fair Mrs. Bridges ——— in ſhort had given him a box on the ear for turning his back on her in contempt. What muſt ſhe have felt on hearing he had ſaid 'That ſhe grew old and cankered, 'and that her mind was become as 'crooked as her carcaſe!' What provocation to a woman ſo diſpoſed to believe all the flattery of her court! How did ſhe torture Melville to make him preſer her beauty to his charming queen's! Elizabeth's foible about her perſon was ſo well known, that when ſhe was ſixty-ſeven, Veriken the Dutch embaſſador told her at his audience, 'That he had longed to undertake 'that voyage to ſee her majeſty, 'who for *beauty* and wiſdom ex-'celled all other princes of the 'world.' The next year Lord Eſſex's ſiſter, Lady Rich, interceding for him, tells her majeſty, 'Early did I hope this morning to 'have had mine eyes bleſſed with 'your Majeſty's *beauty*. ——— That 'her brother's life, his love, his 'ſervices to her *beauties* did not de-'ſerve ſo hard a puniſhment. ——— 'That he would be diſabled from 'ever ſerving again his ſacred God-'deſs! whoſe excellent *beauties* 'and perfections ought to feel more 'compaſſion.' Whenever the weather would permit, ſhe gave audience in the garden; her lines were ſtrong, and in open day-light the ſhades had leſs force. Vertue the engraver had a pocket-book of Iſaac Oliver, in which the latter had made a memorandum that the queen would not let him give any ſhade to her features, telling him, 'That ſhade 'was an accident, and not natu-'rally exiſting in a face.' Her portraits are generally without any ſhadow. I have in my poſſeſſion another ſtrongly preſumptive proof of this weakneſs: It is a fragment of one of her laſt broad pieces, repreſenting her horridly old and deformed: An entire coin with this image is not known: It is univerſally † ſuppoſed that the die was broken by her command, and that ſome workman of the mint cut out this morſel, which contains barely the face. As it has never been engraved, ſo ſingular a curioſity may have its merit, in a work which has no other kind of merit ‡.

On whatever her favour was founded, it was by no means placed undeſervedly: The earl's courage was impetuous and heroic: To this was added great talents for the ſtate, great affection for

* She even mortified him ſo bitterly, as to oblige him to diſpoſſeſs his dear friend the Earl of Southampton of the generalſhip of the horſe, which the earl had conferred on him.

† This piece was purchaſed from the cabinet of the late Earl of Oxford.

‡ This engraving is in vol. 1. p. 142, of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,

litera-

literature and protection of learned men, and the greateſt zeal for the ſervice and ſafety of his miſtreſs. At nineteen he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Zutphen, where Sir Philip Sidney fell. At twenty-two he undertook as a volunteer to promote the reſtoration of Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal, uſurped by the queen's black enemy, Philip; and challenged the governor of Corunna by ſound of trumpet, or any of equal quality, to ſingle combat. He treated Villars *, the governor of Rouen, in the ſame ſtyle. In the expedition to Cadiz he threw his hat into the ſea for joy, that the Lord Admiral conſented to attack the Spaniſh fleet. Few royal favourites are ſo prodigal of life! His indignation againſt Philip roſe to the dignity of a perſonal averſion; In his letters he uſed to ſay, 'I will teach that 'proud king to know.' As much reaſon as ſhe had to hate Philip, the queen could not endure the earl's aſſuming ſuch arrogance againſt a crowned head. So formidable an enemy he was, that when the greateſt offers could not bribe him from his duty, the court of Spain attempted to have him poiſoned;—— luckily they addreſſed their poiſon to the arms of his great chair, which no more than the pummel † of a ſaddle are a mortal part. And as he ſupported the enemies of the Spaniard, he endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs the Pope of the duchy of Ferrara, ſending the famous Sir Antony Shirly thither, to promote the intereſts of a Baſtard of the houſe of Eſte. There was as much policy and activity of enterprize in this, as in his Holineſs ſending a plume of Phœnix-feathers to Tir Oen. While the one iſland flouriſhed with Cecils, Walſinghams, Bacons, the other was ſo buried in barbariſm, that Rome ventured to reward its martyrs with the ſpoils of an imaginary fowl! The earl's intelligences, his ſpies, his penſioners in foreign courts, were as numerous as the boaſted informations of Walſingham. His munificence was unbounded.——What ſums did the perjured houſe of Bacon obtain or extort from him! He buried Spenſer; and, which was more remarkable, was heir to Sir Roger Williams §, a brave ſoldier, whom he

* In his letter to Villars the earl ſaid, "Si vous voulez combattre vous-meme "à cheval ou à pied, je maintiendrai que la querelle du Roi (Henry IV.) eſt "plus juſte que celle de la ligue; que je ſuis meilleur que vous; & que ma "*Maitreſſe* eſt plus belle que la votre." &c. *Eſſais hiſtor. ſur Paris, par Saintfoix, vol.* 2. *p.* 82.

† Walpole, a Jeſuit, was hanged for attempting to poiſon the queen's ſaddle.

§ He had been one of the ſtanding Council of Nine, appointed to provide for defence of the realm againſt the Spaniſh Armada. *Biograph. vol.* 4. *p.* 2287. He wrote a valuable hiſtory of the wars in the Low Countries, in which he had ſerved with great reputation, and where he was one of the introducers of a new military diſcipline. *Camb. Epiſt. p.* 350. A Spaniſh captain having challenged the general Sir John Norris, Sir Roger fought him; afterwards aſſaulted the Prince of Parma's camp near Venlo, and penetrated to his very tent; and made a brave defence of Sluys. *Fuller in Monmouth, p.* 52. James the Firſt lamented his death ſo much, that he wiſhed rather to have loſt five thouſand of his own ſubjects; and intended to write his epitaph. *Bacon-papers, vol.* 1. *pages* 296, 355.

brought

brought to a religious and penitent death. But what deſerved moſt, and muſt have drawn the queen's affection to him, was his extreme attention to the ſecurity of her perſon: each year he promoted ſome acts of parliament for the defence of it; and alone perſiſted in unravelling the myſterious treaſons of her phyſician Lopez, who was ſcreened and protected by the Cecils——not merely by the ſon, whoſe baſe nature was capable of any ingratitude.——It is melancholy that faction could make even Burleigh careleſs of the ſafety of his queen, when detection of the treaſon would reflect honour on the proſecutor: Yet this zealous Eſſex did ſhe ſuffer her council to keep kneeling for eleven hours at his examination; for this man's liberty did ſhe accept preſents from his mother and ſiſter, yet without vouchſafing to ſee them, or grant their ſuit.——Indeed ſhe did permit him to celebrate St. George's day alone: one ſhould like to know how he played at this ceremony by himſelf. In ſhort, this gallant, though raſh man, ſhe delivered over to the executioner, becauſe his bittereſt enemies had told her he had declared, That his life was inconſiſtent with her ſafety.——A tale ſo ridiculous, that it is amazing how moſt of our hiſtorians can give credit to it!——How was he dangerous, or could he be?—His wild attempt on the city had demonſtrated his impotence. So far from this declaration, on receiving ſentence he beſought the lords, 'not to tell the 'queen that he neglected or ſlighted her mercy.' He died with devotion, yet undaunted. Marſhal Biron derided his death, and died himſelf like a frantic coward. Raleigh imitated his death more worthily than he beheld it!*

The queen at firſt carried her reſentment ſo far, as to have a ſermon preached at St. Paul's croſs to blacken his memory. Beſides the ridicule thrown on her perſon, many paſſages in his behaviour had ſhocked her haughtineſs, and combated her affection. His pretending to be head of the puritans, and to diſlike monarchy, in order to flatter the Dutch; his ſpeaking of the King of Spain in terms too familiar; his preſuming to create knights in ſome of his Spaniſh expeditions; his blaming the queen's parſimony in the affairs of Ireland, which ſhe had once near loſt for the trifling ſum of two thouſand pounds; his treating with Tir† Oen

* Sir Walter Raleigh was known to bear perſonal enmity to the earl, and endeavoured to excuſe his appearing at the execution, by pretending it was to clear himſelf if the earl ſhould tax him with any indirect dealings. One of their firſt quarrels was the earl's braving Sir Walter at a tilt, and appearing there in defiance of him with two thouſand orange tawney feathers; an affront not very intelligible at preſent. *Vide Lord Clarendon's diſparity, p.* 190. However, it is certain that Sir Walter bore great malice to the earl, and fell ſick on the apprehenſion of his being reſtored to the queen's favour. *Bacon-papers, vol.* 2. *p.* 438; *and Sidney-papers, vol.* 2. *p.* 139.

† The earl's treaty with Tir Oen is a great blemiſh on his memory. Though the Iriſh general had an army of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and

Eſſex

Oen to abridge his own ſtay in that iſland; his threatening that he would make the earth tremble under him; his boaſting of one hundred and twenty lords devoted to him; his popularity; his importunity for his friends; and his paying court to her ſucceſſor, probably exaggerated to her by Sir Robert Cecil, who was ten times more guilty in that reſpect; all this had alienated her tenderneſs, and imprinted an aſperity, which it ſeems even his death could not ſoften.

On a review of his character, it appears that if the queen's partiality had not inflated him, he would have made one of the braveſt generals, one of the moſt active ſtateſmen, and the brighteſt * Mæcenas of that accompliſhed age. With the zeal, though without the diſcretion of Burleigh, he had nothing of the dark ſoul of Leiceſter. Raleigh excelled him in abilities, but came not near him in generoſity. It was no ſmall merit to have inſiſted on giving Bacon to that orb, from which one of Bacon's firſt employments was to contribute to expell his benefactor. The earl had a ſolemn tincture of religion, of which his enemies availed themſelves to work him to the greateſt blemiſh of his life, the diſcovery of the abettors of his raſh deſign. He had ſcarce a fault beſides which did not flow from the nobleneſs of his nature. Sir Henry Wotton ſays he was delicate in his baths; it was a ſlight luxury, and proceeded ſo little from any effeminacy in his perſon, that he read letters and attended to ſuitors the whole time he was dreſſing. Brutality of manners is not eſſentially neceſſary to courage: Leodatus, one of Alexander's generals, no unmanly ſchool, in all the marches of the army was followed by camels loaded with ſand, which he got from Egypt, to rub his body for his gymnaſtic exerciſes. Eſſex was gallant, romantic, and oſtentatious; his ſhooting-matches in the eye of the city gained him great popularity; the ladies and the people never ceaſed to adore him. His genius for ſhows, and thoſe pleaſures that carry an image of war, was as re-

Eſſex but two thouſand five hundred foot and three hundred horſe, yet Tir Oen had diſcovered evident marks of dreading the Engliſh; and as the earl had received ſuch unuſual powers in his commiſſion, it behoved him to do a little more than patch up a treaty with the Iriſh. There even appeared on his trial ſome ſymptoms of too ambitious deſigns in his union with Tir Oen. Sir Chriſtopher Blount, father in law of Eſſex, confeſſed that there had been ſome mention of tranſporting part of the Iriſh army into England, that they meditated no hurt to the queen, yet rather than miſcarry, they would have drawn blood even from herſelf. *Bacon-papers vol. 2. p.* 493. I fear, no practices of his enemies could juſtify Eſſex in ſuch views! If it is true that Sir Robert Cecil, to draw him into an unwarrantable and haſty journey to England, ſtopped all veſſels but one, which was to ſpread a falſe report of the queen's death, Cecil's art was equal to his iniquity. The paltry account he gives of Eſſex's inſurrection in a letter to Sir G. Carew, is by no means of a piece with ſuch capacity. *ib. p.* 468.

* As an inſtance of his affection for learning, he gave to the univerſity of Oxford his ſhare of the library of the celebrated Biſhop Oſorius, which his lordſhip got at the plunder of Faro. *Bacon-papers, vol. 2. p.* 58.

markable

markable as his ſpirit in the profeſſion itſelf. His * impreſſes and inventions of entertainment were much admired. One of his maſks is deſcribed by a † cotemporary; I ſhall give a little extract of it, to preſent the idea of the amuſements of that age, and as it coincides with what I have already remarked of the queen's paſſion.

My Lord of Eſſex's device, ſays Rowland White, is much commended in theſe late triumphs. Some pretty while before he came in himſelf to the tilt, he ſent his page with ſome ſpeech to the queen, who returned with her majeſty's glove. And when he came himſelf, he was met by an old hermit, a ſecretary of ſtate, a brave ſoldier, and an eſquire. The firſt preſented him with a book of meditations; the ſecond with political diſcourſes; the third with orations of brave fought battles; the fourth was but his own follower, to whom the other three imparted much of their purpoſe before the earl's entry. In ſhort, each of them endeavoured to win him over to their profeſſion, and to perſuade him to leave his vain following of love, and to betake him to heavenly meditation. But the eſquire anſwered them all, and told them plainly, 'That this 'knight would never forſake his 'Miſtreſs's love, whoſe virtue made 'all his thoughts divine, whoſe 'wiſdom taught him all true po'licy, whoſe § *beauty* and worth 'were at all times able to make 'him fit to command armies.' He pointed out all the defects of their ſeveral purſuits, and therefore thought his own courſe of life to be beſt in ſerving his miſtreſs.——The queen ſaid, 'That if ſhe had 'thought there would have been 'ſo much ſaid of *her*, ſhe would 'not have been there that night.' The part of the eſquire was played by Sir Toby Matthews, who lived to be an admired wit in the court of Charles the Firſt, and wrote an affected panegyric on that affected beauty the Counteſs of Carliſle.

The works of this Lord were,

'A memorial drawn up on the 'apprehenſion of an invaſion from 'Spain.'

'A narrative of the expedition 'to Cadiz.'

'To Mr. Antony Bacon, an apo'logy of the Earl of Eſſex, a'gainſt thoſe which falſely and ma'liciouſly take him to be the only 'hindrance of the peace and quiet 'of his country.' Reprinted in 1729, under the title of, 'The 'Earl of Eſſex's vindication of the 'war with Spain.' Both theſe pieces were juſtifications of himſelf from the aſperſions of his enemies. A very good judge commends both pieces much, and ſays of the latter particularly, 'that the earl reſolv'ed to deliver his own arguments 'with all the advantages that his 'own pathetic eloquence could 'give them, and which ſtill re'mains a memorial of his great 'virtues and admirable abilities.'

'Advice to the Earl of Rutland 'for his travels;' publiſhed at London in 1633, 8vo. in a book in-

* Sir H. Wotton, p. 174. His device was a diamond with this motto, DUM FORMAS MINUIS. *Camden's remains.*

† Rowland White, in the Sidney-papers, vol. 1. p. 362.

§ The queen was then ſixty-three.

tituled,

tituled, 'Profitable inſtructions, de-
'ſcribing what ſpecial obſervations
'are to be taken by travellers in all
'nations.'

'Verſes in his trouble,' likewiſe 'Meditations,' both preſerved in the King's library.

'A letter of great energy, with 'a ſonnet to the Queen.'

'Another ſonnet,' ſung before the Queen by one Hales, in whoſe voice ſhe took ſome pleaſure. It was occaſioned by a diſcovery that Sir Fulke Greville, his ſeeming friend, had projected to plant the Lord Southampton in the Queen's favour in Eſſex's room, during one of his eclipſes, 'This ſonnet, me-
'thinks,' ſays Sir Harry Wotton, 'had as much of the Hermit as of 'the Poet;' It concluded thus,

And if thou ſhould'ſt by her be now
forſaken,
She made thy heart too ſtrong for
to be ſhaken.

The ſame author mentions another of the earl's compoſitions, but unfortunately does not give any account what it was: he calls it

'His Darling piece of Love and 'Self-love.

'A pretious and moſt divine let-
'ter, from that famous and ever
'to be renowned Earl of Eſſex
'[father to the now Lord General
'his Excellence] to the Earl of
'Southampton, in the latter end of
'Queen Elizabeth's reign.' Printed in 1643. Reprinted in Cogan's Collection of Tracts from Lord Somers's library, vol. 4. p. 132.

'A letter to the Lord Chamber-
'lain.'

Some of his letters in beautiful Latin to the celebrated Antonio Perez are publiſhed among the Bacon-papers. But of all his compoſitions the moſt excellent, and in many reſpects equal to the performances of the greateſt geniuſes, is a long letter to the queen from Ireland *, ſtating the ſituation of that country in a moſt maſterly manner, both as a general and ſtateſman, and concluding with ſtrains of the tendereſt eloquence on finding himſelf ſo unhappily expoſed to the artifices of his enemies during his abſence. It cannot fail to excite admiration, that a man raviſhed from all improvement and reflection at the age of ſeventeen, to be nurſed, perverted, fondled, dazzled in a court, ſhould notwithſtanding have ſnatched ſuch opportunities of cultivating his mind and underſtanding! In another letter from Ireland he ſays movingly, 'I provided for this 'ſervice a breaſt-plate, but not a 'cuiraſs; that is, I am armed on 'the breaſt, but not on the back.' Dr. Birch has a volume of letters manuſcript, containing ſome from the earl, and others addreſſed to him. Beſides theſe, we have great variety in the Cabala and among Bacon's papers of the earl's occaſional letters †, written in a ſtyle as nervous as the beſt compoſitions of

* It ſhould be mentioned here, that formerly his diſpatches were attributed to Bacon; of late to his ſecretary Cuffe. The latter might have ſome hand in collecting the materials relative to buſineſs, but there runs through all the Earl's letters a peculiarity of ſtyle, ſo adapted to his ſituation and feelings, as could not have been felt for him, or dictated by any body elſe. See the letter mentioned in the text in the Bacon-papers, vol. 2. p. 415.

† Two little notes of his are in the introduction to the Sidney-papers, vol. 1. p. 115.

that

that age, and as eaſy and flowing as thoſe of the preſent. The vehement friend, the bold injured enemy, the ſtateſman and the fine gentleman, are conſpicuous in them. ——He ceaſed to be all theſe by the age of thirty-four *.

Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury,

One of the greateſt ornaments of the learned peerage, was a man of a martial ſpirit and a profound underſtanding. He was made Knight of the Bath when Prince Henry was inſtalled for the Garter; and being ſent embaſſador to France to interpoſe in behalf of the Proteſtants of that kingdom, he returned the inſolence of the great conſtable Luynes with the ſpirit of a gentleman, without committing his dignity of ambaſſador. It occaſioned a coolneſs between the courts, but the blame fell wholly on the conſtable. In 1625 Sir Edward was made a Baron of Ireland, in 1631 of England, but in the cauſe of his country, ſided with its repreſentatives †. He died in 1648, having written.

'De Veritate, prout diſtinguitur 'à Revelatione, à veriſimili, à 'poſſibili, à falſo. Cui operi ad- 'diti ſunt duo alii tractatus; pri- 'mus, de cauſis errorum; alter, 'de religione Laici. Unà cum 'appendice ad Sacerdotes de reli- 'gione Laici; & quibuſdam poe- 'matibus.' It was tranſlated into French, and printed at Paris in quarto, in 1639. In this book the author aſſerts the doctrine of innate ideas. Mr. Locke, who has taken notice of this work, allows his Lordſhip to be *a man of great parts*. Gaſſendi anſwered it at the requeſt of Piereſc and Diodati, but the anſwer was not publiſhed till after Gaſſendi's death. Baxter made remarks on the treatiſe De Veritate, in his 'More reaſons for the 'Chriſtian religion;' and one Kortholt, a fooliſh German zealot, took ſuch offence at it, that he wrote a treatiſe intituled, 'De tribus Im- 'poſtoribus magnis, Edvardo Her- 'bert, Thomâ Hobbes, & Bene- 'dicto Spinoſa, liber ‖.'

'De

* I ſhall not dwell on the now almoſt authenticated ſtory of Lady Nottingham, though That too long paſſed for part of the romantic hiſtory of this Lord. I mention it but to obſerve that the earl *had* given provocation to her huſband—though no provocation is an excuſe for murder. How much to be lamented that ſo black an act was committed by one of our greateſt heroes, to whom Britain has ſignal obligations. This was Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the lord high Admiral, and deſtroyer of the Spaniſh Armada. It ſeems, Eſſex had highly reſented its being expreſſed in the Earl of Nottingham's patent, that the latter had equal ſhare in the taking of Cadiz. He was ſo unreaſonable as to propoſe to have the patent cancelled, or offered to fight Nottingham or any of his ſons. *Bacon-papers, p.* 365. Alas! that revenge, intereſt, and ingratitude, ſhould have ſtained ſuch ſervices and abilities as thoſe of Nottingham, Raleigh, and Bacon!

† In the Parliamentary Hiſtory it is ſaid, that Lord Herbert offended the Houſe of Lords by a ſpeech in behalf of the King, and that he attended his majeſty at York. Yet the very next year, on a cloſer inſight into the ſpirit of that party, he quitted them, and was a great ſufferer in his fortune from their vengeance. *V. Parl. Hiſt. vol.* xi. *p.* 3. 87.

‖ Gen. Dict. vol. 6. p. 122. Wood, vol. 2. p. 118. In Leland's view of Deiſtical writers, vol. 1. p. 24. it is ſaid that there exiſts a manuſcript life of this Lord,

'De religione gentilium, eorum-'que apud eos cauſis.' The firſt part was printed at London 1645, 8vo. and the whole in 1663, quarto, and reprinted in 1700 octavo. It was tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. W. Lewis, 1705, octavo.

'Expeditio Buckinghami Ducis 'in Ream inſulam.' Publiſhed by Tim. Baldwin, L. L. D. 1656, Lond. octavo.

'Life and reign of Henry the 'Eighth.' Lond. 1659, 1672, and 1682. Reprinted in Kennett's compleat Hiſtory of England. The original manuſcript was depoſited by the author in 1643, in the archives of the Bodleian library. It was undertaken by the command of King James the Firſt, and is much eſteemed: Yet one cannot help regretting, that a man who found it neceſſary to take up arms againſt Charles the Firſt, ſhould have palliated the enormities of Henry the Eighth, in compariſon of whom King Charles was an excellent prince. It is ſtrange that writing a man's life ſhould generally make the biographer become enamoured of his ſubject; whereas one ſhould think that the nicer diſquiſition one makes into the life of any man, the leſs reaſon one ſhould find to love or admire him.

'Occaſional poems.' Lond. 1665. octavo. Publiſhed by H. Herbert, his younger ſon, and by him dedicated to Edward Lord Herbert, grandſon of the author.

Others of his poems are diſperſed among the works of other authors, particularly in Joſhua Sylveſter's 'Lacrymæ lacrymarum, or 'the ſpirit of tears diſtilled for the 'untimely death of Prince Henry.' Lond. 1613. quarto.

In the library of Jeſus College, Oxford, are preſerved his Lordſhip's hiſtorical collections.

He is buried in St. Giles's in the Fields, but had erected an allegoric monument for himſelf in the church of Montgomery, a deſcription of which is given by Loyd. His Lordſhip had been indemnified by the Parliament for his caſtle of Montgomery, which they thought proper to demoliſh.

Lord, *drawn up from memorials penned by himſelf*, in which is a moſt extraordinary account of his Lordſhip putting up a ſolemn prayer for a ſign to direct him whether he ſhould publiſh his treatiſe De Veritate or not; and that he interpreted a ſudden noiſe as an imprimatur. There is no ſtronger characteriſtic of human nature, than its being open to the groſſeſt contradictions: One of Lord Herbert's chief arguments againſt revealed religion, is, the improbability that Heaven ſhould reveal its will to only a portion of the earth, which he terms *particular religion*. How could a man (ſuppoſing the anecdote genuine) who doubted of *partial*, believe *individual revelation*? What vanity to think his book of ſuch importance to the cauſe of truth, that it could extort a declaration of the Divine Will, when the intereſts of half mankind could not?

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The END.

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